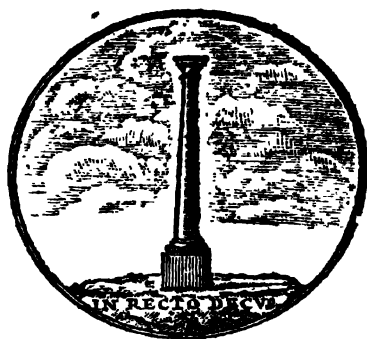


THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XXVIII.



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M.DCC.LXI.

Modern History :

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

The History of Naples.

WHEN Charlemagne put an end to the dominion of the Lombards in Italy, by taking Desiderius their last king prisoner, he at the same time obliged the Lombard dukes of Friuli, Spoletto, and Benevento, to acknowledge him as king of Italy ; but allowed them to exercise the same power and authority which they had enjoyed before his conquest ^a. Of these three dukedoms Benevento was by far the most powerful and extensive, as it comprehended almost all that part of Italy which is at present known by the name of the kingdom of Naples ^b, the Greek emperor possessing only the islands in the bay of Naples, that part of farther Calabria beyond the rivers Savuto and Peto, a few maritime cities in

The duke of Benevento submits to Charlemagne.
A. D. 774.

^a Vide the Antient Universal History, vol. xix.
PEREGRINUS in Dissert. de finib. Ducat. Benevent.

^b CAMILL.

hither *Calabria*, with the city *Acropoli*, and the promontory in its neighbourhood, called *Capo di Licosa*; and lastly the dukedoms of *Gaeta*, *Naples*, and *Amalfi*, which were very inconsiderable, and extended along the shore only about a hundred miles, and were interrupted by the *Gastaldarè* or county of *Capua*^c. These small territories excepted, all the rest of *Italy*, on the south side of the rivers *Garigliano* and *Fruento*, was distinguished with the name of the dukedom of *Benevento*, to which comprised nine of those twelve provinces into which the kingdom of *Naples* is at this day divided; namely, *Terra di Lavoro*, *Contado di Molise*, *The hither Abruzzo*, *Capitanata*, *Terra di Bari*, *Basilicata*, *The hither Calabria*, and both the principalities.

The extent
of that
dukedom.

Arechis
renounces
his allegi-
ance to
Charle-
magne.
A. D.
781.

THIS flourishing and extensive dukedom was at this time governed by *Arechis*, who had married one of the daughters of the last king of the *Lombards*, and had submitted and taken the oath of allegiance to the conqueror *Charles*. However, a few years after, he renounced his allegiance to the *Franks*, and declared himself an independent sovereign, and was acknowledged as such by all the inhabitants of the duchy. To strengthen himself against *Pepin* king of *Italy*, who resided at *Ravenna*, he enlarged and fortified the city of *Benevento*, and likewise built the city of *Salerno*, on the sea coast, which he surrounded with a very strong and high wall. He was greatly beloved by his subjects, and during his reign he was engaged in several wars with the subjects of the *Greek* empire in the duchy of *Naples*, who were sometimes obliged to give him hostages^d. He likewise made several incursions into the territories of the pope, who not being able to oppose him, and receiving no assistance from *Pepin*, prevailed on *Charlemagne* to return to *Italy*^e. That conqueror accordingly, in the end of the year 786, repassed the *Alps* with a powerful army, and proceeded to *Rome*.

Makes in-
cursions
into the
pope's ter-
ritories.

Charle-
magne re-
turns to
Italy and
obliges
him to sub-
mit.

ARECHIS was then at war with the *Neapolitans*, about the fields of *Nola*; but, being apprehensive lest they should join the *Franks*, he immediately concluded a peace with his neighbours, and granted them some diaria, or subsidies, in the contested fields^f. He sent his eldest son *Romuald* also to *Rome*, with an offer of submission: *Charles*, however, at the

^c CONST. PORPHYROGEN. de Administ. Imper. c. 27. Dissertat. Chorograph. de Italia medii Ævi, apud MURATOR. tom. x. col. 302, 303, & 304.

^d CAMILL. PEREGRIN. Hist. Princ. Longobard. apud MURATOR. tom. ii. Anonym. Salern. ibid. tom. ii. part. ii.

^e SIGON. in Regn. Ital. ^f ERCHENPERT Hist. apud Peregrin.

instigation of the pope, rejected his offer, and, detaining his son prisoner, proceeded with his army into *Campania*; and, after ravaging the country, made himself master of *Capua*. *Arechis*, not thinking himself safe in *Benevento*, went immediately to *Salerno*, from whence he again sent deputies to *Charles*, to sue for peace. These deputies were his other son *Grimoald*, with the *Beneventan* bishops, who were so successful as to prevail with *Charlemagne* to grant a peace, which was concluded on these conditions, That *Arechis* and the *Beneventans* should renew their allegiance to the *Franks*; that he should pay a yearly tribute to *Pepin*; should deliver up all his treasure; and give his son *Grimoald* and his daughter *Adelgisfa*, with twelve others, as hostages for his fidelity. The conditions of the treaty being executed, *Charlemagne* returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated the feast of *Easter*; but, after many intreaties, he restored *Adelgisfa* to her father.

AFTER the departure of *Charles* into *France*, *Arechis* entered into a negotiation with the empress *Irene* and her son *Constantine*, for expelling the *Franks* entirely from *Italy*. He sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to desire the honour of patriciate, and the dukedom of *Naples*, with all its dependencies, promising to acknowledge the emperor as his sovereign, and to live after the manner of the *Greeks*; but requiring to be supported by a *Greek* army, and that his brother-in-law *Adalgisus*, son of the late king *Desiderius*, should be sent over to *Italy* to raise a party among the *Lombards*. The emperor readily agreed to these propositions, on condition that *Arechis* should give his son *Romuald* as an hostage. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to *Naples* with the ensigns of the patrician order; namely, the mantle of cloth of gold, the sword, the comb, and the sandals^h: but before the ceremony could be performed, the young prince *Romualdus* died, which hastened the death of his father, who died the same year, His death. in the end of *August*, in the 30th year of his reign, and the 54th of his age. He was greatly regretted by the *Beneventans*, and is said to have been a prince endowed with a great many royal virtues. He published several good laws, built several churches, and erected two stately palaces, one at *Benevento*, and the other at *Salerno*. He was a lover of learning, and greatly caressed the learned men of those times, particularly *Paul Warnefride*, or *Faulus Diaconus*, who had been secretary to *Desiderius*, and had escaped to *Benevento*.

^g Idem. ibid. REGIN. in Annal. Franc. Pontif. Epist. 44.

^h ADRIAN

from *Tremiti*, whither he had been banished by *Charlemagne*, on a suspicion of intriguing in favour of *Adalgisus* (A).

His son
Grimoald
succeeds
him.

AFTER the death of *Arechis*, the *Beneventans* sent ambassadors to king *Charles*, demanding *Grimoald* with great submission and intreaties. *Charlemagne*, for what reason is uncertain, made no difficulty of granting their request; perhaps he thought it was best to allow *Grimoald* to depart, and to trust to his gratitude, as the *Greeks* were making preparations to invade *Italy*, and the *Beneventans* threatened to revolt if their prince was denied them^l. He therefore allowed *Grimoald* to depart, after he had agreed to these conditions, That he should oblige the *Lombards* to shave their beards; that in writings and on the money, the name of the king should be put before that of the prince; and that he should cause the walls of *Salerno*, *Accerenza*, and *Confia*, to be entirely demolished. At his departure he made him several presents, and sent with him two of his nobles, *Anetharius* and *Panlipert*, who afterwards received from *Grimoald* considerable possessions, and contracted noble alliances in the principality^l. *Grimoald* was received by the *Beneventans* with the utmost demonstrations of joy, and for some time after his return, he caused the writings and money to pass with the name of *Charles*; but he neglected to fulfil the last article^l, though the author of the chronicon of *Salerno* gives us an account how he rather eluded it, by transferring the cities to other stronger places, and then destroying the old fortifications^m. As the *Greeks* still continued their preparations against *Italy*, *Grimoald* gave intelligence thereof to *Pepin*, and, instead of following the maxims of his father, and giving assistance to his uncle *Adalgisus*, he raised an army to oppose him, and being joined by *Hildebrand* duke of *Spoleto*, and *Vinigise* the general of *Pepin*, he attacked the *Greeks* in *Calabria*, soon after they had landed, and, after a most obstinate battle, entirely defeated and took his uncle prisoner, who, according to *Sigonins*, was put to a cruel death by tortureⁿ (B).

^lVide Epist. 7, 86, & 90. Cod. Carol.

apud MURATORI. tom. ii. par. ii. p. 188.

Princ. Longob.

^m Anonym. Salern. at supra.

con. in Regn. Ital.

ⁿ Anon. Salern.

^l PEREGR. Hist.

ⁿ Si-

(A) *Paul*, after the death of *Arechis*, entered into the monastery of *Monte Cassino*, and, in gratitude for the protection afforded him by that prince, wrote

an epitaph upon him in elegiac verse, which is published in the collection of *Muratori*.

(B) The continuator of *AIMONIU* and *Maimburg* write, that *Jobn*,

GRIMOALD, soon after, began to follow the maxims of *Her-
his father, and, having contracted an alliance with the Greek* *renounces his*
emperor, by marrying his niece *Wanzia*, he renounced his *allegiance*
allegiance to *Charlemagne*, and resolved to support his inde- *to Charle-*
pendence against the efforts of *Pepin* king of *Italy*. Accord- *magne.*
ingly, in the fifth year of his reign, a war broke out betwixt
him and *Pepin*, which continued for upwards of twelve
years, with very little intermission. This year *Pepin*, being *His terri-*
joined by his brother *Lewis* king of *Aquitaine*, with an army *torics in-*
of *Franks*, they marched into the principality of *Benevento*, *vaded by*
which they ravaged in a hostile manner. Before the com- *the Franks;*
mencement of hostilities *Grimoald* endeavoured to avert the *A. D.*
war, by renouncing his alliance with the emperor, and di- *793.*
vorcing his wife *Wanzia*, whom, under a pretence of her bar-
renness, he sent back by force to *Constantinople*. The *French*,
however, advanced into his territories, but they were not
able to make any conquests, and the plague seizing their ar-
my, they were obliged to return home towards the end of
the winter. *Erchempertus* informs us, that the war still con-
tinued with great obstinacy; the *French*, however, for sever-
al years, were repulsed by the *Beneventans*; and even in
the beginning of the century, when *Charlemagne* had return-
ed to *Rome*, and received the new dignity of emperor from
pope *Leo III.* *Grimoald* refused to acknowledge him as such,
and braved his power when at its height. The following *who con-*
year, indeed, the *French* made themselves masters of *Chieti*, *quer the*
and some other places in that *Gastald*ate, which they united *Gastal-*
to the duchy of *Spoleto*. They also took *Lucera* in *Puglia*, *date of*
but it was quickly retaken by *Grimoald*, who made *Guinigise*, *Chieti.*
or *Vinigise*, lately created duke of *Spoleto*, and the whole gar- *A. D.*
rison of *Franks*, prisoners of war. *Sigonius* tells us, that, *801.*
two years after, *Pepin* agreed to a truce with *Grimoald*, when
Vinigise was again set at liberty; *Erchempertus*, however,
says, that, during the whole reign of *Grimoald*, there was not
a moment of peace betwixt him and *Pepin*, as they were both
young and warlike princes. *Grimoald* at last, after having
gloriously withstood the great power of the *French*, died

*Joh*n, general of the *Greek* army, *Constantinoph*, where, submitting
which had been transported from *Sicily*, was taken prisoner, and
put to death; but that *Adalgisus* of a patrician, and lived to a
escaped after the battle, and re-
turned, with a few followers, to
great age (1).

(1) *Continues. Aimon. lib. iv. c. 40. Mainzurg Hist. 3000. lib. iii.*

Death of Grimoald. about three years after the conclusion of the truce, in the twentieth year of his reign^o. He was buried at *Salerno*, near his father and brother, and the epitaph upon his tomb, in elegiac verse, is still extant^p.

Grimoald II. succeeds to the principality of Benevento. GRIMOALD's only son, *Gothofred*, dying before him, he was succeeded in the principality by one *Grimoald*, who had been his treasurer. The author of the chronicon of *Salerno* represents this prince as cruel and tyrannical; but, according to *Erchempert*, he was of a mild disposition, and inclined to peace. In order to free his state from the continual incursions of the *French*, he sent ambassadors to *Charlemagne*, after the death of *Pepin*, and proposed a peace with him, which the emperor agreed to, on condition that *Grimoald*

A. D. 806. should pay a yearly tribute of 7000 crowns, but, according to others, of 25,000^q. From this time the principality of *Benevento* became tributary to the emperors of the west as kings of *Italy*. *Grimoald* likewise concluded a peace with the *Neapolitans*, which was not of long continuance. For *Theodore* the patrician, who then governed the dukedom of *Naples*, under the emperor *Leo*, surnamed *the Armenian*, granting protection to *Dauserius*, a noble *Beneventan*, who had been concerned in a conspiracy against his prince, *Grimoald*

He becomes tributary to the emperor; 812. marched against the city of *Naples*, and invested it by sea and land. *Theodore*, however, still refused to deliver up the *Beneventan* traitor, and a general engagement ensuing, both by land and sea, the *Neapolitans* were entirely defeated with so great a slaughter, that, for upwards of seven days, the water on the sea shore was stained with the blood of the dead. *Erchempertus* informs us, that 5000 men were killed on the spot, and that, in his time, the graves, where the heaps of the slain had been laid, were still to be seen. *Theodore* and *Dauserius* made their escape into the city, where they were again in great danger of their lives from a tumult of the *Neapolitan* women, whose husbands had been slain in the action. *Theodore*, having found means of quelling the tumult, immediately solicited a peace from *Grimoald*, who had approached with his army to the very gates of the city. He was so successful as to prevail upon the *Beneventan* prince to agree to a treaty, on condition of delivering up *Dauserius*, and giving 8000 crowns for the expences of the war. *Grimoald* was so merciful, as not only to pardon *Dauserius*, but to receive him into his former favour; the traitor, how-

and invests the city of Naples.

^o ERCHEMPERT, ut. supra. Annal. Bertin. apud MURATOR. tom. ii. par. i. ^p Ap. CAMILL. PIERRE. ^q Annal. Bertin. ut supra.

ever, reflecting upon the heinousness of his crime, was seized with remorse, and went a pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, carrying a large stone in his mouth, by way of penance; which he never took out but at his meals¹.

THOUGH *Grimoald* happily put an end to this conspiracy, *He is murdered by* a few years after, another was formed, which proved fatal to him. The chief conspirators were *Radechis*, or *Radelchis*, count of *Confia*, and *Sico*, Gastald of *Acerenza*, who, *the count of Confia.* during the reign of *Arechis*, had fled from the duchy of *Spoletto*, where he had lived in great authority. As he had offended *Pepin*, he durst not return to his own country, *Arechis* and his son *Grimoald* had heaped a great many favours upon him, and his power and authority became so great, that he began to aspire to the succession. *Grimoald* II. however, being preferred to him, his ambition prompted him to conspire against his life. He accordingly, together with *Radelchis*, and the other conspirators, murdered him, when he had just completed the eleventh year of his reign². *A. D. 817.*

Sico, though a stranger, succeeding to the principality, by *Sico IV.* the intrigues of *Radelchis*, the following year renewed the treaty with *Lewis the Good*, which his predecessors had concluded with the *French*. *Radelchis*, soon after his accession to the throne, repenting of his villany, became a monk in *Monte Cassino*, where he lived in great austerity. *Sico*, in the mean time, associated his son *Sicardo* with himself in the government, and, being of an ambitious and restless disposition, sought a pretence for attacking the *Neapolitans*. As they, about that time, expelled their duke *Theodore*, and elected one *Stephen* in his room, *Sico* is said to have declared war against them, on account of the injury done to his friend *Theodore*. He invested the city of *Naples* both by sea and land; and, having beat down a part of the wall, was preparing to make a general assault, when duke *Stephen* submitted: but, to prevent the pillaging of the city, begged of him to delay his entry till to-morrow, and in the mean time sent out his mother and his two children as hostages. *Sico* consented to his request; but next morning he found the breach built up, and the *Neapolitans* prepared for a defence. Exasperated with their perfidy, he renewed his attacks with greater fury, but without success, as the *Neapolitans* defended themselves with great obstinacy. The emperor of the east neglecting to give them any assistance, they had recourse to the emperor *Lewis*, who sent them some small reinforcements, which en-

¹ Anonym. Salern. ut. supra.
Hist. ut. supra

² CAMILL. PEREGRIN.

abled them still to hold out against the attacks of the besiegers. *Sico*, however, still continued the siege with great ardour; and the *Neapolitans*, considering the precariousness of foreign assistance, and finding themselves, at last, unable to oppose his assaults, they prevailed upon him, by the mediation of their bishop *Orso*, to agree to a peace. The treaty was accordingly concluded on these conditions, That the *Neapolitans*, for the future, should pay a yearly tribute to the princes of *Benevento*, which was called *Collata*, and should consent to the transporting of the body of *St. Januarius* from his church, without the walls of *Naples*, to *Benevento* ¹. These conditions being ratified, and hostages given by the *Neapolitans*, *Sico* returned with great honour to *Benevento*, carrying with him the sacred relics, which were long worshipped in that city. A few years after, *Sico*, under pretence that the *Neapolitans* neglected paying the tribute, renewed the war against them, which continued during the remaining part of his reign. He died at *Benevento*, after he had reigned fifteen years, and a magnificent tomb was erected to him before the door of the cathedral church of that city, with a pompous inscription, which is still extant ² (C).

His death.
A. D.
833.

His son
Sicardo V.
succeeds.

AFTER the death of *Sico*, his son *Sicardo* possessed the government. He had, during the life of his father, married the daughter of the infamous *Draufertius*, and now delivered himself up entirely to the counsels of his wife's brother *Roffrid*, by whose bad advice he oppressed his subjects in to miserable a manner, that they at last conspired against his life. In the beginning of his reign he made war upon the *Neapolitans*, under pretence that they did not pay the tribute. He besieged the city of *Naples* with a powerful army, and took possession of *Acerra* and *Atella*, which he fortified.

¹ Anonym. Salern. apud MURATOR. tom. ii. p. 290. ² CAMILL. PEREGR. Tumul. Princ. Longob.

(C) The *Saracens*, *Agarens*, or *Ishmaelites*, who, a few centuries before, had embraced the doctrines of *Mohamet*, and had conquered the whole northern coast of *Africa*, and part of *Spain*, first infested *Sicily* and the coasts of *Italy* during the reign of this prince. In the year 820 they came from *Afri-*

ca, like swarms of bees, into *Sicily*, took possession of *Paler-*
mo, and ravaged a great part of that island. Afterwards they crossed the *Faro*, and landing at *Tarento*, seized that city, and ravaged the provinces in the lower part of *Italy*, belonging to the *Greeks* (2).

(2) *Epit. Chron. Gessneri. Muret. tom. ii. Sigon. in Regn. Ital.*

But

But *Bonus*, the *Neapolitan* duke, defended the city with such vigour, that the *Beneventans* were obliged to retire, being even forced to abandon *Acerra* and *Atella*, the fortifications of which places were razed by the *Neapolitans*. According to the author of the chronicon of *Salerno*, *Sicardo* was persuaded to raise the siege by his favourite *Roffrid*, who had been bribed by the *Neapolitans* *. However, he soon renewed his hostilities; but upon the intercession of *Lothaire*, emperor and king of *Italy*, and of *John* bishop of *Naples*, he agreed to a peace for five years. The *Saracens*, whom *Andrew* the then duke of *Naples* called over from *Africa* to his assistance, seemed chiefly to have induced *Sicardo* to agree to a peace; for they were no sooner sent back to *Africa*, than he sought to delay the conclusion of the treaty; but the emperor interposing his authority, a peace was at last ratified in the third year of his reign, after the war had continued, with very little intermission, for sixteen years x (D).

He concludes a peace with the Neapolitans.
A D.
836.

Soon after the conclusion of this peace, the *Saracens* from *Sicily* landed at *Brindisi*, and having made themselves masters of the place, ravaged all the neighbouring country. *Sicardo* marched against them with a numerous army, but was at first repulsed with great loss by the *Saracens*, who, apprehensive of the number of his men, had recourse to a stratagem, and drew them into a disadvantageous ground, where they had dug a great many ditches, which they had slightly covered over. The *Beneventans*, during the action, were thereby thrown into great confusion, and were afterwards entirely routed. *Sicardo*, after having reinforced his army, marched again to attack them; but they, despairing of being able to resist him, pillaged and burned *Brindisi*, and retired with their booty, and a great many captives, to *Sicily* y. They

Repulses the Saracens;

* Anonym. *Salern.* a. 47.
Epist. *Neap.*

x Jo. *DIAC.* in *Chron.*

y Anon. *Salern.*

(D) This treaty consisted of forty-nine articles, seventeen of which are still preserved, by the care of *Peregrinus*. By these it appears that *Amalfi* and *Sorrento* were then comprehended in the duchy of *Naples*, and that the conditions of the treaty were regulated according to the *Longobard* laws. It was stipulated

that neither of the nations should disturb the commerce of the other, by sea, rivers, or land; that fugitives should be punctually delivered up on both sides; and that the *Neapolitans* should continue to pay to the princes of *Benevento* the wonted yearly tribute (3).

(3) *Peregr. de Capitulari Sicardi.*

Were

were no sooner gone than *Sicardo* marched with his army against *Amalfi*, for what reason is not mentioned, though it would appear from the chronicon of *Salerno*, that his chief motive for attacking that city was his great desire of possessing relics, which were then superstitiously believed to be a greater protection to a city than strong fortifications or a powerful army, and which he spared no pains to acquire, sending about this time for the body of *St. Bartholomew* from one of the islands of *Lipari*. He accordingly, without any bloodshed, surprised and took possession of *Amalfi*, which he entirely stripped of all its wealth, carrying off with him to *Benevento* the body of their saint *Triphamen*. He likewise ordered the walls of the city to be levelled, plundered the neighbouring country, transported a great many of the inhabitants to *Salerno*, and, by promoting alliances between the inhabitants of both places, endeavoured to unite it thoroughly to his principality².

and reduces
Amalfi.

DURING these transactions, his own subjects continually felt the effects of his cruel and tyrannical disposition. He allowed his favourite *Roffrid* to strangle an abbot, *Alphanus*, whom he had persecuted for several years, with great malice and enmity, and who came to *Salerno*, under an oath of security granted him by his prince. He robbed a great many churches and monasteries of their wealth; imprisoned and put to death many *Beneventan* nobles, whose estates he seized; deposed and imprisoned the famous *Deusdedit*, abbot of *Monte Cassino*; and, being jealous of his own brother *Siconolphus*, he compelled him to turn priest, and afterwards sent him bound to *Tarento*, where he shut him up in an old tower, that had been built for a cistern. These, and many other acts of tyranny, at last rendered him odious to all his subjects; and some nobles, who had received personal injuries from him, entered into a conspiracy against him, and murdered him in his tent, in the sixth year of his reign.

Is murder-
ed by his
nobles.

A. D. 839. As *Sicardo* left only one daughter, and a bastard son, and his brother *Siconolphus* was a prisoner at *Tarento*, *Radelchis*, who had been his treasurer or secretary, was unanimously elected prince of *Benevento*, upon his death². A few months after his accession, the *Amalfitans* who lived at *Salerno*, despairing of receiving the same favours from him as from his predecessor, burnt their houses in that city, and returned to *Amalfi*. *Radelchis*, or *Radelchisus*, who, before his election, had acquired a great reputation for his justice

Is succeed-
ed by Ra-
delchis;

² Idem. ibid.

² Stemma Sicon. & Ignot. Monach. Cassin. Frag. apud PEREGRIN.

and probity, began his reign with banishing *Dauferius*, with his sons *Romuald*, *Areehis*, and *Grimoald*, and some other *Beneventan* nobles. These exiles privately sollicitated the *Salermitans* to revolt in favour of *Siconolphus*, brother of the deceased prince, and were joined by *Landulph*, Gastald of *Capua*, who, being apprehensive of the resentment of *Radelchis*, on account of the cruelty of his government, had renounced his allegiance to him, and retired to *Sicopolis*, a strong city in his Gastaldate, lately built by prince *Sico*^b. Several other *Beneventan* lords entered into this conspiracy, among whom was *Orso* count of *Confia*, a relation of *Siconolphus*, who at this time had escaped from his prison at *Taranto*, and concealed himself at the castle of *Orso*. The *Amalfitans* were likewise prevailed upon to espouse the cause of *Siconolphus*, who, the following year, was conducted to *Salerno*, and declared by his party prince of *Benevento*.

who is opposed by
Siconolphus.
A. D.
840.

RADELCHIS immediately raised an army to oppose his competitor, and an obstinate and most ruinous civil war ensued. The party of *Siconolphus* was at first the most successful; for, having entered into an alliance with the *Neapolitans*, he received succours from them, by which means he defeated the army of *Radelchis*, reduced great part of *Calabria* and *Puglia*, and marching towards *Benevento*, took several places in its neighbourhood, and at last invested the city itself; but by the bravery of the *Beneventans*, he was quickly obliged to raise the siege, and withdraw his army. The *Saracens*, in the mean time, taking advantage of the intestine divisions of the *Beneventans*, again landed in *Italy*, and seized *Taranto* and several places in *Puglia*^c. *Radelchis*, finding the party of his competitor was becoming every day more powerful, desired *Pando* governor of *Bari* to invite the *Saracens* to his assistance, not reflecting on the dangerous consequence of such an alliance. The *Saracens* readily embraced the offers made them by *Pando*, and encamped without the walls of *Bari*; but, a few days after, they deceitfully surprized the garrison, and making themselves masters of the city, made a terrible slaughter of the inhabitants, and threw the governor into the sea. *Radelchis*, not being in a condition to punish their perfidy, condescended still to court their alliance, and is even said to have robbed the church of *St. Mary* in *Benevento* of its treasure, to hire them as auxiliaries^d. In their first irrup-

^b Epit. Chron. Cassin. apud MURATOR. tom. ii. ERCHENPERT. ut. supra. Anon. Salern. LEO Ostiens. l. ii. c. 23. Tabula. Chorogr. medii Ævi. ^c Anon. Salern. ERCHENPERT, apud Peregr. sect. xvi. Epit. Chron. Cassin. ^d Id. ibid.

The Saracens burn Capua.

A. D.
842.

tion into the territories of *Siconolphus*, they were defeated and repulsed with great loss^e. But not long after, in conjunction with the troops of *Radelchis*, they marched into the *Gastaldate* of *Capua*, which they ravaged in a most cruel and barbarous manner, and laid *Capua* itself in ashes^f.

SICONOLPHUS, perceiving the advantage which his competitor gained by his alliance with the *Saracens* who had come from *Africa*, most imprudently followed his example, and sent for those *Saracens* who had settled in *Spain*, inviting them to come to his assistance. In imitation of *Radelchis* likewise he robbed the church of *St. Mary* at *Salerno* of its treasure^g; a particular account of which we have in *Leo Ostiensis*^h. The whole duchy of *Benevento* then became a scene of blood and devastation. Though *Siconolphus*, by the assistance of his new allies, gained several advantages over his rival, yet their barbarity and insolence soon made him sensible of the imprudent step he had taken. He therefore resolved to have recourse to the *French*; and hearing that the emperor's eldest son *Lewis* had arrived at *Rome*, he went thither, after having a sixth time robbed the monastery of *Cassino*, and purchased his friendship, at the expence of an hundred thousand crownsⁱ. We do not read, however, of any assistance given to him at that time by *Lewis*, for the war continued for several years after, almost to the intire destruction of the principality, the *Saracens*, as it served their interests, sometimes acting as auxiliaries, and at other times

The emperor divides the principality between the two competitors.

851.

as declared enemies to both parties. At length the emperor *Lewis*, at the earnest intreaties of the abbot of *Monte Cassino*, marched with an army from *Brescia* to *Benevento*, and having obliged the *Beneventans* to deliver up the *Saracens*, with their prince *Massar*, who were put to death without the walls, made a partition of the duchy between the two competitors, allowing *Radelchis* to retain *Benevento*, with a certain part of the antient duchy, and assigning the remaining part to *Siconolphus*, under the title of prince of *Salerno*; but at the same time obliging both princes to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to swear fealty to him, thereby declaring themselves not only tributaries but feudatories to the *French*^k (E). Such was the consequence of this most ruinous civil

war,

^e Id. ibid. ^f Tab. Chorog. ap. MURATOR. t. x. ^g Anon. Salern. ut. Sup. ^h LEO OSTIENS. l. i. c. 28. ⁱ Idem. ibid. Annal. Berolin. an. 844. ^k LEO OSTIENS. l. i. c. 31. SICON. Anon. Salern. PIETRO GIANNONE Hist. di Nap.

(E) This partition treaty, articles, is published by *Perrin* which consists of twenty-eight *grinns* and is the collections of *Muratori*

war, which had continued, with great animosity, for near twelve years. The emperor *Lewis*, who had arrived at *Benevento* about *Whitsuntide*, after the conclusion of the treaty, returned with his army to *Mantua*. But the two princes, who were now reconciled, did not long enjoy the fruits of the peace, both princes dying the same year, *Siconolphus* leaving an infant son, named *Sico*, to the care of one *Peter*, his godfather, and *Radelchis*, who, by his wife *Caretruda*, had twelve children, appointing his son *Radelgarius* as his heir¹, whom he had associated with himself in the principality before his death^m.

RADELGARIUS, or *Radelcar*, soon after the death of his *Radelcar* father, sent his forces, in conjunction with those of the prince *succeeds to* of *Salerno*, against the *Saracens*, who were still in possession of *the principality of* *Bari*. He was not, however, able to reduce the city or *Benevento*. On the contrary, they repulsed his forces, and afterwards made an irruption into *Apulia* and *Calabria*,^{to} and even advanced to the neighbourhood of *Benevento* and *Salerno*. The *Beneventans*, not able to put a stop to their ravages, sent the abbots of *Monte Cassino* and *St. Vincent* to beg the protection of the emperor, offering to submit themselves, as faithful subjects, to the meanest officer he should

¹ CAMILL PEREGR. Stem. PRINC. Benevent. Anonym. Salern.

^m Tumul. Radelcar. apud PEREGRIN.

Muratori. *Radelchis* thereby promised to acknowledge *Siconolphus* and his successors as lawful princes of the principality of *Salerno*, which was declared to contain *Taranto*, *Latiniano*, *Cassano*, *Cossenza*, *Laino*, *Lucania*, *Confia*, *Montella*, *Rota*, *Salerno*, *Sarno*, *Ciraterium*, *Furculo*, *Capua*, *Feano*, *Sora*, and the half of the *Galluldate* of *Acerenza*, where it joins *Latiniano* and *Confia*. The boundary between *Benevento* and *Capua* was fixed at *St. Angelo ad Cerros*, extending to the rock of *Monte Virgine*, and to the place called *Fenestella*. *Alli Peregrini* was made the boundary betwixt *Benevento* and

Salerno, and *Stoffilo* betwixt *Benevento* and *Confia*. The monasteries of *Monte Cassino* and *St. Vincent* were declared to be immediately under the protection of the emperor. Both princes stipulated that no hostilities for the future should be committed by either against the subjects of the other, and promised to join their forces to drive the *Saracens* entirely out of their dominions. The author of the chorographical description of *Italy* justly observes, that the terms of the treaty are not so explicit, as to enable us to mark out distinctly the limits of the two principalities (4). •

(4) Capitul. Radelchis, apud Peregrinus. Murator. tom. ii § 2.

put over themⁿ. The emperor *Lewis*, by his father's desire, immediately returned to *Italy*, and marched directly, with a considerable army, towards *Capua*, in expectation of being joined by the inhabitants. But they only granted him a few auxiliaries; so that, although he defeated the *Saracens* in several skirmishes, he was not able to drive them out of *Italy*^o. *Erchempertus* says, that, on this account, *Lewis* was offended with the *Salernitans*, banished their young prince *Sico*, that is, sent him to *France*, and conferred his principality on *Ademarius*, son of *Peter* the regent^p. But the author of the chronicon of *Salerno*, who wrote soon after this period, affirms, with more probability, that *Peter* betrayed his trust, and, in favour of his own son *Ademarius*, set aside the young prince, and sent him to *France*, under pretence of being educated at the court of the emperor^q. During these transactions, *Radelcar* prince of *Benevento* died, in the third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother *Adelchis*, or *Adelgise*, a prince of a mild disposition, who was engaged for several years in hostilities with the *Saracens*, to whom he was obliged at length to give hostages and a yearly subsidy^r.

He is succeeded by his brother Adelchis.

A. D.
854.

Two years after his accession to the principality of *Benevento*, *Sico* the young prince of *Salerno* returned to *Italy*, and was poisoned at *Sicopolis*, by *Lando* count of *Capua*, who the same year removed from *Sicopolis*, which had been built upon the top of a hill twenty-five years before, and, in conjunction with two of his brothers, *Landulph* the bishop, and *Landonulph* the count, built *New Capua*, on the plain near the bridge of *Cassilino*. About the same time they likewise revolted from *Ademarius*, then prince of *Salerno*, and declared themselves independent. Their father count *Landulph*, who had been *Gastald* of *Capua*, put most of his own relations to death, and about the beginning of the civil war between *Radelchis* and *Siconolphus*, began to govern his *Gastaldate* in an arbitrary manner. His sons seeing the principality of *Benevento* miserably ravaged by the *Saracens*, and that of *Salerno* possessed by one whom they looked upon as an usurper, took that opportunity of renouncing their allegiance to *Ademarius*, who was no sooner informed of their revolt than he marched against them with an army, in order to reduce them; but after several unsuccessful skirmishes, he was obliged

The counts of Capua declare themselves independent.

856.

ⁿ ERCHEMPERT, sect. xx.

^o SICOM. de. Regn. Ital.

^p ERCHEMPERT. ibid.

^q Anonym. Salern. c. 79.

^r ER-

CHEMPERT sect. xxix.

to retire. *Lando* governed his new county (F) with an independent sway for five years, and, dying, left his children to the care of his two brothers *Pando* and *Landulph* the bishop, who betraying their trust, banished their nephews, and seized the county, which occasioned a civil war betwixt the favourers of the uncles and nephews.

DURING the government of *Lando* at *Capua*, *Ademarius* *Ademari*- prince of *Salerno*, by his cruelty and rapaciousness, entirely as prince alienated the affections of his subjects. *Guaferius* the son of of *Salerno* *Dauferius*, who was then in exile at *Naples*, being encouraged by the malecontents, and privately assisted by the *Capuan* counts, returned to *Salerno*, and seizing *Ademarius*, *Guaferius*. shut him up in a close prison, a few months after the death of *Lando**. *Adelgise*, prince of *Benevento*, in the mean time, was engaged in repelling the incursions of the *Saracens*; tho' he had received, at different times, considerable succours from the emperor *Lewis*, he was unable to oppose the ravages of the Infidels. He therefore entered into an alliance with *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno*, and, in conjunction with him, sent an embassy to the emperor, intreating his protection in a most humble manner. *Lewis*, in the mean time, received an embassy from the emperor of *Constantinople*, proposing a junction of their forces to expel the *Saracens* entirely from *Italy*; he therefore resolved upon an expedition against them, and gave orders for assembling a formidable army, sending likewise to his brother *Lotharius*, king of *France*, desiring him to march with some troops into *Italy*†. The *Saracens*, in the mean time, continued their incursions, and some authors say, at the instigation of *Adelgise*, who had made peace with them, they invaded the county of *Capua*, which they ravaged in a most barbarous manner, and from thence proceeded to the dukedom of *Naples*, which they likewise plundered. The *Neapolitans* assembling an army, and hiring the troops of the

* Anon. Salern. c. 85, 86. Stemma Princ. Salern. apud PERRIN. ERCHAMP. sect. xxvi. † Idem ibid. LEO Ostiens. l. i. c. 37, & 38.

(F) This Gastaldate or county of *Capua*, was bounded on the north by *Arpino*, on the south by the lower sea, betwixt the mouths of the *Garigliano* and *Kolturno*, which two rivers likewise served for the eastern

and western boundary of the country, though it possessed some cities on the further side of both, namely, *Sora* beyond the *Garigliano*, and *Caserta* and *Suessala* beyond the *Volturno* (5).

(5) Tabul. Chorograph. ap. Murator. t. x.

duke of *Spoleto*, and *Gerard* count of *Marfi*, endeavoured to oppose them; but the *Saracens* gaining the victory, they turned more insolent, and ravaged the duchy of *Benevento*, making themselves masters of *Venafro*, plundering the monastery of *St. Vincent the martyr*, and raising a contribution of 3000 crowns from the monastery of *Cassino*; and retired undisturbed with their booty to *Bari* ^u.

The emperor marches against the Saracens. A FEW months after the emperor *Lewis* arrived with his army at *Sora*, and proceeding from thence to *Cassino*, was received with great respect by the abbot and monks. Upon his entering the county of *Capua*, he was joined by *Landulph* the bishop and count, with a body of *Capuans*; but *Landulph* soon after persuading the *Capuans* to desert, the emperor immediately marched against that city, which he made himself master of, after a siege of three months. Having almost totally destroyed that city, he marched from thence, in the end of the year, towards *Salerno*, and was met by *Guaferius*, who marched out with his quota of troops, having ordered the eyes of *Ademarius* to be put out in his absence. *Lewis* confirmed him in the principality, and marched with his army to *Benevento*, where he was received with great respect by *Adelgise*. Early the following spring he ordered his army to assemble at *Lucera*, and proceeded from thence to invest *Bari*. Finding the city strongly fortified and garrisoned, and having suffered some considerable losses in skirmishes with the Infidels, he withdrew his army, and marched against *Matera*, which he made himself master of, and, after permitting his soldiers to plunder it, set it on fire. He likewise reduced several other inconsiderable places belonging to the *Saracens*, to whom he gave no quarter; and having placed garrisons in *Venosa* and *Canosa*, and sent for assistance from his brother *Lotharius* and the Greek emperor *Basilus*, he returned, upon the conclusion of the campaign, to *Benevento* ^w. As the *Saracens* were continually reinforced from *Palermo* and *Africa*, and were besides protected by the *Neapolitans*, *Lewis* did not reduce the city of *Bari* till three years afterward, tho' he received a considerable reinforcement from his brother *Lotharius*, and was assisted by upwards of two hundred sail of Greek ships ^x. He is said by some authors to have put *Seodan* or *Soldan*, the *Saracen* prince, and all the garrison to death; but the author of the chronicon of *Salerno* relates, that the

A. D.
866.

He reduces Bari.
871.

^u *SICON.* ERCH ut. supra. ^w *Idem ibid.* Anon. *Salern.* ^x *Annal. Bertin.* Epist. Ludov. ad Imp. Basil. ap. BARON. & MURATOR. tom. ii. part ii. ^y LEO Oskens. ut. supra.

emperor, at the intercession of *Adelgise*, spared *Soldan* and two others, whom he delivered as prisoners to the *Beneventan* prince ^a.

AFTER the reducing and demolishing of *Bari*, the *French* and *Lombards* marched against the *Saracens* in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and laid close siege to *Tarento*, from whence, about *August*, *Lewis* returned with great glory to *Benevento*, resolving, after having totally expelled the *Saracens* from *Italy*, to make a conquest of *Sicily* ^a. His future schemes of conquest were however frustrated by a singular accident. The empress *Engelberga*, who attended her husband, had, on several occasions, behaved in an insolent manner to *Adelgise*; and the *French* army, elated with their success, had of late begun to oppress the *Beneventans*, and to treat them with contempt. On these accounts, and some say at the instigation of *Basilus*, *Adelgise* surprized *Lewis* in *Benevento*, and kept him in prison for forty days; the *Beneventans*, at the same time, plundering the retinue of the emperor, and expelling them the city. During his imprisonment a new body of *Saracens* arrived from *Africa*; and being joined by those in *Italy*, they besieged the city of *Salerno* with an army of 30,000 men, ravaging the neighbouring country with great barbarity ^b. This new invasion greatly alarmed *Adelgise*: however, resolving to free his principality from the oppression of the *French*, before he would give the emperor his liberty, he obliged him to swear upon the sacred relics not to revenge the insult he had received, and never to return to *Benevento*. After his departure *Adelgise* joined his forces to those of *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno*, to oppose the *Saracens*, who soon after raised the siege and marched into *Calabria*, which they intirely destroyed; leaving it as desolate, says *Erchempertus*, as it was at the flood ^c.

THE emperor *Lewis*, in the mean time, had advanced to *Capua*, where by the persuasion of *Landulph* the bishop and count, who had become his favourite, he put 9000 *Saracens* to death, and detained two ambassadors, who had been sent by the prince of *Salerno*, during the siege, to desire his assistance. A few weeks after he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was crowned by the pope; and from thence, according to a certain author, marched with his army towards *Benevento* ^d. Other authors, however, place this expedition in the following year, when he received absolution from his oath from

^a Anon. Salern. c. 108.

^a Epist. Ludov. ut supra.

^b ERCHEMPERT, sect. 35.
Bertin. ad an. 872.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Annal.

Adelgise
is reconcil-
ed to the
emperor.

A. D.
873.

pope John VIII.; and some say, that he did not go himself with his army, but gave the command of it to his empress; and that, though a body of *Greeks* had landed at *Otranto* to support *Adelgise*, that prince, despairing of being able to defend himself, left *Italy*, and fled to *Corfica*. The accounts of authors, concerning these transactions, are very different, and impossible to be reconciled. We find that this same year *Adelgise*, by the intercession of his countryman pope John, was reconciled to the emperor, and restored to his principality, which he enjoyed till his death, which happened five years afterwards, when he was murdered by his own relations^e. The emperor *Lewis*, soon after his reconciliation with *Adelgise*, restored the county of *Capua* to the bishop *Landulph*: however, he refused to erect *Capua* into a metropolitan see, and to subject to it the see of *Benevento*, which the ambitious bishop solicited with great earnestness^f.

The
Greeks
take pos-
session of
Bari.

A. D.
876.

Lewis immediately left *Capua*, and died the following year in *France*, while the *Saracens* were still continuing their ravages in *Benevento*, which induced the inhabitants of *Bari* to deliver their city to *Gregory* governor of *Otranto*, who took possession of it, with a *Greek* garrison. At the same time, the *Salernitans*, *Neapolitans*, *Cajetans*, and *Amalfitans*, having made peace with the *Saracens*, were compelled to agree to their proposal of attacking the *Roman* dukedom; and accordingly fitted out a fleet of ships, with which they infested the coasts of the territories belonging to the pope^g. His holiness earnestly solicited assistance from *Charles the Bald* king of *France*, whom the year before he had created emperor, and wrote to *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno*, dissuading him from an alliance with the infidels^h. In the beginning of the following year he again solicited the emperor's assistance, and excommunicated *Sergius* duke of *Naples*, who was the most zealous friend of the *Saracens*. He likewise wrote to the prefect of *Amalfi*, to *Landulph* bishop of *Capua*, and to *Cisio* bishop of *Benevento*, desiring them to exert themselves against the infidels. He even went himself at the head of an army to the neighbourhood of *Gaeta*, in conjunction with *Vido* and *Lambert* dukes of *Spoletto*, and prevailed upon *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno* to renounce his alliance with the infidels, and to declare war against the *Neapolitans*. *Guaferius* accordingly attacked the *Neapolitans*, and took twenty-two

The Sara-
cens in-
vade the
pop's ter-
ritories

^e ERCHENPERT, sect. 29. ANON SALERN. c. 126. AIMON.
l. v. c. 80. in fine.

^f ERCHENP. sect. 36

^g Idem,

sect. 39. ^h Epist. JOAN. AP. BARON. AN. 876.

prisoners,

prisoners, whom the pope ordered to be beheaded. *Sergius* duke of *Naples*, being privately supported by *Lambert* duke of *Spoletto* and *Adelgise* prince, of *Benevento*, refused to abandon the infidels; but soon after he was sent a prisoner to *Rome* by his brother *Athanasius* bishop of *Naples*, who, after apprehending him, ordered his eyes to be put out. The pope, however, being disappointed of the assistance of the emperor, who came no farther than *Pavia*, and was cut off by poison, was therefore obliged to purchase a peace from the infidels, and to promise to pay them a large annual tributeⁱ.

By the death of the emperor *Charles*, all *Italy* was thrown into the greatest confusion. Several competitors claimed the imperial dignity and the kingdom of *Italy*; and as the pope's suffrage now appeared of great consequence, *Lambert* duke of *Spoletto* entered *Rome*, with an armed force, to compel the pope to declare for him. *John*, provoked by this outrage, left *Rome*; and, the following year, went by sea to *France*. During his absence, *Adelgise* prince of *Benevento*, as we mentioned above, was murdered by his own nephews; one of whom, *Gaidaris*, seized the principality, to the prejudice of *Gaidaris Radelchis*, the son of the deceased. *John* returned, towards the end of the year, to *Rome*, when he declares, in a letter to the king of *France*, that he found all the coasts of the *Roman* dukedom, towards *Fundi* and *Terracina*, in the possession of the *Saracens*. Five days after his arrival he assembled some troops; and marching against the *Saracens*, recovered 600 captives, and took eighteen of their ships^k. A few months after, *Landulph* bishop of *Capua* dying, that county was divided, according to his will, betwixt his three grandchildren. *Pandonulphus*, besides *Capua*, possessed *Ti-ano* and *Lafamirta*; *Lando*, *Berolassi* and *Suessa*; and the other *Lando*, *Calinio* and *Cajazzeta*. At the same time, *Landulph* the son of *Lando* was chosen bishop. These dispositions, however, continued only two months; for the brothers invaded each others inheritance; and, to support their party, some had recourse to *Guaferius* prince of *Salerno*, others to *Lambert* duke of *Spoletto*, and others to *Gaidaris* prince of *Benevento*, and *Gregory* governor of *Bari* and *Otranto*. To complete the confusion, *Landulph* the new bishop was expelled, and *Landenulph* the brother of the governor of *Capua*, though a layman, was chosen in his room, and even consecrated by the pope^l, who wrote to *Guaferius*, prohibiting him, under pain of excommunication, from at-

A. D.
878.

A civil
war in the
county of
Capua.

ⁱ Epist. JOAN. 89. .. ^k Ejust. Epist. ap SICON.
CHEMP. sect. 40. Anon Salern. c. 127.

^l ER-

tacking *Capua*. Though *Guaferius* is said to have shewn himself always submissive to the pope, yet he seems not to have regarded the present threatening; for we find from *Erchempertus*, that he besieged *Capua* both this year and the following. That miserable province was at the same time obliged to support the armies of the prince of *Benevento* and the duke of *Spoletto*.

The Saracens
strengthen
themselves
in Italy.

THE Saracens in the mean time seized the favourable opportunity for strengthening their power in *Italy*. *Athanasius*, bishop and duke of *Naples*, notwithstanding the great commendations he had received from the pope, for putting out the eyes of his brother, now consented to an alliance with the infidels, in conjunction with whom he ravaged the pope's territories, and those of *Benevento* and *Spoletto*, plundering all the churches, monasteries, towns, and cities, thro' which they passed ^m. The Saracens about the same time overran the principality of *Salerno*, and obliged the *Salernitans* to conclude a peace with them, and to grant them a settlement in the neighbourhood of their city ⁿ. At the invitation of *Docibilis*, duke of *Gaeta*, who was oppressed by the count of *Capua*, they likewise sailed from *Agropoli*, and landing in the neighbourhood of *Gaeta*, plundered the province to a considerable distance. The pope used his utmost endeavours with the *Cajetans* to dismiss them; and by going himself to *Gaeta*, prevailed upon *Docibilis* to renounce his alliance with them, and to attack them; but, as he quickly found them too powerful, he was obliged to conclude a peace with them, and to grant them a settlement on the north side of the *Gargigliano*, where they fortified themselves, and continued for more than forty years ^o. The pope, to put a stop to the confusion which overwhelmed *Italy*, thought proper about this time to restore *Landulph*, bishop of *Capua*, but allowed *Landenulph* to reside in the new city, and to govern one half of the diocese. Notwithstanding this partition, the civil dissensions still continued in *Capua*, brothers and cousins, according as the fortune of war prevailed, suffering banishment, or banishing each other.

Guaferius,
prince
of Salerno,
is succeeded
by his son
Guaimarius.

THE following year *Guaferius*, prince of *Salerno*, died, and was succeeded by his son *Guaimarius*. He had not held the principality of *Salerno* many months, when *Gaidaris*, prince of *Benevento*, was taken a prisoner by *Lando*, one of the counts of *Capua*, because he had espoused the cause of count *Pandonulph*, and had given his daughter in marriage

^m ERCHERP. *scd.* 44.

ⁿ ANON. *Salern.* c. 128.

^o LEO *Ost.* l. v. c. 42. 44. EPIIT. JOAN. 256. 279.

to his son. In room of *Gaidaris*, the *Beneventans* chose *Radelchis*, the son of their former prince *Adelgis*, who was soon after informed that *Gaidaris* had made his escape from *France*, whither he had been sent as a prisoner, and had put himself under the protection of the *Greeks* at *Bari*. From thence he proceeded to *Constantinople*, where he was received in an honourable manner by the emperor *Basilus*, who conferred upon him for life the government of *Oria*, an inland city betwixt *Brindisi* and *Taranto*. In the mean time *Athanasius*, bishop of *Naples*, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pope, continued his alliance with the *Saracens*, in conjunction with whom he ravaged the territories of *Benevento*. Being in hopes likewise of making a conquest of *Capua*, he fomented the divisions among the brother counts, and sent troops to the assistance of *Pandonulph*. The pope, not being able to prevail with him to renounce his alliance with the infidels, though he had even gone to *Naples* for that purpose, returned to *Rome*, and in the month of *March* denounced a sentence of excommunication against him. This censure, however, seemed to have no effect; *Athanasius* united himself more closely than ever to the *Saracens*, and sent to *Sicily*, desiring king *Suchaim* to come over and command a great body of his countrymen, who had settled at the foot of mount *Vesuvius*. He likewise continued his army in *Capua*, where it committed great disorders; and this year, among other prisoners, took the historian *Erchempertus*, then a youth, and stripped him of all that he had. *Suchaim*, in the mean time, who had taken the command of the *Saracens*, began hostilities against his ally *Athanasius*, and allowed his troops to live at discretion in the territory of *Naples*, where they ravished the women, and plundered the inhabitants of their effects. The *Neapolitans*, thinking these calamities were a consequence of the sentence of excommunication, prevailed on *Athanasius* to conclude an alliance with *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, against the infidels. The bishop, accordingly, receiving a considerable body of troops from *Guaimarius*, and drawing reinforcements from the cities and maritime towns of *Capua*, obliged the infidels to quit *Naples*, and retire to *Agropoli*.

AFTER their expulsion from his territories, he declared against *Pandonulph*, count of *Capua*, and besieged that city in conjunction with the sons of *Lando* and *Landonulph*. *Pandonulph* had recourse to his kinsman *Radelchis*, prince of *Bene-*

The pope excommunicates the bishop of Naples; A.D. 881.

P ERCHEMPERT. sect. 48.

Idem, sect. 44.¹

vento, for assistance, who marching with his brother *Aio* to his relief, was admitted into the city, and soon after attacked the besiegers, who were at that time assisted by the *Amalfitans*. Both parties fought with great obstinacy, but neither side could claim a victory. *Radelchis* not long after returning to *Benevento*, *Athanasius* persuaded *Pandonulph* to an accommodation with his brothers; which was accordingly agreed to, and confirmed by an oath. But he and his party were no sooner admitted into the city, but they seized *Pandonulph*, and his brother *Landonulph* the bishop, with all their friends, and sent the count and the bishop prisoners to *Capua*. A.D. 882. *Naples*. The *Saracens* in the mean time still continued their incursions, and ravaged the provinces in such a manner, that the lands and fields became intirely desolate, and, for want of being cultivated, began to be covered with brambles and thorns. About this time they assembled a powerful army from *Garigliano* and *Agropoli*, and marched to the relief of their countrymen, who were besieged by the *Greeks* in *Santa Severina*. They were, however, very unsuccessful in this expedition; for *Erchempertus* relates, that they were all cut off by the *Greeks*, who immediately after made themselves masters of *Santa Severina* and *Amantea*, and recovered all *Lower Calabria*.

In the midst of these confusions, the *Beneventans* expelled their prince *Radelchis* in the third year of his reign, and chose his brother *Aio* in his room. *Aio* had not enjoyed *Radelchis*, the principality many months, when he was taken prisoner by *Guido*, duke of *Spoletto*, at *Capua*. When the *Saracens* drew their chief force into *Calabria* against the *Greeks*, *Guido*, or *Vido*, attacked their settlement at *Garigliano*, which he took and plundered. Being afterwards met by *Aio* at *Capua*, he detained him a prisoner, and proceeded to *Benevento*, where he disposed of every thing according to his pleasure, and afterwards marched quite through the principality to *Siponto*, now *Manfredonia*, on the *Adriatic* sea. The *Sipontins*, being informed that their prince was a prisoner, surprised *Guido* in one of their churches, and obliged him to set *Aio* at liberty. The *Saracens* in the mean time plundered and burnt the monastery of *Monte Cassino*, which remained for two years in ruins, while *Athanasius*, bishop of *Naples*, renewed his hostilities against the *Capuans*, and endeavoured to persuade *Atenulphus* to seize his cousin *Lando* and his sons, and to assume the sovereignty of all *Capua*.

† ERCH. PERT. sect. 53.
sect. 59.

• Idem, sect. 48.

• Idem,

Atenulphus at first rejected his advice, and even discovered it to his cousins; but about two years after he allowed himself to be persuaded, and, having drawn a great many young men over to his party, surprised *Capua*, and immediately declared himself count. As a security for his engagements to *Athanasius*, he sent his son a hostage to *Naples*; and to prevail with pope *Stephen IV.* to countenance his usurpation, he sent the abbot of *St. Vincent*, and *Dauserius*, a deacon, to *Rome*, offering to submit himself to the pope, to restore *Gacta* to him, and to assist him against the *Saracens* who were settled at *Garigliano*; which promises, however, he afterwards neglected to fulfil^u. Some time before this revolution in *Capua*, *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, not being able to oppose the *Saracens*, who, in conjunction with *Athanasius*, ravaged his principality, went to *Constantinople*, to ask assistance from the *Greek* emperors *Leo* and *Alexander*, who the same year had succeeded their father *Basilius*, received him with great honour, created him a patrician, supplied him with money and provisions, and, upon his return, sent with him a considerable body of *Greeks*, who were put in garrison at *Salerno*^v. *Pellegrinus* informs us likewise, that they granted him a charter, which is recorded by *Summontes*^x, confirming to him the principality of *Salerno*, according to the treaty of partition made betwixt *Siconulphus* and *Radelchis*^y.

Atenulphus
usurps the
sovereignty of *Capua*.

A. D.
887.

Soon after his return, *Aio*, prince of *Benevento*, renounced his allegiance to the *Greeks*, and attacked their garrison in *Bari*. The bishop of *Naples* in the mean time attacked his territories, and those of *Atenulphus*, count of *Capua*. In short, all those provinces, which compose the present kingdom of *Naples*, were engaged, about this period, in continual civil wars, and with great animosity contributed to their mutual ruin. They concluded solemn treaties, which they violated within ten days after; and preferring their private resentment to the good of the public, and instead of uniting to expel the *Saracens*, they continually associated themselves with the infidels, who made no scruple of serving in opposite armies^z. The anarchy which prevailed at this time in *Italy* was greatly increased by the death of the emperor *Charles the Great*, without male issue. The *Italians*, on this occasion, resolved no longer to be governed by a foreign

Aio renounces his
allegiance
to the
Greeks.
888.

^u ERCHENPERT. sect. 63. ^v Idem, sect. 54. 67.
^x SUMMONT. t. i. p. 428. ^y CAMILLA. PEREGRIN. in Stem. Princ. Salerno. ^z Anon. Salerno. ERCHENPERT. passim.

Berengarius, and Guido contend for the crown of Italy.

prince, and accordingly chose *Berengarius*, duke of *Friuli*, for their king, who, by the mother's side, was great grandson of *Charlemagne*. He obtained the kingdom peaceably, as he had entered into a previous compact with another ambitious great grandson of *Charles the Great*, namely, *Vido*, or *Guido*, duke of *Spoletto*, who, in his choice of the kingdoms of the late emperor, thought proper to prefer *France*. The *French*, however, having conferred their kingdom on *Otho*, count of *Paris* and *Orleans*, *Guido* returned disappointed to *Italy*, and immediately formed pretensions to his native kingdom; in which he was so fortunate, as to be countenanced by pope *Stephen*, who had advised him to his *French* expedition. A civil war ensuing, *Guido* defeated his competitor, and, after much bloodshed, having intirely reduced all those of the opposite party, he was crowned emperor by pope *Formosus*, in the first year of his pontificate.

The
Greeks
conquer Benevento;
A. D.
291.

At the commencement of this destructive civil war, which continued four years in the northern parts of *Italy*, *Leo*, emperor of *Constantinople*, resolving to punish the revolt of *Aio*, prince of *Benevento*, made great preparations for an expedition into *Italy*. *Aio*, however, died before the arrival of the *Greek* army, and left his principality to his son *Orso*, then a boy of 10 years of age. *Gaidaris*, the exiled prince, who still resided at *Oria*, urged the emperor to seize that opportunity of making a conquest of *Benevento*. *Leo*, accordingly, the following year, sent over into *Italy* a powerful army, under the command of *Simbaticius*, Protospatharius, who, investing *Benevento*, made himself master of the city, after a siege of three months; and soon after reducing all the cities of the principality, subjected it to the *Greek* emperor, after it had been governed by the *Lombards* about 320 years^a. *Simbaticius* remained in *Benevento* about two years, and afterwards delivered up his government to *George*, the patrician, who treated the *Beneventans* with great mildness and humanity, in hopes of reconciling them to their new master. In the mean time *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno* governing his subjects in a tyrannical manner, many of them fled to *Benevento*, where they entered into a conspiracy against their prince, and offered to deliver up *Salerno* to the patrician. *George* accordingly assembled an army, under pretence of attacking the *Saracens*, and marched to the very walls of *Salerno*; but, tho' the gates were opened by the conspirators, he was dissuaded from marching into

^a CAMILL. PEREGRIN. Hist. Princ. Longob. Anon. Salern. §. 142.

the city by the bishop of *Benevento*, who pretended to prophesy, that if they entered *Salerno*, they would all be slain. The *Beneventans* likewise refused to join in the enterprise; and, in the mean while, a panic seizing his army, they fled back with great precipitation. This treacherous proceeding of the patrician intirely alienated the *Beneventans* from the *Greeks*. They therefore privately desired *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, to invite *Guido*, marquis of *Spoletto*, recovered whose sister he had married, to come into their neighbourhood with an army, promising to deliver their city to him. *Guido*, whose elder brother *Lambert* was then emperor and king of *Italy*, quickly arrived with an army in the neighbourhood of *Benevento*, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants, who had been for some time greatly oppressed by the *Greek* governor *Theodore Turmaca*, the successor of the patrician *George*, who had died a little before of a palsy^b.

Guido allowed *Turmaca* to depart, upon paying five *Radelchis* thousand crowns; and, after he had held the principality near two years, he resolved to return to *Spoletto*, and to put *Guaimarius*, his brother-in-law, in possession of *Benevento*. *Guaimarius* accordingly proceeded with a numerous retinue to *Avellino*, within fourteen miles of *Benevento*, where he was surprised at night by the *Gastald Adelpharius*, who immediately put out his eyes. *Guido* nevertheless left *Benevento*, which, after his departure, was governed a few months by *Peter* the bishop, who, finding great difficulty in repulsing the *Greeks*, invited the mother of the emperor *Lambert* to come to the city. She soon after arrived at *Benevento*, and restored the principality to her brother *Radelchis*, who had been expelled about 14 years before by *Aio*^c. As he was of a soft and indolent disposition, and had no talents for government, he suffered himself wholly to be directed by the councils of one *Virialdus*, who excited him to harass his subjects, and to banish several of the *Beneventan* lords. These exiles, with many others who voluntarily banished themselves, retired to *Capua*, where they were honourably entertained by *Atenulphus*. In resentment of the severity of *Radelchis*, they formed a design of again expelling him, and conferring the principality on their protector *Atenulphus*, who willingly hearkened to their proposal, and, to strengthen his interest, immediately sent an embassy to *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, begging the

^b Fragment. Hist. Longob. ap. PELLEGRIN.
Anon. Salern. ap. PELLEGRIN.

^c Idem ibid.

prince's daughter for his son *Landulph*, and offering to be subject to him, as his predecessors had been to the *Salernitan* princes. *Guaimarius*, at the instigation of his wife *Jota*, and the *Capuan* exiles *Lando* and *Landulph*, rejected the proposed alliance in a disdainful manner, which obliged *Atenulphus* to have recourse to the friendship of *Athanasius*, the bishop and duke of *Naples*, who, without any difficulty, consented to a firm alliance with him, and to give his only daughter *Gemma* to *Landulph*, the young count of *Capua*^d.

Atenulphus count of *Capua* strengthened by this alliance, hastened the execution of the design formed by the exiles, and proceeding with them towards *Benevento*, surprized the city during the night, and seized *Radelchis*. He was instantly proclaimed prince by the nobles and people, whose affection he afterwards studied to secure by liberal gifts and a mild administration. This great revolution was very unacceptable to many *Beneventans*, who could not forbear repining at finding themselves subjected to the dominion of a stranger, who was not descended of the race of their antient dukes and princes^e. During these transactions at *Benevento*, *Guaimarius*, or *Waimar*, who had rendered himself odious to his subjects by his cruelty, was deposed by his son *Guaimarius* II. whom he had a few years before associated with himself in the government^f. *Atenulphus*, in the mean while, to secure the possession of the principality to his family, associated his son *Landulph* with himself as prince, and, appointing *Peter* the bishop as governor of *Benevento*, returned to *Capua*, where he fixed his residence, to the irrecoverable loss of the city of *Benevento*, which from that time began to lose its splendor, and decay. After his return to *Capua*, the *Beneventans*, prompted by their bishop *Peter*, formed a design of a revolt; but the conspiracy being discovered to *Atenulphus*, he marched back to *Benevento*, seized the chief rebels, and expelled the bishop, who retired full of shame to *Salerno*, where he was kindly received by *Guaimarius* II. at that time greatly jealous of the power of the prince of *Benevento* (G). *Atenulphus*, having established his authority in *Benevento*,

^d Anon Salern. ut supra.
supra.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Idem ut

(G) *Atenulphus* comprehended both the principality of *Benevento* and the county of *Capua* under the same government;

and, according to *Pellegrinus*, they continued so united during the reigns of his sons and grandsons. For tho', soon after this period,

névonto, was afterwards engaged for several years in opposing the incursions of the *Saracens*, who had fortified themselves strongly on the *Garigliano*. He was assisted by the *Amalfitans*, and by *Gregory* duke of *Naples*, who had succeeded *Athanasius*; but finding their joint forces unable to suppress the infidels, he applied for assistance to the emperor *Leo*, and sent his son *Landulph* to *Constantinople*. *Leo*, desirous of recovering the authority of his predecessors in *Italy*, received *Landulph* with great kindness, created him a patrician, and ordered a powerful army to be transported into *Italy*. During the absence of *Landulph*, *Atenulphus* associated his other son, of his own name, in the principality, and died in a few months after, having governed the *Beneventans* ten years and six months, and been count of *Capua* twenty-three years and an half.

LANDULPH hearing of the death of his father, who was greatly regretted, immediately left *Constantinople*, and returned to *Capua*, where he was received with great affection by his brother; and together with him assumed the government, both of them agreeing not to separate the principality from the county, as had been proposed by their father. Mean while the *Greek* army arrived in *Italy*, under the command of *Nicholas Picigli*, a patrician, who brought with him the dignity of patriciate from the emperor *Constantine VIII.* for *Gregory*, duke of *Naples*, and *John*, duke of *Gaeta*, in order to detach them intirely from the *Saracens*. *Nicholas* having drawn considerable reinforcements from *Puglia* and *Calabria*, which were then almost intirely under the dominion of the *Greeks*, and being joined by auxiliary troops from *Naples*, *Gaeta*, and *Salerno*, besides those of the *Beneventans* and *Capuans*, he marched to the *Garigliano*, and sat down before the fort of the *Saracens*. Pope *John X.*

* MURATOR, t. ii. p. 278.

period, in some antient records, mention is made of the princes of *Capua*, yet that is only in compliance with the vulgar speech, because the princes of that family resided at *Capua*. It is evident from many proofs that *Atenulphus* did not erect *Capua* into a new principality, distinct from that of *Benevento*. We shall particularly mention

the following words in an agreement made betwixt the princes *Landulph* and *Atenulph*, and *Gregory*, duke of *Naples*; which was afterwards renewed in the year 933. The words are these, "In toto principatu vestro *Beneventano*, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, nec in toto comitatu *Capuano*, nec in *Teano*, cum pertinentiis suis" (1).

(1) *Ann. Sakm. Pat. rin. & Pietro Giannone ut supra.*

likewise

The Saracens are entirely defeated at Garigliano.

A.D. 915.

likewise joined in this alliance, and also the *Spoletans*, and inhabitants of *Camerino*; and together with *Alberic*, marquis of *Tuscany*, invested another side of the fort. The *Saracens*, after a siege of three months, despairing of being able to defend the place, set fire to several parts of the town, and sallied out to the neighbouring woods and mountains; but being pursued and surrounded by the *Italians* and *Greeks*, they were almost intirely cut off ^b.

A war betwixt Landulph and the Greeks.

THO' by this celebrated victory, obtained by the allies, *Italy* was intirely freed from the *Saracens*, yet, soon after, another body of *Moors* arriving from *Africa*, and being joined with those who had saved themselves from *Garigliano*, they ravaged *Puglia* and the territories of *Benevento*. The tranquility of the provinces was likewise soon disturbed by the *Greeks*, who governing the *Apulians* and *Calabrians* with great severity, obliged them to revolt. They accordingly put themselves under the protection of *Landulph*, prince of *Benevento*, who willingly espoused their cause; and being in hopes, by that opportunity, of recovering *Bari*, and many cities of *Puglia*, he immediately began hostilities against the *Greeks*. The event of the war at first, however, was contrary to his expectation; for the *Apulians* and *Calabrians* were quickly reduced by the *Greeks*, whose resentment was so great against them and *Landulph*, that they invited the *Saracens* again from *Africa*, and hired them as auxiliaries. Though the *Greeks*, in the beginning of the war, made considerable progress, yet, in the third campaign, *Landulph* gained a complete victory over them at *Ascoli*, when the *Greek* general was slain. About eight years afterwards, according to *Lupus*, Protaspatha, *Landulph* being assisted by *Guaimarius*, prince of *Salerno*, at last wrested *Puglia* from the *Greeks*, and kept possession of the province seven years ⁱ. The war however seems still to have continued, for we read the following story in *Luitprand*, which is placed by *Sigonius* four years after the conquest of *Apulia*. The *Greeks*, continuing their hostilities with great vigour, *Landulph* called in *Theobald*, marquis of *Spoletum* and *Camerino*, to his assistance. *Theobald* having gained some advantages over the *Greeks*, ordered the prisoners he had taken to be castrated, and sent them back in that condition to the *Greek* general, with orders to tell him, that as he knew his emperor was a

^b LUITPRAND. hist. ap. MURATOR. t. ii. p. 441. SIGON. in regn. Ital. an. 915. Series Abbat. Cassin. apud MURATOR. t. v. p. 210. ⁱ LUITPRAND. Legatio, LUP. Protospat. apud MURATOR t. v. p. 38.

great lover of eunuchs, he had sent him these few, but he hoped to be able to send him a much greater number in a short time. A certain woman, whose husband had been taken prisoner, hearing of the intention of the marquis, came to his camp, and being admitted to his presence, made loud complaints against his proceeding, and accused him of base cowardice, for making war upon helpless women, by depriving their husbands of what gives them health, pleasure, and children. If he had a mind to punish them, they had eyes, a nose, and hands, which were their own: but what he had hitherto deprived them of was the property of their wives, and ought not to be injured. This woman's ingenuous declaration had such an effect upon *Theobald*, that her husband and all that she had lost were immediately restored to her^k. Two years after this transaction, it appears that the *Beneventan* princes had returned to their obedience to the *Greeks*; for *Peregrinus* mentions a charter which is dated in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of *Landulphus*, to which is added likewise the years of the reign of the emperor *Constantine*^l. This peace, however, continued but a few years; for *Lupus*, Protaspata, mentions a battle fought betwixt the *Lombards* and the *Greeks* at *Matera*, in which the *Greek* general was killed^m. This action happened about three years before the death of *Landulph*, who died in the forty-third year of his reign, after he had again been obliged to submit to the *Greeks*, as appears from the words of a charter produced by *Baronius* and *Peregrinus*ⁿ. About ten years before the death of *Landulph*, died *Guaimarius* II. prince of *Salerno*, leaving his principality to his infant son *Gisulphus*, whom a little before he had associated with himself in the government. *Guaimarius* had married *Gaitelgrima*, the daughter of *Atenulphus* II. prince of *Benevento*; who being expelled in the twenty-second year of his reign, by his brother *Landulph*, retired to *Salerno*^o. Notwithstanding his banishment, his name was still retained in the public writs. *Landulph*, in the mean time, associating with himself in the government his two sons, *Atenulphus* III. and *Landulph* II. which last succeeded him at his death. As there is no mention of *Atenulphus* III. after the death of his father, it is probable that he did not survive him^p.

Landulph
submits,
and dies.
A.D. 943.

^k SIGON. in regn. Ital. LUITPRAND. I. iv. c. 4. ^l PEREGRIN. in not. 23. ad LUP. Protospat. , ^m LUP. Protospat. ad ann. 940. ⁿ BARON. Annal. aln. 941. PEREGRIN. in not. 26. ut supra. ^o ANON. Salern. ^p PELLEGRI. in Stem. Gener. Atenulph. apud MURAT. t. ii.

Landulph LANDULPH II. held the principality eighteen years, having in the beginning of his reign associated with himself in the government his son *Pandulph*, surnamed *Iron-head*, and afterwards, about two years before his death, conferred the title of prince upon his other son, *Landulph* III. During his reign the *Greeks* besieged and took *Ascoli*, and the *Huns*, or *Hungarians*, who for several years before had infested *Italy*, marched as far as *Capua* and *Lucera*, but were entirely defeated by the inhabitants ¹.

which is again separated from *Capua*.
A.D. 943. UPON the death of *Landulph* II. his two sons, *Pandulph* *Iron-head* and *Landulph* III. made a division of his territories, *Landulph* having the principality of *Benevento*, and fixing his residence in the ancient capital, while *Pandulph* resided at *Capua*, and governed that county. In the second year of their reigns, *Otho* the Great, king of *Germany*, upon the invitation of the pope and the *Italians*, arrived with a powerful army in *Italy* against *Berengarius* III. and marching to *Rome*, received the imperial crown from the pope. *Otho*, in imitation of *Charlemagne*, immediately applied his thoughts to the establishing his authority in *Italy*; and the following year, in the month of *August*, he proceeded to *Capua*, to receive the homage of the *Lombard* princes ². Their power and influence, since the times of *Arichis* and *Grimoald*, were greatly decay'd; they could not therefore imitate those princes, and oppose the arms of the new conqueror. *Pandulph* and his brother being sensible of their own weakness, strove to procure the favour of *Otho* by their obsequiousness and respect, and being informed of his march towards *Capua*, they went out to meet him with a great retinue, and conducted him and his empress *Adelaide* to the city, with great demonstrations of joy. They acknowledged him as their sovereign, declared themselves his vassals and feudatories, and subjected their states to him in the same manner as their predecessors had done to the ancient *Lombard* kings. *Pandulphus* particularly having acquired his favour, obtained from him an imperial decree, erecting the county of *Capua* into a principality, and that he should for the future have the title of prince of *Capua* ³. *Otho* during his residence at *Capua* sent an embassy to *Gisulfus*, the brother of his empress, inviting him to come and see his sister. The *Salernitan* prince was very apprehensive of a sinister design; but after having in a solemn manner implored the protection of the Virgin *Mary*, and having obtained the blessing of his bishop, he set out with

¹ Idem. ibid.
RON. ad ann. 963.

² LUP. Protospat. ut supra.
³ PIETRO GIANNONE ut supra:

⁴ BA-
his

his attendants for *Capua*, and was met at some distance from the city by the princes *Pandulph* and *Landulph*, who presented him to the emperor. According to our author, *Otho* stepped down from his throne to receive him, and his sister *Adelaide* ran to him, and falling on his neck, kissed him several times, reproaching him in a tender manner for not coming to see her without being invited. *Gisulphus*, after receiving some valuable presents from the emperor and empress, returned with great joy to *Salerno* ^u.

Otho in the mean time resolved to recover *Puglia* and *Calabria* from the *Greeks*; but was at that time recalled from *Campania* by a rebellion of the pope and the *Romans*. He was employed some time in reducing the rebels; and having re-established his authority at *Rome*, went back to *Germany*. The *Italians* during his absence revolted, and the *Romans* expelled pope *John XIII.* because he refused to join in their rebellion. These commotions obliged the emperor, about two years after, to return to *Italy*, where he punished the chiefs of the rebellion with great severity; and sending for his young son *Otho*, then about thirteen years of age, caused him to be crowned emperor by the pope. Soon after he again proceeded to *Capua*, where he received an embassy from the *Greek* emperor *Nicephorus*, who being apprehensive of his power, professed a desire of living in friendship with him. *Otho* proposed an alliance betwixt his young son and *Theophania*, the daughter of the late emperor *Romanus*, whose wife had poisoned him, that she might marry *Nicephorus*. He required likewise the provinces of *Puglia* and *Calabria* as a dowry with the young princefs; and to negotiate the affair, he sent *Luitprand*, bishop of *Cremona*, as his ambassador to *Constantinople*, being firmly resolved to commence hostilities if *Nicephorus* refused to agree to his proposal, as appears from his letter to his generals *Herman* and *Theoderic*, whom he had left in *Germany* ^w. *Luitprand* wrote a curious account of his embassy, which is still extant ^x. He says, he was received at *Constantinople* with the greatest inhumanity, and almost starved; that *Nicephorus* in his discourse treated *Otho* and the *Germans* with great contempt and ridicule, and refused to consent to the match, unless *Otho* would restore to him *Rome* and *Ravenna*, and all that part of *Italy* betwixt those cities and *Sicily*: though the match should not take place, he required *Otho* to leave *Rome* free, and to renounce

who proposes to reduce *Puglia* and *Calabria*.

He sends an embassy to Constantinople: A.D. 968.

^u Anon. Salern. ut supra. ^w BARON. ad ann. 968. *Ger. Script.* apud MEIBOM. t. i. p. 666. ^x MURATOR, t. ii. p. 479.

all pretensions to the sovereignty over the *Beneventan* and *Capuan* princes, who were his subjects. *Otho* in the mean time had returned to *Rome*, together with the pope, who, while he was at *Capua* with the emperor, erected that see into a metropolitan, and created *John*, the brother of *Pandulph*, the first archbishop ^y.

BEFORE the return of *Luitprand* from *Constantinople*, *Otho*, when at *Rome*, received an embassy from *Nicephorus*, who desired him to send some of his chief men to *Apulia*, to receive *Theophania*. The emperor accordingly sent some of his nobles, with a large escort, to receive the princess; but instead of finding *Theophania*, they were unexpectedly attacked by the *Greeks*, and almost all killed or taken prisoners. This perfidious action immediately determined the emperor to declare war. He accordingly, in the month of *March*, laid siege to *Bari*; but the *Greeks* defended themselves with such resolution, that he was obliged to withdraw his army. The rest of the campaign was spent with various success; for tho' the emperor ravaged some of the *Greek* territories, yet *Pandulph*, prince of *Capua*, who invested *Bovino*, was defeated in a sally, and taken prisoner by the *Greeks*, who immediately sent him to *Constantinople*. A little before this campaign, *Landulph*, prince of *Benevento*, dying, *Pandulph* had succeeded him in that principality, to the prejudice of the son of the deceased, and had associated his own son *Landulph IV.* in the government. After his defeat before *Bovino*, the *Greeks*, elated with their success, invaded the territories of *Benevento*, took *Avellino*, and advancing towards *Capua*, plundered all the country through which they marched, and at last invested the city. They were joined on their march by *Marinus*, then duke of *Naples*, with a great body of *Neapolitans*, who neglecting the siege, employed themselves wholly in ravaging the country. *Eugenius*, the *Greek* commander, finding that he made no progress in the siege, and being informed that *Otho* was assembling a powerful army for the relief of the city, raised the siege, which had continued about six weeks, and retired with his troops, ordering the greatest part of them to march through the duchy of *Benevento*, while he with the rest went to *Salerno*, where he was received with the utmost civility by the prince *Gisulphus*, who was secretly in the interest of *Nicephorus* ^z.

OTHO in the mean time arrived with his army at *Capua*, and being joined by the *Capuans*, advanced into the duchy of *Naples*, ravaging the country, and at last sitting down

besieges
Bari, but
without
effect.

The
Greeks
besiege
Capua.

^y LEO OSTIENS. l. ii c. 9.

^z Anon. Salern.

Before the city. Finding himself unable to get possession of the place he decamped, and marched to *Avellino*, which he burnt, because the inhabitants had voluntarily submitted to the *Greeks*. He afterwards marched to *Benevento*, which that same year had been erected into an archbishopric; and designing an expedition into *Apulia*, he and his nobles heard mass, which was celebrated by the new archbishop *Landulph*, after which they received the eucharist under both kinds, according to the practice then in use*. The archbishop then giving his benediction to the whole army, they immediately marched into *Puglia*, where they defeated the *Greeks*; and towards the end of the campaign returned to *Avellino*. The following year *Otho* again marched into the *Neapolitan* ^{their ter-} territories, from whence he carried off a great number of ^{ritories} cattle, and then proceeded into *Puglia*, ravaging the coun- ^{are ra-} try, and burning the suburbs of *Bovino*, which city his ^{waged by} troops again invested. While he was on his march thither, ^{Otho;} he was met by *Alvara*, the wife of prince *Pandulphus*, with ^{A.D. 970.} her son, who requested him in the most earnest manner to procure the liberty of her husband, who was treated with great inhumanity by *Nicephorus*. The *Beneventan* prince soon after recovered his liberty, by a revolution which happened at *Constantinople*. *Theophania*, who had poisoned her first husband *Romanus*, this year murdered *Nicephorus*, and promoted her confidant, *John Zimisces*, to the empire; who, to quiet the murmurs of the people, resolved to make peace with *Otho*, and immediately set *Pandulph* at liberty. Resolving to use him as a mediator, he soon after sent him to *Bari*, and desired him to inform *Otho* that he would agree to the marriage betwixt his step-daughter *Theophania* and his son *Otho* II. *Pandulph*, upon his return to *Italy*, was received with great affection by the emperor, who restored him to his former dignity, and by his persuasions consented to evacuate *Puglia*, and to agree to a peace with *Zimisces*, who ^{who con-} accordingly two years after sent *Theophania* to *Italy*. She was ^{cludes a} received with great magnificence at *Rome*, where in the month ^{peace with} of *April* she was married to *Otho* II. by the pope, who ^{the} afterwards crowned her empress. *Otho*, a few months after, re- ^{Greeks.} turned to *Germany*, where he died the year following. ^{972.}

ABOUT the time that *Otho* left *Italy*, *Gisulphus*, prince of *Salerno*, was basely surprized by his uncle *Landulph*, the son ^{prince of} of the banished prince of *Capua*, *Atenulphus* II. *Gisulphus*, ^{Salerno is} by the persuasions of his mother *Gaitelgrima*, who was sister ^{deposed by} to *Landulph*, had lavished a great many favours upon him, and had created him count of *Consa*, from whence, how-

* Idem ibid.

ever, he was soon expelled on account of his cruelty, and obliged to retire to *Naples*, with his four sons, *Guaimarius*, *Indolf*, *Landulph*, and *Landenulph*. By the interest of his sister he was soon after recalled to *Salerno*, restored to the county of *Consa*, and promoted to such a degree of favour, that, according to the cotemporary historian, he was next in authority to the prince ^b. His promotion only served to discover his ingratitude and ambition; for soon after, by the assistance of his sons, he surprized *Gisulphus* and his princess in their palace, and publishing to the people that they were murdered, he prevailed upon them to acknowledge himself as their prince. He was assisted in establishing his authority by *Marinus*, duke of *Naples*, and *Manfo*, duke of *Amalfi*, to which last city he had privately removed *Gisulphus* and his princess. But a difference happening betwixt him and his son *Indolf*, who expected to have been associated into the principality, the enraged son began to concert means of restoring his lawful prince, and persuaded the *Salernitan* nobles to secure the castles, and to apply to *Pandulph Iron-head*, prince of *Capua*, for his assistance. *Pandulph* hearkened to their request with great joy, and assembling some troops, quickly reduced all the cities and towns in the principality of *Salerno*, except the capital, which was strongly garrisoned by the *Amalitans*. After a considerable time spent in the siege, he at length made himself master of *Salerno*, and having expelled the usurper, restored *Gisulphus*, who had been near two years a prisoner. *Gisulphus* having no children himself, soon after his restoration, from gratitude to his restorer, adopted his son *Pandulph*, and made him his co-partner in the government. With him he reigned four years, and at his death he left *Pandulphus*, the father, as his successor; who accordingly united all the three divisions of the ancient principality of *Benevento*, being called prince of *Benevento*, *Salerno*, and *Capua*. *Pandulphus* enjoyed the principality of *Salerno* about three years, and at his death very imprudently made a division of his territories. He left his son *Landulphus* prince of *Salerno*, and another son, *Landulph* IV. as prince of *Capua* and *Benevento*. Besides, he gave separate fiefs to his other sons, *Laidulph*, *Gisulph*, *Landenulph*, and *Atenulph*; but no mention is made how he disposed of the duchy of *Spoleto*, and marquissate of *Camerino*, which he was likewise in possession of for twelve years ^c (H).

but is restored by Pandulph prince of Capua; A.D. 974. who succeeds him in the principality of Salerno. A.D. 978.

^b Anon. Salern.

^c PETRUS DAMIENS. l. 7. ep. 12. PELLEGRIN. par 7. Anon. Salern.

(H) The learned and accurate *Giannone* relates, that from the great number of fiefs and counties which began now to be

A FEW weeks after his death *Otho* II. arrived with an army at *Benevento*, with the intention of expelling the *Greeks* and *Saracens* entirely from *Puglia* and *Calabria*. His army was reinforced by *Romans*, *Neapolitans*, and *Beneventans*; and he was likewise joined by prince *Landulph* IV. and his brother count *Atenulph*; though it appears that *Landulph* was, about this time, dispossessed of *Benevento* by his cousin *Pandulph*; who, upon his father's death, had been deprived of his inheritance by *Pandulph Iron-head*. *Otho*, we are informed by *Sigonius*, made great progress at first in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and advanced with his army as far as *Taranto*: but the following year, on the 15th of *July*, he was entirely defeated, in a general engagement, by the *Greeks* and *Saracens* of *Basentello*, a small town on the coast of *Calabria*. His defeat was owing to his *Italian* auxiliaries, who being disgusted with his cruelty, deserted in the beginning of the action, by which means his army was almost entirely cut to pieces, and he himself, with great difficulty, escaped in disguise. The prince *Landulph*, with his brother *Atenulph*, and many other persons of distinction, were slain in the battle; and though the *Greeks* did not pursue their victory as might have been expected, yet *Sigonius* relates, that they recovered all *Calabria* and *Puglia*, over which they placed a new governor, under the title of *Catapan*, with greater authority than formerly; and the author of the chorographical description of *Italy* thinks that at this time they conquered the

turned into hereditary lordships, and were possessed by nobles who lived absolute and independent, in fortified castles, surnames began about this time to be restored in these provinces, for the better distinguishing those princes who had the same name, and were descended from the same family. The surnames were generally taken where they or their forefathers had fixed their residence. They were also taken from magistracy and offices, such as *Mastrogiudice*, *Dodici*, *Conti*, *Cavalcanti*, *Filafoppa*, &c. Sometimes, though rarely, from the names of their fore-

fathers, as the family of *Atenulpho*, and some others; but afterwards from an infinite number of occasions and accidents. Those surnames began to be used about the end of the tenth century; yet they are rarely found in the charters and other writs of those times. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries they began to be a little more frequent among the *Normans*; and in the thirteenth and fourteenth they were so diffused and established, that commonly every body, tho' of mean extraction, had surnames, and transmitted them to posterity (1).

(1) *Pietro Giannone hist. di Naple. l. 8. c. 8. sect. 2. Dufrane in Gloss. voc. Cogn. Freccia de' subfeud. p. 24.*

greater part of antient *Lucania*, which they annexed to their other *Italian* provinces, under the name of *Bajilicata*, in honour of the emperor *Bajilius* II. who was then reigning ^d.

ОТНО having saved himself with the remains of his army at *Capua*, conferred that principality on *Aloara* and her son *Landenulph*, the brother of the deceased *Landulph*, who governed the principality ten years; but *Aloara* dying, *Landenulph*, about four months after, was cruelly murdered by his own subjects ^e. The emperor, who, according to some authors, was wounded with a poisoned arrow during the battle, soon after caused his son *Otho* III. then about ten years of age, to be declared king of *Italy* and *Germany*; and having recruited his army, the following year he marched to *Benevento*, which city he allowed his soldiers to pillage, in resentment of the treacherous behaviour of the *Beneventans* at *Bajentello*. We do not find, however, that he attacked *Otho* *dis*. the *Greeks*, but returning to *Rome*, he died in that city in A.D. 983. the beginning of *December*.

THE death of *Otho* occasioned great disturbances in *Italy*. About four months after, *Peter*, bishop of *Pavia*, his chancellor, was elected pope by the name of *John* XIV. and did *Is succeeded* his utmost to secure the *Romans* to the interest of the young *Otho*. *Boniface*, in the mean time, who had been expelled as an intruder into the *Roman* see by the former Pope *Benedict*, hearing of his death, and of the death of *Otho*, returned from *Constantinople* to *Rome*; where, by bribing the *Romans* with those treasures which he had formerly taken from the *Vatican*, he raised a strong party, who imprisoned *John*, and declared him pope. *John*, after four months imprisonment, died of hunger. *Boniface*, however, did not long enjoy the papal dignity, but died suddenly, about four months after. The *Romans* then chose *John* XV. but he was soon after expelled by *Crescentius* *Numentanus*, who seized the castle of *St. Angelo*, and assumed the government of *Rome*, under the title of consul. *John* retreating into *Tuscany*, and pressing the young *Otho* to come into *Italy*, the *Romans*, who began to be apprehensive of the emperor's resentment, immediately invited the pope back to the city, and upon his return received him with the greatest respect; *Crescentius*, however, still retaining the government of the city, and keeping possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*.

^d SIGON. in regn Ital. ad an. 892. Tabul. Chorograph. apud MURATOR, t. 10. col. 285. 286. LEO Ost. l. 2. c. 9. ^e LEO Ostiens. c. 9. & 10. PETR. DAMIAN. l. 7. epist. 12.

DURING these proceedings several revolutions had happened in the principality of *Salerno*. Before the death of the late emperor, *Pandulph* had been expelled from *Salerno*, by *Manfo* duke of *Amalfi*, who associated his son *John* with him in the principality, which he held for two years, till the emperor's death. After the death of *Otho* the *Salernitans* expelled *Manfo* and his son, and chose one *John*, called *di Lamberto*, to distinguish him from the emperor *John*. He associated his son *Guido* with him in the government, and upon his death, which happened about five years after, he conferred the title of prince upon his other son *Guaimarius*, with whom he reigned six years^f. The year before his death, *Landenulph*, prince of *Capua*, as we mentioned above, was murdered by his subjects, and his brother *Laidulph*, who was concerned in the murder, was chosen as his successor.

Revolutions in *Salerno*,
and in *Capua*.

WHILE *Laidulph* held this principality, and *Guimarius* or *Guaimarius* III. reigned in *Salerno*, and *Pandulph* II. with his son *Laidulph* V. governed *Benevento*, *Otho* III. in the twelfth year of his reign, arrived with an army in *Italy*, to establish his authority in that kingdom, and particularly to reduce *Crescentius*, who still kept possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*, and governed with a despotic authority in *Rome*. *John* XV. dying about the time the emperor arrived at *Ravenna*, he ordered the *Romans* to elect his nephew *Bruno*, who took the name of *Gregory* V. and proceeding to *Rome* received the imperial crown from his hands, after which ceremony he returned, in the end of the year, to *Germany*. Before he had quitted *Italy*, *Crescentius*, whom he had pardoned at the intercession of the new pope, again assumed his former authority, expelled *Gregory*, and substituted the bishop of *Placentia* as pope, who took the name of *John* XVI. *Gregory* retired to *Germany*, and intreated *Otho* to return to *Italy* with a powerful army to reduce the *Romans*. The emperor accordingly repassed the *Alps* the following year, in the month of *April*; and having obliged the *Romans* to deliver their city, seized the antipope, whose eyes he ordered to be put out, and his ears and hands to be cut off. He likewise, after a vigorous siege, reduced the castle of *St. Angelo*, and put *Crescentius* to death. About two years after, he again returned to *Italy*, and his nephew *Gregory* being dead, he nominated to the pontificate the famous *Gerbert*, archbishop of *Ravenna*, who had come into *Italy* with

Otho marches into *Rome*.
A.D. 996.

^f PREFORIN. in Stem. princ. Salern.

Confers
the princi-
pality of
Capua on
Adema-
rius.
A.L:569.

him about three years before, and now assumed the name of *Silvester II.* Soon after, being informed that *Laidulph*, prince of *Capua*, had been concerned in the murder of his brother, he expelled him from that principality, banished him from *Italy*, and bestowed his government upon *Ademarius*, a *Capuan*, who had been educated from his infancy with himself, and enjoyed a great share of his favour &c.

Defeats
the Sara-
cens.

THE *Saracens* in the mean time still continued to make irruptions into these provinces. About three years before, they took and plundered *Matera*, after a siege of four months; and this year, immediately after the departure of the emperor for *Germany*, they invaded *Campania*, and made themselves masters of *Capua*. *Otho* returned to *Italy* the following year with a powerful army, recovered *Capua*, and all the other places of *Campania*, from the infidels, and, after visiting *Monte Cassino* and *Monte Gargano* on a religious account, he marched with his army to *Benevento*, from whence, in resentment for the treacherous behaviour of the *Beneventans* to his father, he carried off the body of *S. Paulinus*.

His death.
1002.

He survived this expedition only a few months; and dying in the end of the following *January* without any issue, gave a new opportunity to the *Italians* of claiming the empire and kingdom of *Italy*. The *Italian* nobles accordingly assembled at *Pavia*, and conferred the kingdom of *Italy* on *Ardoin*, the son of *Dodo*, marquis of *Ivrea*: but the archbishop of *Milan* and the *Italian* clergy, thinking themselves injured, because they were not called to the election, assembled at *Lodi*, where they deposed *Ardoin*, and declared *Henry*, duke of *Bavaria*, king of *Italy*, who had already succeeded *Otho* in the kingdom of *Germany*. This imprudent and impolitic conduct of the clergy occasioned a civil war betwixt the two competitors and their adherents, which continued about 10 years. At length pope *Benedict VIII.* being expelled by a faction at *Rome*, retired to *Germany*; and having persuaded *Henry* to enter *Italy* with a powerful army, to establish his own authority, and to restore him to his see, the year after conferred upon him the imperial crown.

The
Greeks
strengthen
themselves
in Italy.

DURING these transactions, the *Greeks*, who, after the defeat of *Otho II.* at *Basentello*, had enlarged their dominions in *Italy*, were endeavouring to establish their authority upon solid foundations. Besides appointing a new magistrate, with

unlimited power, called *Catapan* (I), who fixed his residence at *Bari*, they put strong garrisons into the cities of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and founded several new cities, such as *Dracnaria*, *Cividade*, *Firenzuola*, and *Troja*, the last of which only remains at this day. They had extended their bounds about this time so far, that they were in possession of more than two-thirds of the present kingdom of *Naples*. The three dukedoms of *Amalfi*, *Naples*, and *Gaeta*, indeed, were governed in the form of commonwealths; and frequently elected their magistrates, and even their dukes, out of their own body: the *Greek* emperors, however, still preserved in these duchies the shadow of supreme dominion, and particularly were wont to confirm the dukes of *Amalfi*, which city, about this period, by its extensive commerce, had raised itself to a great degree of grandeur and opulence (K). Though the *Greeks* had so far extended their territories in *Italy*, yet, being unacquainted with the nature of fiefs, they did not erect any dukedoms, counties, or baronies, in *Puglia* and *Calabria*; these dignities, however, were soon after introduced by new conquerors.

(I) Some authors think, that the title Captain or Captain, used by the *Franks* and *Italians*, was derived from the name of this *Greek* magistrate; but the name of Captain appears to have been used among the *Italians* and *Franks* 200 years before the *Greeks* sent any *Catapan* into *Italy* (1). Besides, their office was very different; the *Greek Catapan* was a supreme governor, formerly called *Patricius*, *Strategus*, *Anthypatus*, *Protospata*, &c (2); whereas Captain among the *Franks* denoted nothing else than one who was invested in a small fief by a sovereign prince, and was antiently called *Valvasor Major* (3).

(K) *Amalfi* is generally supposed to have been founded about the year 600. At first it

was subject to the dukedom of *Naples*, and was governed by annual prefects; but being afterwards erected into a duchy, it extended its territory, which reached eastward to *Vico Vecchio*, and westward to the promontory of *Minerva*, including likewise the island *Caprea* and the two islands of the *Galli*. Towards the north it comprehended the cities of *Lettere*, *Gragnano*, *Pimontio*, and *Casale di Franchi*; and, towards the south, *Scala*, *Ravello*, *Minori*, *Majuri*, *Atrani*, *Tramonti*, *Agerola*, *Citara*, *Prajano*, and *Rosilano* (4). The laws, which this republic made with regard to trade and commerce, afterwards had the same authority in the kingdom of *Naples* as the *Rhodian* laws had among the *Romans* (5).

(1) *Annal. Franc. Lambecian. Dufrene Gloss. v. Catapan.*
Chorograph. Ital. op. Murat. t. x.

(4) *Pietro Giannone, ut supra.*

(5) *Freccia de feud. p. 27.*

(2) *Tabul. Feudor. l. ii. tit. 10.*

The first arrival of the Normans in Italy. THE Normans, who had invaded France during the reigns of several princes, at last, about the beginning of the former century, concluded a peace with *Charles the Simple*, and, having embraced Christianity, turned very zealous in their new religion. They placed great devotion in visiting sacred places, particularly *Rome*, and the holy sepulchre at *Jerusalem*; and, not discouraged by the length and danger of the journey, they joined in bands, and forced their way thro' all obstacles, frequently routing great bodies of *Greeks* and *Saracens*, who endeavoured to oppose them. About the time of the death of the emperor *Otho III.* forty of these Normans, as *Leo Ostiensis* writes^a, or, according to other authors, 100, returning from *Jerusalem* by sea, landed at *Salerno* in the habit of pilgrims, where they were honourably received by *Guaimarius*. During their residence at *Salerno*, a great body of *Saracens* landed, and invested the city. *Guaimarius*, not being in a condition to repulse the invaders by force, was preparing to pay the large sum of money which they demanded, when the Normans proposed to attack them, and, having got horses and arms from the prince, engaged them with such fury and bravery, that they intirely defeated them, and obliged them to fly to their ships. This complete victory filled *Guaimarius* with admiration of the strangers, whom he intreated to remain in his country, offering them lands, and the most honourable employments; but not being able to prevail with them to stay in *Italy*, or even to accept of his presents, at their departure he sent some ambassadors with them to *Normandy*, with vessels loaded with exquisite fruits, rich furniture for horses, and precious garments of gold and silk, with the design to allure the Normans to come into *Italy*; and it appeared, a few years afterwards, that he was not disappointed in his expectations.

The Saracens besiege Bari. THE Saracens in the mean time continued their incursions in different parts of *Italy* with various success, as the *Greeks* were continually sending reinforcements to *Puglia*. About A. D. 1005, three years after the departure of the Normans, they besieged *Bari*, and reduced the city to great extremity; but the besieged being at last relieved by a *Venetian* fleet, *Gregory*, the first Catapan whom we find mentioned, obliged the infidels to raise the siege and retire^b. *Gregory* was succeeded the following year by *Xiphesus*, who died the year after, and had for a successor *Curcu*, in the second year of whose government the Saracens broke the peace which they had con-

^a *Leo Ost. l. ii. c. 37.*

^b *SIGON. in regn. Ital.*

cluded with his predecessors, and seized *Cosenza*. As *Curcua* *Bari* re- governed in a very arbitrary and oppressive manner, he raised *volts from* a general disaffection among the *Apulians* against the *Greeks*, the inhabitants of *Bari* openly revolted, and put themselves under the conduct of *Mello*, who was descended of an ancient *Lombard* family, and had great power and authority in their city^k. *Mello*, with his kinsman *Datus*, had excited them to throw off the *Greek* yoke, and defended them against the attempts of *Curcua*; but he dying the following year, and *Basilus Bajanus* arriving as his successor with a strong reinforcement of *Macedonians*, the *Barisians* thought of a submission, and, to procure their peace with the *Greeks*, promised to deliver up *Mello* and *Datus*. The two chiefs, being informed of their design, fled from *Bari* to *Ascoli*, from whence *Mello* went to *Benevento*, afterwards to *Salerno*, and at last to *Capua*; while *Datus* retired with his wife and children to *Monte Cassino*, from whence he was invited by pope *Benedict*, and made governor of *Gavignano*. The Catapan *Bajanus* in the mean time entered *Bari*, and seizing the wife and son of *Mello*, sent them prisoners to *Constantinople*.

the
Greeks.
A. D.
1009.

MELLO was received at *Capua* with great kindness by *The Norman* *Pandolph II.* who had then associated his son and grandson with himself in the government. About a year after his arrival at *Capua*, or, according to some authors, five years after, a company of *Norman* adventurers arrived at *Rome*, and offered their service to the pope, who, struck with their military appearance, proposed to them to give their assistance to the *Lombard* princes against the *Greeks*, who had lately incroached greatly on the *Roman* empire^l. The chief of these *Normans* was one *Osmond Drengot*, who, having slain another lord in a duel, was obliged to leave his own country, to shun the resentment of his prince duke *Robert*. The reputation his countrymen had acquired a few years before at *Salerno*, and the kind invitation of *Guaimarius*, persuaded him to come to *Italy*; and, having had great authority and influence in *Normandy*, he was attended by four of his brothers, with their sons, nephews, and many other friends, who were resolved to share his fortune. *Mello*, who was waiting for an opportunity of delivering his country, immediately engaged the *Normans* to assist him; and, having drawn together a considerable army from *Benevento* and *Salerno*, marched against the *Greeks*, whom he intirely defeated, and obliged to abandon their camp. In this engagement the

cond time
in Italy.
1015.

Gain jews-
ral viBa-
ries over
the
Greeks &

^k LUP. Protospat. ap. MURATOR. t. iij. l. iij. c. 7.

^l GLABER.

The History of Naples.

Normans, and particularly one *Rodolphus*, distinguished themselves by their bravery; and the news of their success arriving in *Normandy*, an innumerable company, with their wives and children, left their native country, and, crossing the *Alps*, after a long and hazardous march, joined their countrymen in *Apulia*. After the arrival of this reinforcement, *Mello* again engaged *Bajanus*, and gained another victory, though with considerable loss. The *Greeks* were a third time defeated, and lost a great many of their towns; but at length are defeated. but *Bajanus*, the year after, venturing another battle at the city of *Capua*, gained a complete victory over *Mello* and the *Normans*, and recovered all his lost territory^m.

A. D. 1019. THIS defeat obliged *Mello*, and *Rodolphus* to apply to the emperor *Henry* for assistance, who received them very graciously, promised to send an army into *Italy*, and gave several rich presents to *Rodolphus*. During their absence, some *Normans* entered into the service of *Atenulph*, abbot of *Monte Cassino*; and, settling in the neighbourhood of *St. Germano*, defended the territories belonging to the monastery from the incursions of the counts of *Aquino*. Others of them had retired to *Datus* at *Garigliano*, and engaged to defend that citadel. *Bajanus*, in the mean time, having no enemy to contend with, and receiving large sums of money from *Constantinople*, prevailed on several cities to submit to the *Greek* emperor. He brought over the abbot *Atenulph* to his interest, by making a donation of a forfeited estate to the abby of *Cassino*, and prevailed on *Pandulph*, prince of *Capua*, to submit to *Basilus*, and to grant him a free passage thro' his territories against *Garigliano*. He accordingly surprised *Garigliano*, took *Datus* and the *Normans* prisoners, after they had defended themselves two days, and, pardoning the *Normans* at the desire of *Atenulphus*, put *Datus* to death as a traitor, by sewing him in a sack, and throwing him into the sea (L).

^m SIGON. ut supra. Luv. Protospat. an. 1019. ⁿ LEO
Ost. l. ii. c. 37, 38, 39.

(L) *Bajanus*, by this great success, having almost intirely re-established the affairs of the *Greeks* in *Italy*, made a separate province of the western part of *Puglia*, by the name of *Catapanata*, which is at this day called *Capitanata*. There is a frivolous dispute among some authors, whether it ought not still to retain its first name, or whether the name of the province was not originally derived from the *Latin Capitanus*. According to the express testimony of *Romuald the Salernitan*, the province received its name from the office of *Catapan* (1).

(1) *Romuald. Salern. Chron. ad an. 1013.*

THIS surprising progress of *Bajanus* at length awakened the emperor, especially as he was earnestly pressed to march into *Italy* by *Mello*, who had gone a second time into *Germany*, and by the pope, who had likewise passed the *Alps*. *Mello* died while the emperor was preparing for the expedition; but soon after *Henry* marched with a powerful army into *Italy*, dividing his troops into three bodies, and, giving the command of one division to *Poppe*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, of another to *Belgrimus*, archbishop of *Cologne*, and marching with the third himself through *Lombardy*, he wanted to seize the abbot of *Cassino*; but *Atenulphus*, being informed of his design, embarked at *Otranto* with the intention of sailing to *Constantinople*, but was shipwrecked during the voyage. *Capua* being surrounded by the division of the archbishop of *Cologne*, *Pandulph* surrendered to the prelate, on condition of being carried to *Henry*, before whom he promised to prove his innocence. The emperor was then besieging *Troja*, which had been rebuilt by *Bajanus* a few years before. The city surrendering a few days after, *Pandulph* was tried by all the barons, and unanimously condemned to die; but the emperor, prevailed upon by the intercessions of the archbishop, changed his sentence into perpetual banishment into *Germany*, and conferred the principality of *Capua* on *Pandulph*, count of *Tiano*, and gave the title of count to *Stephen*, *Mello*, and *Peter*, the nephews of the famous *Mello*. As his army suffered greatly by the excessive heats of *Apulia*, he marched back to *Rome*, after he had taken *Troja*, and several other cities, from the *Greeks*, and, according to some authors, gained a complete victory over them in the neighbourhood of *Salerno*, on which account he dedicated a church to the Holy Virgin. At his departure, he left several of his officers to assist the counts of *Tiano* in recovering *Bari*, and recommended the *Normans* to them and to the princes of *Benevento*, *Salerno*, and *Capua*. He left *Italy* the following year; and, dying the year after in *Germany*, was succeeded by *Conrad* the *Salic*, duke of *Franconia*, of the illustrious house of *Saxony*. *Glaber* informs us, that about the same time the famous *Rodolphus*, with a great many *Normans*, left *Italy*, and returned to their native country, where they were joyfully received by duke *Richard* their prince. Many of them, however, still remained in *Campania*, where they were treated with great contempt, and even inhumanity, by the inhabitants, who, forgetting their

es into
Apulia.
A. D.
1022,

Pandulphus,
prince of
Capua, is
banished.

succeeds to
the empire.
A. D.
1024.

* LEO Ost. ut supra.
† GLABER, l. iii. c. i.

‡ Vide SIGON. in regn. Ital.

obligations to them, suffered them to wander in the woods, without allowing them any place for shelter. The Lombard princes likewise, paying no regard to the emperor's recommendation, denied them their wonted pay and subsistence.

*Restores
Pandulphus to
his principality.*

A. D.
1026.

*He makes
himself
master of
Naples.*
1027.

*The Nor-
mans build
Aversa.*

THE Normans at last resolved to do themselves justice by arms; and chusing one *Turstin* for their leader, who had distinguished himself in the late war, and was particularly recommended by the emperor to the Lombard princes, they soon brought the inhabitants to be at their discretion. He dying soon after by the bite of a serpent, the Normans unanimously chose as his successor *Rainulphus*, another distinguished officer, who quickly made himself considerable by taking part in the civil disputes which happened in these provinces upon the succession of the emperor *Conrad*. The Normans were particularly oppressed by *Pandulph*, the new prince of *Capua*, who was likewise detested by his own subjects on account of his avarice. *Guaimarius* III. prince of *Salerno*, who had married the sister of the banished prince, and had gained the favour of the new emperor, being likewise offended with him, prevailed on *Conrad* to set his brother-in-law *Pandulph* IV. at liberty, and to order him to be restored to his principality. *Pandulph* accordingly, soon after arriving in *Italy*, was immediately joined by the Normans under *Rainulphus*; and, receiving troops from his brother-in-law *Guaimarius* and the Catapan *Bajanus*, invested *Capua*, which he made himself master of, after a siege of 18 months. The other *Pandulph*, the count of *Tiano*, found means, however, of getting the protection of *Bajanus*, who sent him and his son *John* to *Naples*, where he was kindly received by the duke *Sergius*. *Pandulphus* V. having recovered his principality, about 12 months after declared war against *Sergius*, on account of the protection he afforded to the count of *Tiano*; and, marching suddenly against *Naples* with an army, obliged the city to surrender, which none of the Lombard princes his predecessors had been able to effect. *Pandulph* of *Tiano* made his escape to *Rome*, where he soon after died. *Sergius* fled before the taking of the city; and, being informed that *Rainulphus* the Norman was greatly dissatisfied with the *Capuan* prince, who, since his restoration, had neglected to perform his engagements to him, he applied to him for assistance to recover his dukedom. *Rainulphus* was then building the city of *Aversa*, about 10 miles distant

* *L'œ Orient. l. ii. c. 38. Gul. Apul. ap. MURATORI. t. v. p. 255. WILLEL. Gemeticensis, l. vii. c. 43.*

from *Naples*; and, embracing the offers made to him by *Sergius*, immediately commenced hostilities against *Pandulphus*, who was at length obliged to quit *Naples*, after he had been about three years in possession of the city. *Sergius*, being sensible that he owed his restoration to *Rainulphus*, entered into a strict alliance with him, and married one of his relations; and, to shew his gratitude to his benefactor, he created *Rainulphus* a count, and erected the territory of *Aversa* into a county. *Rainulphus*, in order to peopple his new city, sent ambassadors to the duke of *Normandy*, giving him an account of his success, and inviting his countrymen to come and partake of his good fortune. In consequence of this invitation, great numbers of *Normans* a few years after came into *Italy*, among whom were *William*, *Drogo*, and *Umbert*, three of the sons of *Tancred*, duke of *Hauteville*, from whose posterity those princes were descended who first conquered *Sicily* from the *Saracens*, and formed the kingdom of *Naples* (M). These three sons of *Tancred*, upon their arrival in *Italy*, fixed themselves at *Salerno*, and offered their service to *Guaimarius* IV. who, about four years before, had succeeded his father in the principality. They were received by him with great regard, and employed by him in all his affairs.

A. D.
1030.

PANDULPHUS, prince of *Capua*, in the mean time, after he had been obliged to restore *Naples* to *Sergius*, had turned his arms against the monastery of *Cassino*. He imprisoned the abbot *Theobald*, and obliged the monks to chuse another of his own nomination; and, besides robbing the treasury, he seized several possessions belonging to the monastery. The monks made great complaints against him to the emperor, who, being likewise informed that the *Italians* were forming the design of a general revolt, entered *Italy* with a powerful

Conrad
marches to
Capua.
1038.

(M) *Tancred* was descended from *Rollo* the famous *Norman* pirate, who ravaged the coasts of *France* in the time of the emperor *Lewis* II. but afterwards, embracing Christianity, took the name of *Robert*, and married *Gisla* the sister of *Charles the Simple*. *Tancred* married two wives, *Moriella* and *Fredesiana*, by whom he had twelve sons and three daughters. By his first wife he had *William*, surnamed *Braccio di ferre*, or *Iron-arms*, *Drogo*, *Humphrey*, *Geoffry*, and *Serlo*. By his second, *Robert Guiscard*, *Malger*, *William*, *Alfred*, *Umbert*, *Tancred*, and *Roger*. Ten of these sons came as adventurers into *Italy*, and one of the daughters married a count of *Aversa* (1).

(1) *Malaterra*. l. i. c. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 19. & l. iii. c. 36. *Leo Ostiensis*. l. ii. c. 67.

army;

army; and having quieted the disturbances in *Lombardy*; and punished the rebels, proceeded to *Rome*. From thence he sent some of his officers to *Capua*, ordering *Pandulph* to restore all that he had taken from the monastery of *Cassino*; but no regard being had to his officers, he proceeded with his army to *Cassino*, and from thence to *Capua*. *Pandulphus*, afraid of the emperor's resentment, had left the city and fled to the castle of *St. Agatha*, which was very strongly fortified. However, thinking it most prudent, if possible, to make the emperor his friend, he offered for his pardon 300 pounds of gold; one half to be immediately paid, and his son and nephew to be given as hostages for the security of the payment of the rest. This offer was accepted by the emperor; but *Pandulphus* soon after repenting of what he had done, and refusing to fulfil his engagements; in hopes that, after the departure of the emperor, he would easily recover the possession of *Capua*, *Conrad*, by the advice of his barons, and the noblemen of *Capua*, deprived him of his
and confers
that prin-
cipality on
the prince
of Salerno.
 principality, which he conferred on *Guaimarius IV.* prince of *Salerno*, who, being in great favour with him, prevailed upon him to give the investiture of the county of *Aversa* to *Rainulphus* the Norman. The emperor, at the same time, restored *Atenulphus* bishop of *Capua*, who had been imprisoned by *Pandulphus*; and, having returned to *Germany* with his army, died the year following*. After his departure, *Pandulphus* left one of his sons in the castle of *St. Agatha*, and went to *Constantinople* to desire the assistance of the Greek emperor to recover *Capua*; but *Guaimarius* had such influence at that court, that *Pandulphus* was immediately ordered into banishment, where he continued two years, till the emperor's death; and though the succeeding emperor restored him to his liberty, he would not grant him any assistance.

GUAIMARIUS, in the mean time, by means of the *Normans*, made himself master of *Sorrento*, which he gave to his brother *Guido*, reserving only the title to himself. By their assistance likewise he conquered *Amalfi*, which he annexed to his principality; and soon after he assumed the title of duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*; so that no prince in those provinces equalled him in power and grandeur. However, the great authority and influence which he saw the sons of *Tancred* had acquired, beginning to give him some uneasiness, he seized the first opportunity of dismissing them. About the time that *Conrad* marched into *Italy*, the Greek emperor *Michael Paphlagon*, to secure the esteem of his vic-

His subjects, resolved to endeavour the recovery of Sicily from the Saracens; and, for that purpose, sent the Catapan Michael Maniacus with an army into Sicily. This commander, The Nor- hearing of the great reputation of the Normans, before he mans assist transported his troops from Calabria, sent to Guaimarius, in the Greeks in Sicily. A. D. 1040. treating him to grant him some of those warriors. His request was most willingly hearkened to by the prince of Salerno, who, to encourage the Normans to engage in the expedition, promised them some additional rewards besides the emperor's pay. William, Drogo, and Umberto; accordingly marched from Salerno with 300 of their countrymen; and passing over into Sicily, distinguished themselves most remarkably by their valour in the conquest of that island. Maniacus acknowledged, that the recovery of Messina was chiefly owing to their bravery; and William, with his Normans, gained a signal victory over the Saracens before Syracuse, and killed the governor of the city with a blow of his lance. Maniacus made himself master of Syracuse, and intirely reduced almost the whole island; but, being accused of treason, was conducted the following year a prisoner to Constantinople^t. Some authors assert, that he was murdered at Syracuse^u; and others, that he still continued in the command^w. His successor, according to Cedrenus and William of Puglia, was Doceanus, a man of no abilities, who quickly lost the whole island, except Messina, and treated his Norman auxiliaries with the most insolent contempt. He would not allow them any share in the booty, and even ordered one They are offended Ardoin, a noble Lombard, and associate and interpreter of the with the Normans, to be whipt round the camp, because he refused to Greek general; part with the horse of a Saracen whom he had slain in single combat.

THE consequences of this tyrannical behaviour were very fatal to the Greeks; for Ardoin and the Normans took a most severe revenge. At that time they dissembled their resentment; but Ardoin soon after obtaining leave to return to Italy, under pretence of going to Rome on account of a vow, he and all the Normans embarked at night, and crossed the Pharo to Reggio. Ardoin, instead of going to Rome, went immediately to Aversa, and persuaded count Rainulphus to join with him in the design which he had formed of attacking the Greek provinces in Italy, which he shewed would be an easy conquest, as the inhabitants submitted with great reluctance to the Greeks, and the provinces were at that time almost

^t CŒROPALAT. Hist.

^u LEO Oricnf. l. ii. c. 68.

^w MALATER. l. i.

intirely defenceless. *Rainulphus*, approving of his scheme, raised 300 soldiers, whom he sent under twelve officers to join the other *Normans* under the sons of *Tancred*; and made an agreement with *Ardoin*, that the conquests should be equally divided among the chief leaders. The two parties, being joined, immediately invested *Melphis*, one of the strongest cities in *Puglia*, which presently surrendered. They increased its fortifications so as to render it impregnable. They soon after made themselves masters of *Venesa*, *Ascoli*, and *Lavello*, with very little opposition. *Doceanus*, alarmed with the conquests of the *Normans*, immediately left *Sicily*, and marched with his army into *Puglia*, where he attacked the invaders near the river *Oliviento*; but, after a fierce engagement, he was obliged to retire with considerable loss. The *Greeks*, a few weeks after, were defeated a second time at *Canna*; and in a third engagement, which happened near the river *Ofanto*, the army of *Doceanus* was intirely routed, and he himself was obliged to fly to *Bari* *. The *Normans*, after these victories, chose *Atenulphus*, the brother of *Pandulph* III. prince of *Benevento*, for their leader, that they might secure the affection of the inhabitants. The court of *Constantinople*, in the mean time, was in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the death of the emperor *Michael* IV. and the ingratitude of his successor and nephew *Michael Calaphates*, who expelled the empress *Zoe*, the wife of his uncle, who had adopted him for her son. *Zoe*, however, a few months after, was restored to her former dignity by the people, and married *Constantinus Monomachus*, who became her partner in the empire, while *Calaphates* had his eyes put out, as a punishment for his ingratitude. During these domestic disturbances, *Doceanus* received orders to return to his command in *Sicily*; and sent another army to *Puglia*, under the command of *Exaugustus*, or, according to *Cedrenus*, of *Bojoannes*, son of the late Catapan *Bajanus*. This commander had no better success than his predecessor; for engaging with the *Normans*, near *Monte Pilofo*, his army was intirely routed, and he himself was taken prisoner. *Atenulphus*, however, without consulting the *Normans*, soon after set him at liberty, on receiving a considerable sum of money; which action so offended the adventurers, that they deprived him of the chief command, and conferred that dignity on *Argyrus*, the son of the late *Mello*, who had escaped from *Constantinople*, and, according to *Lupus*, Protospata, now assumed the title of prince

* *Guz.* Apul. *Leo.* Ostiens. ut supra. *MALATER.* l. i. c. 9. *Lup.* Protospat. Chron. ad an. 1041. & not. 87.

and duke of *Italy*¹. The same author relates, that, before this engagement, *Maniacus* had returned to *Italy*; and, to strike a terror into the revolted cities, executed a great many persons of all ages and sexes with great inhumanity². As the emperor *Constantinus* succeeded to the throne soon after his arrival in *Italy*, he openly rebelled against him, and prevailed upon his own army to proclaim him emperor, beginning hostilities immediately against the *Greek* cities. *Argyrus*, at the same time, took *Giovenazzo*, and besieged *Trani*, and soon after besieged *Maniacus* in *Taranto*, where he had fixed his chief residence. *Maniacus*, afraid of falling into the hands of the *Normans*, left *Taranto*, and went to *Otranto*; from whence he crossed the *Adriatic*, and engaged *Stephanus Sebastophorus* in *Bulgaria*, where he was intirely defeated; and, being taken prisoner, had his head struck off³.

THE *Normans*, in the mean time, having made many conquests, and being sensible of their own strength, resolved to render themselves more independent; and reflecting, that they owed a great deal of the reputation they had acquired to the valour of *William Braccio di ferre*, they assembled the following year at *Matera*, and unanimously elected him their commander in chief, honouring him likewise with the title of count. They then agreed to make an equal partition of their conquests, and for that purpose appointed a diet to be held in *Melfis*, to which they invited *Guaimarius* and *Rainulphus*. By the division which was made, the city of *Siponto* and *Monte Gargano*, with all the villages and places belonging to them, were given to *Rainulphus* count of *Aversa*; the city of *Ascoli* was conferred on *William* the count; *Drogo*, *Arnolfinus*, *Hugh*, *Peter*, *Walter*, *Rodolphus*, *Tristian*, *Erveus*, *Asclittinus*, *Rainfrid*, and *Ardoin*, all had their distinct shares; but the city of *Melfis* was left common to all, and reserved as a place for assembling to consult about the most important affairs of their nation. Though *Argyrus* was neglected in this division, yet, by having expelled the rebel *Maniacus* from *Italy*, he found means of acquiring the favour of the emperor *Constantine*, who, as a check upon the power of the *Normans*, conferred upon him the dignity of patrician; and likewise gave him the city of *Bari* and its territory, with the title of prince and duke of *Puglia*.

THE *Normans*, having now acquired great power, began to behave with great insolence to their neighbours. During the war in *Puglia*, those of *Aversa* had usurped several ter-

¹ LUP. Protospat. ad an. 1042. ² Idem ibid. GUL. Apul. l. i. ad fin. ³ CEDREN. p. 624, 625. ZONARAS.

ritories belonging to the abbey of *Cassino*, which the abbot finding impossible to recover, contented himself with receiving from them the oath of fidelity as vassals. They, however, did not cease their usurpations; but took possession of several other territories belonging to that monastery, and built a fort in the neighbourhood, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the abbot, whom *Rainulphus* endeavoured to seize by a stratagem; but was himself taken prisoner with his men. Upon his return to *Aversa*, he was resolved to revenge the affront by declaring war against the abbot, but was prevented by the authority of *Guaimarius*, who about the same time assisted count *William* in an expedition against the *Greeks* in *Calabria* ^b. *Rainulphus* did not long survive the peace; but dying, about a year afterwards, without any sons, was suc-

Drogo
succeeds his
brother as
count of
Puglia.

ceeded in the county by *Asclittinus de Quadrellis*, who had married his sister. The death of *Rainulphus* was preceded by that of *William Bracchio di ferre*, who was succeeded in the county of *Puglia* by his brother *Drogo*, or *Drago*. In the beginning of his government, all the rest of his brothers, except two, left their native country, and came into *Italy*, with many other *Norman* gentlemen, in the habit of pilgrims, that they might not be opposed by the *Italians*, who began to be very jealous of the power of these strangers. *Drogo* joyfully received these new adventurers, caused his brother *Unfred* to be created a count, and conferred the government of the castle of *St. Mark*, on the frontiers of *Calabria*, on his brother *William*, who, on account of his great prudence, was furnished *Guiscard*.

The emper-
ror Henry
comes to
Italy.
A. D.
1046.

MEAN while the great confusions in *Italy*, particularly in *Rome*, where three popes had divided the pontificate among themselves, brought the emperor *Henry II.* with an army, into *Italy*. Before his arrival, *Gratian*, a *Roman* priest, had prevailed on the three popes to resign, in consideration of receiving a yearly pension from the revenues of *St. Peter*; and by that means procured the pontifical dignity for himself, and took the name of *Gregory VI.* The emperor, however, disapproving of his intrusion, called a council at *Sutri*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where *Gregory* was deposed; but, according to some authors, was only prevailed upon to resign. *Henry* received the imperial crown from the succeeding pope *Clement II.* and after this ceremony dismissed part of his army with the empress, proceeding with the remaining part to *Monte Cassino*, accompanied with the pope. Having given several presents to the monastery, he marched to

^b LUP. Protospat. ut supra. LEO Ost. lib. ii. c. 71 & 72.

Capua, where he prevailed on *Guaimarius* to resign that principality, which he again conferred on *Pandulphus*, in consideration of a large sum of money^c. He was there visited by *Drogo* count of *Puglia*, and *Rainulphus* II. count of *Aversa*, who a little before had succeeded *Asclittinus*. These princes were very desirous of securing the favour of the emperor, who as willingly received them as his vassals; and having been presented by them with some fine horses, and a large sum of money, gave them the investiture of all those territories they were then in possession of. Afterwards proceeding to *Benevento*, *Pandulph* III. who, with his son *Landulph*, then governed that principality, shut the gates against him, being apprehensive that he would imitate the examples of the emperors *Otho* II. and III. who had allowed their army to plunder the inhabitants. *Henry*, in resentment of this affront, which he was not then in a condition to revenge, prevailed on the pope to excommunicate the city, and gave all the territory of that principality to the *Normans*. He then returned with his army to *Germany*, taking pope *Clement* along with him, who died that same year, in the month of *October*, of poison, which he is said to have received, while he was in *Italy*, from the antipope *Benedict*^d, who again seized upon the *Roman* see. The emperor, in the mean time, at the desire of the *Romans*, sent *Poppe* bishop of *Brescia*, or *Brixen*, to *Rome*, as successor to *Clement* II. who was accordingly crowned the following year in the month of *July*, when the antipope *Benedict* was prevailed upon to resign. He took the name of *Damasus* II. but dying twenty-three days after his elevation, the emperor, about three months after, sent *Bruno* bishop of *Toul*, his own relation, to be his successor, who was persuaded by *Hildebrand*, afterwards the famous *Gregory* VII. not to accept of the pontifical dignity upon the nomination of a layman. He therefore laid aside his pontifical robes; and, assuming the dress of a pilgrim, proceeded with *Hildebrand* to *Rome*, where he was unanimously elected by the people, and took the name of *Leo* IX. being greatly distinguished for his piety and the innocence of his life.

and confirms the
Normans in their
conquests.
A. D.
1047.

THE *Greek* emperor, in the mean time, hearing that *Henry* had granted the investiture of *Puglia* to the *Normans*, and that there were no hopes of expelling them by force, sent *Argyrus* with large sums of money from *Constantinople*, which was to be distributed among them, if they would engage in his service in a war which he was resolved to declare against the *Persians*. The *Normans* perceiving the snare,

^c LEO Ost. l. ii. c. 80.

^d ROMUALD. Chron. ad an. 1047.

*The inhabitants of
Puglia
massacre
the Nor-
mans.*

and answering, that they were determined not to leave *Italy*, unless expelled by force, *Argyrus*, by means of the same money, bribed the *Puglians* that were most intimate with count *Drogo* to assassinate him. The chief of the conspirators was one *Viso*, who, when the count was going in the morning to the church at his castle of *Montoglio*, stabbed him, while his associates attacked and killed a great many of his guard, and made themselves masters of the fort. Many more *Normans* were, about the same time, massacred in the other cities of *Puglia*; so that a greater number of them perished by this conspiracy, than had been killed in the late wars. *Umfred*, who had been declared count before the death of his brother, immediately assembled his countrymen, and retook the castle of *Montoglio*, and likewise defeated *Argyrus*, who with some troops endeavoured to take the advantage of the confusion occasioned by the massacre. *Argyrus*, besides bribing the *Puglians*, had recourse likewise to *Leo IX.* intreating his holiness to deliver *Italy* from the cruel *Norman* tyrants; and the inhabitants, who were now treated with greater severity by the *Normans*, privately solicited his holiness to march with an army into their country against their oppressors.

*Leo IX.
marches
against the
Normans.*

A. D.

1053.

Leo willingly hearkened to their complaints, as the *Normans*, besides continuing their hostilities against the *Greeks*, had of late made several incursions into the territories of the church; and, being then in *Germany*, he made an exchange with the emperor of several patrimonies belonging to the holy see in *Germany*, for other places in *Italy* subject to the emperor^e. The bishopric of *Bamberg* particularly was, at this time, exchanged for the city of *Benvenuto*^f; and the emperor, at the desire of *Leo*, granted him a powerful army to recover the territories of the church, which had been seized by the *Normans*. However, after the army had advanced into *Italy*, *Henry*, at the persuasion of *Geberard* bishop of *Eichstet*, countermanded a great part of it. Many *German* volunteers, and people of desperate fortunes, nevertheless continued with the pope, who, by his military preparations, greatly astonished all *Italy*. As he had a great reputation for sanctity, and was at the head of a body of *Germans*, and had a correspondence with *Argyrus* and the *Greeks* in *Apulia*, the *Normans* began to be very apprehensive, and sent a submissive embassy to him, offering to hold all their conquests as vassals of the *Roman* see. *Leo* neglecting their offer, and refusing to grant them peace, unless they first restored all their conquests, the *Normans* unanimously

^e HERMAN. Chron.

^f LEO Ost. l. ii. c. 46. & 85.

agreed

agreed rather to part with their lives than the territory they had acquired ; and attacking the pope's army, gained a complete, though bloody, victory : and a few days after besieging the city of *Civitate*, where *Leo* had fled, obliged him to absolve them from the sentence of excommunication, and to surrender himself their prisoner &. This military expedition of *Leo* is greatly censured by his cotemporaries *Hermain* the historian and the famous *Peter Damian* ; but *Baronius* is at great pains to defend his proceeding, and to prove, that the bishop of *Rome* has both the power of the temporal and spiritual sword ^b.

THE *Normans* received *Leo* with the greatest reverence ; and having set him, and all the other prisoners, at liberty, conducted him to the city of *Benevento*, where he arrived about the end of *June*. He was so pleased with the veneration shewn to him by the *Normans*, that in a letter, which he soon after wrote to the *Greek* emperor, he declared he would have been sorry to have obtained a victory ; and, according to *Malaterra*, he granted them, as an hereditary fief of the holy see, all the conquests they had already made, or should make for the future, in *Calabria* and *Sicily* ¹. The learned *Giannone* asserts, that this concession of the pope was nothing else but a testimony of his friendship for the *Normans*, who wanted him only to bless their arms, as a pretence to vindicate their acquisitions, and justify all their future undertakings ; for they restored nothing to his holiness of what he pretended to in *Benevento*, but gave that city to the prince *Pandulph* with his son *Landulph*, who had been expelled upon the approach of the *German* army, and served them as auxiliaries ^k. *Pandulph*, about four years after, forsook the world, and turned monk ; but *Landulph* held the principality till his death, which happened about twenty-four years after ^l. The pope, however, seems not to have acted with good faith towards the *Normans* ; for it appears, from his letter to the *Greek* emperor, that he had not laid aside his design of extirpating them from *Italy*, which, he said, he hoped quickly to accomplish by the assistance which he should receive from him and from his cousin *Henry* ^m. Death prevented the execution of this design ; for he sickned soon after at *Benevento*, and proceeding to *Rome*, died there the nineteenth of *April*. Count *Umsfred*, in the mean time, intirely reduced all

^b MALATER. l. i. c. 14. an. 1053.

^h Vide BARON. Annal. ad an. 1053.

¹ MALATER. ut supra ap. MURATOR. t. iii.

^k GIANNONE ut supra.

^l PEREGR. in Stem. Princ. Benevent.

ex Chron. S. Sophiæ.

^m Epist. Leon. ap BARON. ad an. 1054.

the cities of *Apulia*; and afterwards punished the authors of his brother's murder with great severity. The death of *Leo* freeing him from a watchful and zealous enemy, he proposed to enlarge his dominions by the conquest of *Calabria*, where, by the valour of his brother *Robert Guiscard*, he quickly made a considerable progress. The *Normans*, about the same time, granted their assistance to *Gisulfus* II. in recovering the city of *Salerno*, which had been surprized by some *Amalfitans* and *Salernitans*, who, the year before the expedition of *Leo* IX. had murdered his father *Guamarius* IV.

Count Umfred dies, and is succeeded by Robert Guiscard; After the war had continued about two years in *Calabria*, count *Umfred* died; leaving only two young sons, *Bacelardus* and *Hermannus*, whom he committed to the care of his brother *Robert*, who immediately, upon his desire, assumed the government of *Puglia*.

A. D.

1056.

THE short reigns of the two successors of *Leo* IX. contributed greatly to the establishment of the power of the *Normans* in *Calabria*. *Geberard* bishop of *Eichstet*, who, after a vacancy of near twelve months, succeeded *Leo*, and took the name of *Victor* II. regretted his former opposition to the expedition of his predecessor; but was prevented by death from forming any design against them. After he had enjoyed the pontifical dignity two years, he was succeeded by *Frederic* abbot of *Monte Cassino*, and brother of *Godfrey* the husband of *Beatrice* countess of *Tuscany*, betwixt whose family and that of the emperor there was a kind of hereditary animosity. The new pope, who took the name of *Stephen* X. soon after his elevation, resolved upon an expedition against the *Normans*; and as the emperor *Henry* had died the year before, and left his dominions to his infant son *Henry* IV. he proposed to confer the imperial dignity on his own brother *Godfrey* duke of *Tuscany*, and afterwards, in conjunction with him, to march into *Puglia*: but before he could bring his schemes to maturity, he died suddenly at *Florence*, in the eighth month of his pontificateⁿ. After his death a schism ensued at *Rome*, which continued for ten months, when *Benedict* the schismatical pope resigned, and *Nicholas* II. who had been legally elected, obtained the peaceable possession of the chair. About the same time great revolutions happened in the court of *Constantinople*. *Isaac Comnenus* had renounced the empire and assumed the habit of a monk, while several competitors endeavoured by force to procure the succession, which was at last secured by *Isaac Comnenus* o.

ⁿ LEO Ost. I. ii. c. 99 & 100. BARON. Annal. • CURE-
SALAT. Hist.

DURING these confusions at Rome and Constantinople, who as-
 Robert Guiscard made great progress in Calabria. After ^{sumes the} making himself master of almost all the cities and places of
 strength in that province, he at last reduced Reggio, after ^{title of} which conquest he caused himself to be proclaimed duke of
 Puglia and Calabria^p. The year before he had divorced his ^{duke of}
 first wife. Alberada, who was too nearly related to him, and ^{Puglia and}
 had married Sikelgaita, one of the sisters of Gisulphus II. ^{Calabria;}
 prince of Salerno^q. About the same time he gave assistance ^{A. D.}
 to his brother Geoffry count of Capitanata, and granted a ^{1059.}
 share of his conquests to his youngest brother Roger, who
 had been very active in robbing and plundering the inhabit-
 ants of Calabria, which the historian Malaterra says he does
 not mention to his reproach; but takes notice of, expressly
 by his own desire, to shew from what poverty he arrived at
 the greatest honour. While the sons of Tancred were thus
 extending their dominion, the Norman counts of Aversa were
 likewise enlarging their territory. Richard I. the son of Af-
 flittinus, invaded the principality of Capua; and besieging the
 city, obliged the inhabitants to surrender, and Landulphus V.
 to quit the government. After causing himself to be crowned
 prince of Capua, he reduced all Campania; and returning to
 the city, obliged the inhabitants to deliver up to him the
 gates and towers of the city, which at first he had left in
 their possession. Thus ended the dominion of the Lombards
 in Capua, which had continued in an uninterrupted series of
 160 years from Atenulphus to this Landulphus V. whose chil-
 dren the abbot Desiderius mentions he saw going about as
 vagabonds, begging bread to support their miserable lives^r.

NICHOLAS II. finding the power of the Normans continu-
 ally increasing, immediately after his accession denounced a
 sentence of excommunication against them, under pretence
 that they had seized some territories belonging to the holy
 see. Notwithstanding this sentence, Robert Guiscard abso-
 lutely refused to part with the disputed territory; however,
 as he was by many of the *Puglians* looked upon as an utur-
 per, and his nephew Bucilardus had prevailed upon some
 cities to revolt in his favour, he thought it most prudent to
 procure, if possible, the friendship of the pope. He accord-
 ingly sent a submissive embassy to him, intreating him to
 come into Apulia, and promising to give him satisfaction if
 he would restore him to the communion of the church. Ni-

^p LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 16. SIOON. ut supra. ^q MALATER.
 l. i. c. 30, 31. PEREGRIN. in Stem. ^r DESID. Dial. l. iii.
 PEREGRIN. in Stem.

and re-
ceives the
investiture
of those
duchies
from the
pope.

cholas willingly agreed to this proposal, being sensible, by the misfortune of his predecessor *Leo*, that the *Normans* could not be easily extirpated out of *Italy*; and after *Whitfuntide* he proceeded to *Melphis*, where he held a council for reforming several ecclesiastical abuses, and had a conference with the *Norman* princes. Both parties being sensible that they needed each others assistance, they soon came to an agreement; and *Robert* restoring what he had taken from the church, and consenting to hold all his conquests as a sief of the holy see, *Nicholas* absolved the *Normans* from the sentence of excommunication, and solemnly gave the investiture of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, to duke *Robert*, and the principality of *Capua* to *Richard*, count of *Aversa*, both princes taking the oath of fidelity to the pope, and promising to pay a yearly acknowledgement of twelve pence of *Pavia*, for every yoke of oxen in their dominions. This agreement was probably made without much difficulty, as both parties had nothing in view but to rob their neighbours of their rights, and to make their advantage by the bargain (N).

The

(N) About this period, nothing was more dreaded than the censures of the church, which the popes perverted from their primitive use, and applied them to secular matters, using them chiefly for the defence and recovery of temporal possessions; the people believing, that if usurped territories and goods were not restored after the sentence of excommunication was denounced, the possessors were irrecoverably damned, imputing the damnation more to the censure than to the sin. Officers and soldiers, who did not stand in awe to offend God by robbing their neighbours, were so overawed by the dread of excommunication, that they abstained from the possessions of the church with great respect; so that those who were not able to preserve their effects from being seized by force, a thing too common in that age, were induced to make them over to

the church, on condition that they should still be masters of their estates, and hold them of the church in sief, for a small acknowledgement. This custom contributed greatly to the enlargement of the church; for when the male issue of the feudatories failed, which often happened in those times, by reason of the continual wars and popular seditions, the estates devolved to the church. Neither princes nor people were at pains to inquire into the authority assumed by the popes in creating dukes and counts, and of obliging them to swear fealty to them. They were contented to be protected from the rapacity of their neighbours by excommunications, which were then so terrible. The *Normans* then very politically declared themselves vassals of the popes, that none might pretend to make war against them, without exposing themselves to the censures

The pope particularly immediately made use of his new friends to quell the insolence of the counts of *Tusculum*, now *Frescati*; and upon his return to *Rome*, took with him a great number of *Normans*, who, at his desire, ravaged the territories belonging to the *Tusculan* family, on the south side of the *Tyber*; and afterwards passing that river, destroyed all the castles of count *Gerard*, as far as *Sutri*. *Nicholas* survived this transaction about two years, and died at *Rome*, in the third year of his pontificate.

The Normans assist the pope against the counts of Tusculum.

ROBERT, in the mean time, continued the war against those cities which still held for the *Greeks*, while his brother, count *Roger*, passed over with an army into *Sicily* against the *Saracens*. The duke made himself master of *Brindisi*, *Taranto*, and *Matera*, and a few years after besieged *Bari*, both by sea and land. This city was superior to all the rest in *Puglia* in wealth and greatness, and had been strongly fortified by the *Greeks*, who had sent thither a numerous garrison, under the command of the *Catapan* *Stephen Pateranus*, or *Sebastophorus*. *Robert*, however, persevering in the siege, at last made himself master of the place, which had been defended by the inhabitants and garrison for more than three years*. After the reduction of this city *Robert* embarked, and sailed with a fleet of fifty-eight ships for *Sicily*, in order to assist his brother *Roger* in the conquest of that island. In the mean time great confusions had happened at *Rome*, where *Alexander II.* had been elected pope, without the consent of the emperor, who, to support his prerogative, had nominated one *Cadulus* to the pontificate. This antipope was condemned in two or three councils, while *Alexander* was supported by *Godfrey*, marquis of *Tuscany*, who protected him against the other faction, and marched with an army as far as *Aquino* against *Richard*, count of *Aversa*, who endeavouring to take advantage of the disturbances in *Rome*, hoped by force to cause himself to be elected a patrician. *Godfrey* had several skirmishes with the *Normans*; but at last having received a large sum of money from *Richard*, he retired with

* LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 16. MALATER, l. ii. c. 43. BEATIL. Hist. di Bari, l. ii. GUL. Apul. t. iii.

tures of the church. Upon this of supreme dominion over the weak and tottering foundation, kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* the popes have built their claim (1).

(1) Vide Gianone Hist. di Napol. Fecia de Subseud. l. i. p. 53.

Sicily conquered by the Normans. A. D. 1071. his army¹. *Alexander II.* at last obtaining the quiet possession of the *Roman see*, by the death of his competitor; confirmed the investiture of *Puglia* and *Calabria* to duke *Robert*, and sent a blessed standard to count *Roger*, to testify his approbation of his *Sicilian* expedition. *Roger*, before the arrival of his brother *Guiscard*, had almost intirely conquered the island of *Sicily*; and being joined by his forces, at last made himself master of *Palermo*, after a siege of five months. *Robert* gave the investiture of the whole island to *Roger*, with the title of count, reserving only to himself the half of *Palermo*, *Messina*, and the valley of *Demonia*; and returning to *Puglia* stopped at *Melphis*, where he was received with acclamations by the greatest part of the barons of *Puglia* and *Calabria*. The count of *Trani*, however, still refusing to acknowledge him as his sovereign, *Robert* besieged and took that city, with several other towns depending upon it, and soon after surprized his son; but as the young prince then consented to take the oath of fealty to him, he generously restored all that he had taken from him, except *Trani*.

POPE *Alexander II.* in the mean time died at *Rome*, and was succeeded the next day by the famous *Hildebrand*, who took the name of *Gregory VII.* whose turbulent and ambitious spirit first gave rise to those imperial and papal factions, which disturbed the peace of *Italy* for several hundred years after. In the beginning of his pontificate, a difference happened betwixt duke *Robert* and his brother-in-law *Gisulphus*, prince of *Salerno*, which gave a new opportunity to the *Normans* of extending their conquests. The *Amalfitans* being treated with great rigour and severity by prince *Gisulphus*, in resentment for their disloyalty to his father, had recourse to the intercession of *Guiscard*, who accordingly sent an embassy to his brother-in-law in their behalf. *Gisulphus*, who did not desire his intercession, treated his ambassadors with great coldness, and remonstrated to them, that the duke had seized *Areco* and *Sancta Euphemia*, with some other places belonging to his principality, which he insisted should be immediately restored. *Robert* proposed to accommodate the difference amicably; but *Gisulphus* obstinately refused to treat, probably trusting to the assistance of *Richard*, prince of *Capua*, who was then at variance with *Robert*, and had espoused his interest. *Robert*, finding that a rupture was unavoidable, privately adjusted his difference with the prince of *Capua*, who even agreed to assist him against *Gisulphus*; and having made a treaty with the *Amalfitans*, and put a garrison in-

Robert
Guiscard
conquers
Salerno.

¹ LEO Ost. l. iii. c. 23.

to their city, he prepared to attack *Salerno*. *Gisulphus*, notwithstanding the intreaties of the pope and *Desiderius*, abbot of *Cassino*, still obstinately refused to hearken to an accommodation, though *Robert* had already advanced with his troops to the neighbourhood of *Salerno*. *Robert* at last commenced the siege, and by the assistance of his brother count *Roger*, in a few months made himself master of *Salerno* and *San Severino*, his two nephews *Bucelardus* and *Hermannus*, who had espoused the cause of *Gisulphus*, being obliged to fly to *Constantinople*, and *Gisulphus* himself being compelled to put himself under the protection of the pope, who granted him a small territory in *Campania di Roma*. *Robert* resolving to pursue his enemy, marched with his army into *Campania*, and even seized some places belonging to the pope in the march of *Ancona* ^u. *Gregory*, provoked by these hostilities, *He is ex-* immediately excommunicated him and prince *Richard*, with *communi-* all their adherents, and ordered a numerous army, which he *cated by* had assembled for the assistance of the *Greek* emperor, to *the pope.* march against the *Normans*. *Robert* and *Richard*, finding themselves attacked both by spiritual and temporal arms, thought proper to retire with their troops from the church territories. *Robert* marched with his army and besieged *Benevento*, while *Richard* invested the city of *Naples*. *Robert*, however, finding his attempt fruitless, soon after retired. *Richard* continued before *Naples*, with great obstinacy, about two years, when having obtained absolution from the pope, he died during the siege, leaving his principality to his son *Jordanus*, whom, during his life-time, he had associated with himself in the government. *Richard, prince of Capua, is succeeded by his son Jordan-*

THE new prince immediately drew upon himself the resentment of pope *Gregory*, by plundering a bishop who was going to *Rome*, and by robbing the monastery of *Cassino* of a considerable sum of money: but from *Leo Ostiensis* it appears, that he afterwards gave several precious gifts to the monastery, to which he likewise afforded his protection. The year before the death of *Richard*, the succession of the princes of *Benevento* failed in *Landulphus* VI. who died without leaving issue, and the title of that principality became extinct. *Gregory VII.* immediately laid claim to the city, in consequence of the exchange formerly made betwixt *Leo IX.* and the emperor *Henry*; but *Guiscard*, without regarding his pretensions, renewed the siege, though he thereby drew upon himself a repetition of the sentence of excommunication ^w.

^u PAUL DIAC. l. iii. c. 45.
1078. LEO Olt.

^w BARON. Annal. ad an.

Gregory
is recon-
ciled to the
Norman
princes,
and gives
them in-
vestiture.
A. D.
1080.

The pope, however, having made *Jordanus* prince of *Capua* his friend, prevailed upon him to raise the siege of *Naples*, and while *Guiscard* was absent in *Calabria*, to withdraw his auxiliary troops from before *Benevento*, and to level the works, and destroy the machines, made for carrying on the attacks. *Guiscard*, provoked by this behaviour of *Jordanus*, returned with an army from *Calabria*, reduced a great many cities of the duchy of *Benevento*, and marched to the river *Sarno*, with the intention of attacking the *Capuan* prince. The abbot *Desiderius*, however, prevented an engagement, and not only reconciled the two princes, but also accommodated all differences betwixt duke *Robert* and the pope, who had a conference near the *Garigliano*; when the duke, being absolved by *Gregory*, took the oath of fidelity to him, and received from him the investiture of *Puglia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*. *Gregory* also gave him permission to hold *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and part of the march of *Ancona*, which he said he had unjustly seized; but the duke consented to resign all his pretensions to the city of *Benevento*, which was then united to the dominions of the *Roman* see. The uncommon condescension of the pope, in allowing the duke to retain *Salerno*, and part of the church territories, was probably owing to the difficulties in which he found himself involved, by his dispute with the emperor, about the right of investitures. *Henry* having been excommunicated and deposed by him, in return assembled a council at *Brixen*, or *Brescia*, in which *Gregory* was deposed, and the archbishop of *Ravenna* elected, by the name of *Clement III*. As a powerful party in *Italy*, both of ecclesiastics and barons, favoured the emperor's cause, *Gregory* found the necessity of having a formidable protector; therefore being reconciled to the *Normans* without much difficulty, he immediately published a letter, declaring his intention of marching against the antipope at *Ravenna*, with the princes *Robert* and *Jordanus*.

THIS expedition, however, never took place, and perhaps was never intended, as *Robert Guiscard* at the same time had another in view, in which he was more personally concerned. Some years before he had given one of his daughters, named *Helena*, in marriage to *Constantine*, the son of the *Greek* emperor *Michael Ducas*, who was afterwards dethroned by *Nicephorus Botoniates*, and together with his wife, son, and daughter-in-law, thrust into a monastery. This year *Michael*, or, according to the *Greek* writers, an impostor, who called himself *Michael*, arrived in *Italy*, and begged the assistance of the pope and the duke *Robert*. *Gregory* received him in an honourable manner, and wrote to the

the archbishops and bishops in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, desiring them to encourage the people to assist him in recovering his throne, and to give absolution of sins to all those who would engage in that expedition. *Robert* likewise espoused his cause with great eagerness, and declared, that he would conduct him to *Constantinople* at the head of an army.

HAVING prepared every thing for the expedition, he was informed that the usurper *Nicephorus* was expelled by *Alex-ius Comnenus*, who had been declared emperor by the army, and had taken *Helena* from the monastery, and treated her with great honour. *Robert*, nevertheless, continued his design of invading *Greece*; and the following year, having declared *Roger* his eldest son, by his second wife *Sikelgaita*, heir of his dominions, and committed the government to his care, he embarked with his troops for the *Greek* territories, being accompanied by *Sikelgaita*, and his son *Boemundus*, whom he had by his first wife. The various incidents of this war are related by *Malaterra*, *William* of *Puglia*, and the famous princess *Anna Comnena*, the daughter of the *Greek* emperor: but here we shall only observe, that tho' *Alexius* was assisted by a *Venetian* fleet, *Robert* made himself master of the island of *Corfu*, reduced *Durazzo*, conquered a great part of *Romania*, and by the success of his arms, and approach to the neighbourhood *Constantinople*, struck an universal terror among the *Greeks*.

IN the mean time the emperor *Henry*, having defeated and killed his rival *Rodolphus*, marched with a powerful army into *Italy* against the pope; and that he might deprive him of the assistance of the duke of *Puglia*, he proposed a marriage betwixt his son and the duke's daughter, and to grant him the march of *Ancona*. The treaty, however, was rejected by *Robert*, who still continued faithful to *Gregory*. *Henry* was more successful with *Jordanus*, prince of *Capua*, who espoused his cause, and granted him succours both in men and money. He besieged *Rome* the three following summers, and at last made himself master of the city, except the castle of *St. Angelo*, whither the pope retired, and pressed duke *Robert* to return to his assistance. *Robert's* presence in *Italy* was required on another account; for the inhabitants of *Puglia*, encouraged by the emperor's arrival at *Rome*, rebelled against duke *Roger*, in hopes of driving out their tyrannical masters by the assistance of the imperial army. The duke therefore left the command of his army to his son *Boemund*, and the count of *Brienne*, and

A: D. 1083. landing at *Otranto* with a small body of his men, on board two ships, immediately attacked and dispersed some of the rebels. He reduced *Troja* and *Ascoli*, and intirely destroyed the city of *Cannæ*; by which means having quieted the commotions in *Apulia* (O), he marched against *Jordanus*, and besieged *Aversa*. The city, however, making a vigorous defence, and the pope being reduced to great difficulties, he raised the siege, and proceeded to *Rome*. Before his arrival, *Henry* had left the city with his army; but the *Romans*, who were brought over to his interest, still besieged the pope in the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Guiscard* surprized the city, and after several skirmishes in the streets with the imperial party, he got possession of the capitol, set the pope at liberty, and conducted him in triumph to the *Lateran* palace. Soon after, under pretence that the *Romans* were forming a conspiracy against him, he set fire to the city, put a great many of the inhabitants to death, and obliged those who were suspected of disaffection to the pope to give hostages for their good behaviour. *Gregory*, however, finding the imperial faction too powerful in *Rome*, thought proper to quit the city; and at the departure of *Guiscard*, went with him to *Salerno*, where he continued till his death, which happened the year after.

Robert
Guiscard
delivers
the pope.
1084.

He returns to Greece. GUISCARD, in the mean time, made great preparations to return to *Greece* to second his son *Boemund*, who, during his absence, had gained a remarkable victory over *Alexius*. He embarked a large body of troops, and being accompanied with his son *Roger*, put to sea in the end of autumn. *Alexius* being assisted by the *Venetians*, endeavoured to oppose his passage, but was intirely defeated, with the loss of a great many gallies. After *Guiscard* landed, he was prevented that winter from undertaking any enterprize, by a contagious distemper which seized his army and carried off upwards of 10,000 men. *Boemund* was likewise seized with the distemper, and obliged to return to his native air in *Italy*; though some authors allege, that his illness was the effect of poison, administered to him by his stepmother *Sikelgaita*, who was afraid lest, after his father's death, he

(O) This rebellion in *Puglia* was probably raised by the emperor *Alexius*, as a means of obliging his formidable enemy to retire; nor we find he ex-

horted *Henry* to attack his territories, and for that purpose sent him 144,000 solidi of gold, and 100 pieces of scarlet (1).

(1) *Anna Comn. ut supra. Bertbold, ad an. 1094. Epist. Hen. t. xii. Spicil. p. 228.*

should seize on *Puglia* and *Calabria*, to the prejudice of her son *Roger* ². After the departure of *Boemund*, *Guiscard* the following year ordered his son *Roger* to besiege *Cephalonia*, which had revolted; but while he was intent on this expedition he was seized with a violent fever, and obliged to retire to *Casopolis*, a small castle in the island of *Corfu*, where he died in the month of *July*, in the 60th year of his age. *His death*. The news of his death struck his army with consternation, and retreating immediately in a great panic, they embarked with great precipitation for *Italy*; those that could not be taken on board surrendering themselves prisoners to the *Greeks* ³. *Sikelgaita* carried her husband's corpse with her to *Italy*; but the ship in which it was carried being wrecked, with many others, on the coasts, the heart and bowels were obliged to be left at *Otranto*, but the body being a second time embalmed, was interred at *Venosa*. *A. D.* 1085.

SUCH was the end of this ambitious conqueror, whose successful prudence and valour raised him from a private gentleman to such power and greatness as to become formidable to both the eastern and western emperor (P). Some authors allege, *Roger takes possession of Puglia and Calabria.*

² ODER. VITAL. l. vii.

³ GUL. Apul. lib. ult.

(P) *Robert* left two sons, and several daughters, by his two wives. He governed *Puglia* thirty years, and *Salerno* ten, in which city he fixed the seat of his government, as it was then become very famous by its extensive traffick, great wealth, and numerous schools for the study of philosophy and physic. It is called by *Romuald* the *Salernitan*, *Civitatem Medicinæ*, by way of eminence (1). The foundation of the *Schola Salerni* is erroneously attributed by some to *Charlemagne*; who never was in possession of that city. It is more probable, that they owed their origin to the *Arabs* and *Saracens*, who, about 300 years before this period, had begun to study the philosophy

of *Aristotle* with great ardour, and had translated many *Greek* books into their own language. The city of *Salerno* being seated on the sea coast, was greatly frequented by these oriental people, whose learning had been for some time in great request. The reputation of the schools was particularly raised by one *Constantine*, born at *Carthage*, who after studying 39 years in the east, was persecuted upon his return to his native country, and took refuge in *Salerno*, where he remained privately in the disguise of a beggar, till he was discovered by the king of *Babylon's* brother, who had come to pay a visit to *Robert Guiscard*, and had known him at *Babylon*. *Constantine*, after this discovery,

(1) Rom. Salern. ad an. 1075.

allege, that duke *Robert* made a partition of his dominions by a will, leaving *Sicily* to his brother *Roger*, his conquests in the east to *Boemund*, and all that he possessed in *Italy* to his second son. But he either did not make a will, or his sons were not contented with it; for immediately after his death, *Boemund* and *Roger* both pretended to the succession, and each of them raised considerable factions in their favour. *Roger*, by the address of his mother, secured the interest of his uncle count of *Sicily*, and immediately took possession of the *Italian* dominions, obtaining likewise from the count several places in *Calabria*, which had been subject to him during the life of *Robert*. *Boemund*, before his father's death, had returned to *Greece*, where being informed that his brother *Roger* had usurped the whole dominions in *Italy*, he returned with his army, and landing at *Otranto*, immediately began hostilities against his brother. The war continued for near three years, during which time *Boemund* conquered several cities; but at length an accommodation was effected betwixt the two brothers by *Urban II.* who, upon the death of *Victor III.* the successor of *Gregory*, had been elected pope. By this agreement *Boemund* was left in possession of the places he had conquered, and

He is reconciled to Boemund by the intercession of the pope.

was treated by *Robert* with great distinction, and continuing at *Salerno*, promoted the study of philosophy and physic with great zeal. Afterwards he became a monk, and retiring to *Cassino*, spent his time in composing many treatises of physic, and in translating books from different languages (2). The monks of *Cassino* likewise contributed to raise the reputation of the *Salernitan* schools. During the time of pope *John VIII.* the abbot *Bassacio* published a treatise on the qualities of medicines (3); *Affano* and *Guarsa*, archbishops of *Salerno*, were expert in physic, and the noble *Salernitans* were fond of studying that science (4). *John de Procida*, who afterwards pro-

moted the *Sicilian* vespers, was a noble *Salernitan*, and celebrated physician (5). *Giannone* likewise mentions, that a treatise on physic was published in the year 1100, and dedicated by the whole *Salernitan* school to *Robert*, a *Norman*, titular king of *England* (6). The first that gave laws to those schools was *Roger I.* king of *Sicily*. They were afterwards favoured by *Frederic II.* who prohibited any one to profess physic, till he had obtained a licence from the physicians of *Salerno* or *Naples*. Other princes likewise conferred honours and privileges on these schools; and at last they were raised to be an university, and had the privilege of conferring the degree of doctor.

(2) *Chron. Cassin. P. Diacon. l. iii. c. 35.*
 c. xiii. (4) *Leo Qst. l. iii. c. 7.*
 (6) *Idem ibid.*

(3) *P. Diac. de vir. illuf.*
 (5) *Giannone Hist. di Napol.*

had, besides *Maida* and *Cosenza*; which last city was afterwards exchanged for *Bari*. The following year *Roger* and *Boemund* again waited upon the pope at *Melfhis*, where, in the month of *September*, he celebrated a council, and confirmed the agreement formerly made betwixt them ^b.

A. D.
1088.

A few months after *Jordanus*, prince of *Capua*, died, Richard and was succeeded by his son *Richard II.* then a boy, who II. is ex- being soon after expelled from *Capua* by the *Lombards*, of *pelled Campania*, retired to *Aversa* ^c. In the mean time the city from *Ca-* of *Cosenza* revolting from *Roger*, he had recourse to his un- *pua*.
1090.

cle the count, by whose assistance having reduced the rebels, he resigned to him the half of *Palermo*, which had been reserved by his father; so that each of them having quitted the territories which they held in each other's dominions, the two states began to be governed by their separate laws and customs. After the quelling of this revolt, duke *Roger* married *Adala*, the daughter of *Robert Frisus*, marquis of *Flanders*, and niece of *Philip*, king of *France*, by whom he had two sons, *William* and *Lewis*. While they were both infants, he was seized with a fever at *Melfhis*, which reduced him to such extremity that he was given over by his physicians; and a rumour prevailed that he was dead. *Boemund*, who was then in *Calabria*, immediately assembled some troops, and marching into the dominions of his brother, obliged several cities to take the oath of allegiance to him; pretending, however, that he intended to assume the government only during the minority of his nephews. The duke was greatly alarmed with this proceeding, and sent to his uncle for assistance, who soon obliged *Boemund* to retire. The brother being now sensible of his rashness, and hearing that the duke was recovered, contrary to expectation, came to *Melfhis*, to congratulate him; and having excused his proceeding, and restored all that he had seized, offered him his assistance to reduce some cities that had revolted. Among these were *Rossana* and *Amalfi*. *William de Grantarul*, who had married the duke's niece, had seized *Rossana*; but being quickly reduced by the duke's forces, in conjunction with those of *Boemund* and count *Roger*, he was obliged to fly with his wife to *Constantinople*. The count, however, soon after, on account of his affinity, was reconciled to him, and restored him all his territories, except the castle of *St. Maur*.

Duke Ro-
ger reduces
Rossana.
1094.

^b PEREGRIN, ad Lup. Protospat. an. 1089. ROMUALD. Sa-
leth. ap. Baron. ^c PEREGRIN in Stem. Princ. Norm.

^d MALATRA. l. iv. c. 22.

and be-
sieves A-
malfi, but
without
success.

A. D.
1096.

IN the mean time he marched against the *Amalfitans*, who had destroyed the forts built in their city by *Robert Guiscard*, and expelled all those who favoured the *Normans*. The city was populous, and strongly fortified; and the inhabitants were fond of liberty, which they had long enjoyed. The duke therefore, sensible that it would be difficult to reduce them, invested the city with a powerful army, both by sea and land. Besides his own forces, his brother *Boemund* joined him with a large body of troops from *Calabria*, and his uncle *Roger* transported from *Sicily* an army of 20,000 *Saracens*, with an infinite number of other nations*.

THE city was at last reduced to the greatest extremity, when a very singular accident contributed to its preservation. *Urban II.* by his pathetic discourses the year before, in the council of *Clermont* in *France*, had raised a romantic and enthusiastic spirit over all *Europe*, of undertaking an expedition into the *Holy Land*, for the recovery of *Jerusalem*. During the siege, great numbers of the crusaders wandering in *Puglia* without a leader, *Boemund*, who remembered his former expeditions with his father in *Romania*, which he was still ambitious of conquering, immediately assumed the cross; and, with great appearance of devotion and zeal, exhorted others to follow his example. He was so successful, as to prevail on the best part of the allied army, that was before the city to assume the cross, and to make a vow not to attack any Christians till after their return from the *Holy Land*. The duke being thus deprived of the flower of his troops, was obliged, to his great mortification, to abandon his enterprize, when at the point of success†.

Boemund soon after passed over into *Greece* at the head of a formidable army, and was accompanied with his cousin the famous *Tancred*, who distinguished himself greatly in that sacred expedition‡. Before his departure he resigned all his dominions in *Italy* to his brother *Roger*, who the following year assisted *Richard II.* in recovering the principality of *Capua*.

Richard II. is restored to the principality of *Capua*.

Richard owed his restoration chiefly to the power of the count of *Sicily*, whose protection and assistance he purchased by submitting to become his vassal, and promising him the city of *Naples*, though he does not appear what right he had to dispose of that city, which was not at this time in his possession, but was still governed by its

* LUF. Protospat. ad an. 1096.

† Vide BARON. ad an. 1097.

‡ MALATER. l. iv. c. 24.

GIANNONE Hist. di Napoli. l. x. c. 8.

town dukes, in the form of a republic. Roger, in the spring, transported a very formidable army from Sicily, with which he ravaged Campania and, invested Capua, which after a siege of forty days was obliged to surrender, and submit to Richard upon his own terms. After the reduction of the city, the duke and count returned to Salerno, where they were visited by pope Urban, who, in consideration of the many services rendered by the count to the apostolic see, granted a bull, appointing him, and the son that should succeed him, his legates in Sicily; from whence the princes, who have since succeeded to that island, have claimed the right of being sovereigns both in spirituals and temporals; and though the church of Rome has made great opposition to their claim, they have, nevertheless, still retained this eminent prerogative *.

In the mean time Boemund having taken Antioch, usurped the title of prince of that city, which dignity he likewise transmitted to posterity. About six years after he arrived in Italy, and had a conference at Rome with pope Paschal II. the successor of Urban, after which he proceeded to France, to marry Constantia, the daughter of king Philip⁶. Before his arrival in Italy, his uncle, the great count Roger, died, in the 70th year of his age, and was buried in the city of Melfo in Calabria. He left behind him two young sons by his last wife, and two daughters, who were married to two Lombard counts. Simon, his eldest son, survived only a few months, and it seems uncertain whether he was ever in possession of the county of Sicily¹; so that Roger II. afterwards king, may justly be reckoned his immediate successor. A few years after his succession, Robert, brother of the prince of Capua, endeavoured to seize that principality. Prince Richard, however, held it till his death, which happened two years after, when it was seized by Robert, who held it twelve months under the title of procurator, after which time he assumed the title of prince, the Capuans acknowledging him as their sovereign, as his brother had left no issue.

Soon after Henry V. who had rebelled against his father, and stripped him by force of his imperial ornaments, entered Italy at the head of a formidable army, to receive the imperial crown, and finally determine the dispute concerning

* DUPIN *Defense de la Monarchie de Sicile*, edit. Amsterdam an 1716. ¹ WILLELM. TYR. de bel. sac. ² Append. ad Hist. MALAT. ap. Murat. t. v. ROMUALD. Salern. Chron. ALEX. FELICIN Abbat Hist. ROGER REG 1. i. c. 2, 3.

investitures. As he had insisted upon retaining that right as peremptorily as his late father had ever done, the pope began to be greatly apprehensive of his designs, and immediately upon the news of his march came to *Capua*, and solicited the assistance of prince *Robert* and duke *Roger*, in defence of the apostolic see. Having obtained their promise of assistance he returned to *Rome*, and took an oath from the *Romans* to the same purpose. Notwithstanding these precautions, the following year, in the month of *February*, he was seized in *St. Peter's* church by the emperor, and kept a close prisoner, and treated with great indignity for two months, till he consented to confirm his claim of investitures by a bull. *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, upon the news of his confinement, immediately sent some troops towards *Rome* to his assistance; but the emperor by that time had left the city with his prisoner, and marched to the south side of the *Tyber*; so that the *Normans* were obliged to return to *Capua*, having found all the nobles about *Ferentino* greatly in the emperor's interest. The pope was deprived of any assistance from *Puglia*, by the death of duke *Roger*, who, about the same time that he was seized at *Rome*, died at *Salerno*. This accident struck the *Normans* with great consternation, as the *Lombard* subjects seemed inclined to revolt; and they were conscious they had incurred the resentment of the emperor, who was at this time very formidable, had the pope in his power, and was ravaging the *Roman* territories in their neighbourhood. The *Normans* in *Puglia* and *Calabria* therefore, instead of marching to the relief of the pope, secured the fortified places in those provinces for their own defence; and prince *Robert*, who was more exposed to the emperor's resentment, sent ambassadors to him with offers of submission ¹.

HENRY, after receiving the imperial crown, and obtaining the bull concerning investitures from the pope, left *Italy*, without concerning himself with the affairs of the *Normans*, and had no sooner passed the *Alps*, than the bull granted by *Paschal* was annulled by several cardinals, who of themselves had assembled at *Rome*. Duke *Roger* was succeeded by his only son *William*, who received the investiture of *Puglia* and *Calabria* from pope *Paschal* at *Cepherano*¹. *Paschal*, about four years after, was succeeded in the pontificate by *Gelasius II.* born at *Gaeta*. The emperor was then in *Italy*, and the new pope refusing to confirm the grant of investitures made by *Paschal*, *Henry* marched directly to *Rome*. The

William
succeeds to
the duke
dom of
Puglia.
A. D.
1111.

¹ P. DRAE l. iv. c. 41, 42.

¹ Idem l. iv. c. 49.

pope, being apprehensive of the same treatment his predecessor had received, retired to his native city, where he was consecrated, and granted the investiture to duke *William*, and *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, who promised to assist him against the schismatics. *Henry*, in the mean time, appointed an antipope, who took the name of *Gregory VIII.* but being soon after informed that the *Normans* were conducting *Gelasius* to *Rome*, he left the city and returned to *Germany*. Though *Gelasius* soon after entered *Rome* with a considerable body of *Normans*, yet the imperial and antipapal party being more powerful than he expected, he was obliged a second time to quit the city, and retired to *France*, where he died in the beginning of the following year in the monastery of *Cluny*. The cardinals who had attended him immediately elected *Guido*, archbishop of *Vienne*, who took the name of *Calixtus II.* At first there were some hopes of an accommodation betwixt him and the emperor, with regard to investitures; but the proposed conferences never taking effect, *Calixtus* returned the following year to *Rome*, where he was received with great respect. From thence, a few months after, he proceeded to *Benevento*, to desire the assistance of duke *William* and the prince of *Capua* against the antipope, who was protected by the imperial garrison at *Sutri*. *Calixtus* granted the investiture to duke *William*; but before his arrival *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, died, and left his dominions to his son *Richard III.* who surviving him only two days, was succeeded by his uncle *Jordanus II.* who, according to *Jordanus* the *Norman* custom, was anointed with the holy oil on the 5th of July^m. The pope, however, obtained a body of *Normans*, by whose assistance, the year following, he reduced *Sutri*, and seized the antipope, whom he imprisoned for life. He survived this transaction about three years, and was succeeded by *Honorius II.* A few months after the emperor *Henry V.* dying, *Lotharius*, duke of *Saxony*, and *Conrad*, duke of *Suabia*, both pretended to be legally elected his successor, and had recourse to arms to defend their claims.

succeeds to
the principal-
ity of
Capua.
A. D.
1120.

DURING this civil war in *Germany*, *William*, duke of *Puglia*, died at *Salerno*, in the 17th year of his reign, without leaving any issue. Some time before his death he left his dominions, by his will, to his uncle *Roger*, count of *Sicily*, who immediately, without consulting the pope, ar-

^m FALCON. Benevent. Chron. Chron. Cavenf. ⁿ Rom. Salerno. FALCON. Benevent. ad an. 1127. P. DIAC. l. iv. c. 96.

The History of Naples.

Roger,
count of
Sicily,
takes pos-
session of
Puglia
A. D.
1127.

The pope
opposes his
claim.

rived at *Salerno*, and, confirming to the *Salernitans* their ancient privileges, was consecrated prince by *Alphanus*, bishop of *Caput Aquense*. From thence he went to *Reggio*, where he was proclaimed duke of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and, after making a progress through the provinces, returned to *Sicily*. *Roger* at first met with some opposition from the *Salernitans*, who however were soon prevailed upon to submit; but he had another enemy, who was greatly offended that he had presumed to intermeddle in the succession of his nephew *William*. This was *Honorius II.* who alleged, that *Roger*, by taking possession of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, had violated the rights of the church, which, upon a very false foundation, pretended to the supreme dominion of these duchies. He therefore refused to grant him the investiture, though he desired it in the most respectful manner, and offered, in return, the cities of *Troja* and *Montefusco*. *Roger* sent several embassies to him at *Benevento*; however, he would not hearken to his proposals, but, returning to *Capua*, there held a convention composed of the prince of *Capua* and several barons of *Puglia*, whom he prevailed upon to enter into an association against *Roger*, in defence of the church. *Roger*, who had assumed the title of duke, still continued to solicit an accommodation; but *Honorius* remained inflexible, declaring he would rather die than agree to his proposals, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against him and all his adherents.

At last
grants him
the invest-
iture.
1128.

THE duke at last resolved to defend his right by arms, and, upon his return to *Sicily*, assembled a formidable army, which the following spring he transported into *Italy*, and quickly made himself master of *Taranto*, *Otranto*, *Brindisi*, *Oria*, and several other places. *Honorius* in the mean time marched against him with the rebellious barons and their troops. Upon the approach of the papal army, *Roger* very prudently kept himself in his fortified camp, pretending that he declined an engagement from respect to the pope, but in hopes that his enemies, for want of unanimity and subsistence, would soon be obliged to disperse. The event justified his conduct; for many in the pope's camp were soon obliged to sell their cloaths to purchase subsistence, which occasioning a great desertion, the pope, without the knowledge of the barons, sent to *Roger*, offering him the investiture of his nephew's dominions, if he would swear allegiance to the holy see. This negotiation being discovered, the *Apulian*

ROMUANO. *Salern.* ALEX. TELESIN. Abbat. Hist. ap. MURATOR. l. v. p. 616, 617.

barons

barons in great indignation immediately abandoned the pope, who returned to *Benevento*; and being followed by *Roger*, granted him the investiture of *Puglia* and *Calabria*, in the neighbourhood of that city. Upon the news of this accommodation with the pope, many cities immediately submitted to *Roger*. *Brindisi*, however, revolted; and *Troja*, which had been most active in the rebellion, instead of acknowledging the duke, sent and begged the protection of *Robert II.* prince of *Capua*, who about two years before had succeeded his father *Jordanus*. *Robert* refusing their request, they submitted to *Raimulph*, count of *Avellino*; but *Roger*, by threatening to invade his county, drew him from the city, which he afterwards invested, and, obliging it to surrender, struck such a terror into the malecontents, that they all submitted.

As he had now united a great many states in his own person, upon his return to *Sicily* he was earnestly pressed by many of his friends to assume the title of king. He very willingly attended to this proposal; and returning to *Salerno*, assembled the barons of *Puglia* in that city, who unanimously urging him to the same purpose, he published a proclamation, ordering all his nobles and barons to appear at *Palermo* at *Christmas*. As the authority of the popes was at that time so great, that princes did not think they could assume the royal or any other title without their consent, *Roger* therefore judged it necessary to have the approbation of the apostolic see. It happened very fortunately for him that a great schism had arisen in the *Roman* church. *Innocent II.* and *Anaclet II.* in the beginning of the year, had been both elected on the same day by opposite factions. *Innocent* was first elected by the minority in a secret manner, but was obliged to quit *Rome*, and to retire to *France*, where he soon prevailed on the emperor and the king of *France* to acknowledge him. *Anaclet* was supported at *Rome* by powerful relations, and a great many cardinals. *Roger*, from what motive is uncertain, thought proper to declare for *Anaclet*; who was generally acknowledged in *Italy*. The antipope, in return for the *Roger* protection of so powerful a prince, made no difficulty of ^{sumes the} granting him the royal title. He accordingly had a conference with *Roger*, in the month of *September*, at *Avellino*, ^{king.} where he settled the time and place of the coronation; and, returning to *Benevento*, caused the bull to be drawn up for that purpose, specifying the rights and privileges of the king.

* *TELESIN.* Abbat. Hist. ut supra. *FALCON.* Benevent. Chron. *ROMUALD.* Chron.

dom. He then sent cardinal *Comes* to *Palermo*, who, with great pomp and ceremony, crowned the king on the 25th of December¹ (Q).

A FEW months after this ceremony, the new king invested the city of *Amalfi* both by sea and land, and at length obliged it to surrender. After he had reduced this city, and had returned to *Salerno*, *Sergius*, duke of *Naples*, according to the abbot of *Tellesse*, came and submitted voluntarily to his dominion. This submission, however, if there was really any such, took no effect; for *Sergius*, the following year, associated himself with a great many powerful barons, who revolted against the king. As *Roger* began to govern in a very arbitrary manner, and to discover every day more ambitious views, many of the *Puglians* fled to the emperor, begging his protection, while others formed an association for their own defence. The *Beneventans*, finding that the king had corrupted their governor cardinal *Crescentius*, and intended to make himself master of their city, expelled the cardinal, renounced their obedience to *Anaclet*, and acknowledged *Innocent*, who sent one cardinal *Gerard* as their governor. The count of *Avellino* likewise, though married to a sister of the king, being stripped by him of part of his territories, immediately prevailed on *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, *Tancred*, count of *Conversano*, *Grimoald*, prince of *Bari*, with many other barons, to have recourse to arms. These malecontents, being assisted by the *Neapolitans* and *Beneventans*, attacked the king near the river *Sarno*, where he was intirely defeated, and obliged to fly to *Salerno*, from whence, in the beginning of *December*, he returned to *Sicily*.

A dangerous
rebellion in
Puglia.
A. D.
1132.

¹ Vide auct. sup. citat. P. DIAC. l. iv. c. 97. Vide
BARON. annal. ad an. 1132. TALLACIN. Abbat. l. ii.

(Q) *Roger* at this time not only obtained the investiture of *Sicily*, *Puglia*, and *Calabria*, but likewise of the principality of *Capua*, and the dukedom of *Naples*; tho' prince *Robert* was present at his coronation, and helped to place the crown upon his head, and the dukedom of *Naples* was then governed by its own duke, and depended on the eastern empire. He did not, however, obtain the investiture of the principality of *Salerno*, which state, for some time past, was claimed by the popes themselves, probably by some pretended gift of *Gisulfus* II. who was expelled by *Robert Guiscard*, and took refuge with *Gregory* the seventh. The investiture was given to *Roger*, his children, and their heirs, *jure perpetuo*, and the quit-rent agreed upon was 600 scyfatì yearly (1).

(1) *Bulla Anaclet. ep. Baron.*

BEFORE his departure, the emperor *Lotharius* had arrived *The emperor re-*
in *Italy*, and, after continuing some months in *Lombardy*, in *establishes*
the following spring marched towards *Rome*, to re-establish *Innocent*
Innocent, from whom he received the imperial crown in the *at Rome.*
Lateran church, as the church of *St. Peter* was still in the *A. D.*
possession of *Anaclet*. The emperor's arrival gave great spi- *1133.*
rits to the *Apulian* rebels, many of whom resorted to him at
Rome; particularly *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, and count *Rai-*
nulphus of *Avellino*. They were, however, disappointed of
assistance; for *Lotharius* had with him only about 2000 men,
and the opposite faction being in possession of all the places
of strength in *Rome*, he was quickly obliged to leave the
city, and return to *Germany*. *Roger*, in the mean time, hav-
ing returned to *Puglia* with a formidable army, chiefly com-
posed of *Saracens*, reduced a great many of the revolted
cities, and punished the rebels with great severity. The
prince of *Capua*, who, with the count, had left *Rome* in
order to oppose him, finding him too powerful, went to
Pisa to ask the assistance of that republic. Being seconded
by the pope, who had conferred several privileges on the
Pisans, he prevailed upon them to promise to send, in con-
junction with the *Genoese* and the *Venetians*, a fleet of an
hundred sail against *Roger* in the following spring. During
his absence, the king had reduced almost all *Apulia*, and
taken several of the chiefs of the rebels, some of whom he
executed, and sent others captive into *Sicily*. About the
end of *October* he arrived at *Salerno*, with a great number of
captives of all ages, and an immense quantity of booty in
gold and silver, and valuable effects, which loaded 23 ships;
and having ordered his army, during the winter, to ravage
the territories of *Benevento* and *Capua*, he set sail for *Sicily*,
losing, however, in his passage, almost all his ships by a vi-
olent storm.

THE following March the prince of *Capua* returned to *The rebels*
Campagna with 1000 *Pisans* and a few ships; and, having *are assisted*
collected 3000 pounds of silver from the churches of *Capua* by the *Pi-*
and Naples, sent the treasure to *Pisa*, to forward the arri- *fians.*
val of the rest of the fleet. *Roger* about the same time ar- *1134.*
rived with 60 gallees at *Salerno*; and, having landed his
army, sent the fleet to attack the coasts of *Naples*. Though
the fleet was not very successful against the *Neapolitans*, yet
Roger, having assembled his army at *Avellino*, unexpectedly
laid siege to *Nocera*, and, having gained a party among the
inhabitants, soon made himself master of the place, the rebel

army, in vain endeavouring to pass the *Sarno* to draw him to an engagement. After the reducing of *Noçera*, he invaded the territories of *Rainulphus*, who, finding himself deserted by his barons, was forced to submit, and was pardoned and received with great kindness by *Roger*, who restored to him his wife and son, and part of his territories. This reconciliation betwixt the king and his brother-in-law struck a terror into the other rebels. Great part of their army dispersed, and *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, returned immediately to *Pisa*, where he was received by *Innocent*, who had been obliged to leave *Rome* by the party of *Anaclet*, and earnestly requested the emperor to return with an army to *Italy*, to oppose the *Sicilian* tyrant. *Roger* in the mean time reduced all *Campania*, and made himself master of *Capua*, where, according to the abbot of *Telesè*, he received the submission of the duke of *Naples*. He afterwards took possession of *Aversa*; and, having obliged the *Beneventans* to surrender at discretion, returned in a triumphant manner to *Salerno*, from whence, in the end of the year, he passed over to *Sicily*, *Anaclet*, in the mean time, arriving at *Benevento*, appointed new officers in the city, and punished the authors of the revolt.

The Pug-
lians re-
volt a se-
cond time.

A. D.
1135.

ROGER, upon his return to *Sicily*, fell dangerously ill; and, after he recovered, lost his queen *Alberia*, by whose death he was so greatly afflicted, that for several weeks he did not appear in public, and was only seen by a few of his favourites. This occasioned a report of his death, which gave fresh spirits to the malecontents on the continent, especially as *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, in the spring, arrived at *Naples* with 8000 *Pisans*, and a formidable fleet. Count *Rainulphus*, prince *Robert*, and the duke of *Naples*, accordingly entered into a new association against the king; and *Robert* immediately marched with a numerous army towards *Capua*, to recover that city; but the place being secured by the prudence of the king's chancellor *Warinus*, he was forced to retire. *Roger*, at length, arriving about the 1st of June at *Salerno*, quickly assembled a formidable army, which he reduced *Aversa*. As the city had been forward in this last revolt, after allowing his army to pillage it, he set it on fire, and, marching to *Naples*, besieged it for nine days, burning the suburbs, and ravaging all the neighbouring territory. While he retired with his troops on account of the heat, the *Pisan* fleet surprised and took *Amalfi*, which they entirely stripped of all its wealth; but, before they could

reimberk, Roger arrived with part of his army, and obliged them to abandon almost all their plunder, and killed and took about 1500 of their men.

AFTER the departure of the *Pisans*, the king again invested *Naples*, which was the head quarters of the rebels; but, finding he was not able to make an impression on the city, he cut down all their vines, and, retiring, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Benevento*, where, in the presence Roger of his army, he gave the investiture of the principality of *Capua* to his third son, *Ansfusus*; not allowing him, however, to govern it independently of himself or his eldest son *Roger*, whom he had declared his successor in the kingdom. As the rebels had then no army to oppose him, he made a progress through several cities that he had lately reduced; and, appointing governors for the places of strength in *Terra di Labor*, returned in the beginning of winter to *Sicily*. *Robert*, late prince of *Capua*, in the mean time had left *Naples*, and returned to *Pisa*, and was soon after followed by *Sergius*, the duke, who was apprehensive that the city would be besieged in the next campaign, as the officers of *Roger* then kept it blocked up, and prevented any provisions coming into it by land. Pope *Innocent*, who still continued at *Pisa*, pressed prince *Robert* to go into *Germany* to beg the assistance of the emperor, and sent with him cardinal *Gerard*, late governor of *Benevento*.

LOTHARIUS, who had been long intreated by many other exiles of *Puglia* to march against *Roger*, immediately promised to *Robert* to come with an army the following year to *Italy*. The prince returning with this news to *Pisa*, soon after sailed from thence with five ships to the relief of *Naples*. The emperor accordingly, in the beginning of autumn, arrived with a powerful army in *Italy*; but, being detained by the affairs of *Lombardy*, could not proceed to *Apulia* till the year after, the city of *Naples* in the mean time suffering the greatest distress for want of provisions. In the following *March*, *Lotharius* had a conference with the pope at *Viterbo*; and granted him 3000 men, commanded by his son-in-law *Henry the Proud*, duke of *Bavaria*. *Innocent*, with this force, and a great number of malecontents who joined him, immediately recovered all *Campania*, restored prince *Robert* to the principality of *Capua*, reduced the monastery *Robert* of *Cassino*, and obliged the city of *Benevento* to surrender. *Lotharius* in the mean time had marched towards the *Adriatic*, and made himself master of *Siponto*, *Monte Gargano*, and *Bari*. He was there joined by the pope, with the other division of his army, and marched in conjunction with his

The emperor
conquers
Puglia.

his holiness to *Melfis*, which quickly surrendered. Mean while the *Pisans* had arrived with a fleet of a hundred armed ships at *Naples*, and, having relieved that city, obliged the *Amalfitans* to submit to the emperor, and took and plundered *Scala* and *Ravella* (R). All the cities of *Puglia* having now submitted to the emperor, about the middle of *July* he invested the city of *Salerno* both by sea and land, which, after some opposition, surrendered upon terms to the emperor, part of the garrison retiring into the citadel. The *Pisans*, being greatly offended that they were not consulted at the capitulation, with great difficulty were prevailed upon to continue with their fleet, which dissension prevented the emperor from reducing the citadel. A greater dissension, however, immediately followed, betwixt the emperor and the pope, about the right of investiture. *Lotharius*, having proposed, after his return with his army towards *Benevento*, to create a new duke of *Puglia*, was opposed with great vehemence by the pope, who alleged, that it was his prerogative to grant the investiture of that duchy. The dispute continued for near thirty days with great animosity; at length, lest the common enemy should take advantage of their dissension, it was resolved that the decision of their claims should be deferred, and that both of them should give the investiture together.

(R) *Falcone* of *Benevento* relates, that the *Amalfitans* surrendered upon a capitulation; but, according to *Sigenius*, the *Pisans* took the city by surprise, and plundered it, and, what is remarkable, of all the booty, desired only, as their own share, the pandects of *Justinian*, which had been brought by an *Amalfitan* merchant from the east (1). *Angelus Politianus* believes this copy to be that which had been compiled by order of the emperor (2). However that be, 'tis certain that all other copies are taken from it, as being the most ancient. The *Pisans*, having obtained their request from

the emperor, carried the volumes to *Pisa*, and for near three centuries they were known by the name of the *Pandectæ Pisanae*. But about the year 1416, *Pisa* being taken by the *Florentines*, they were transported from thence to *Florence*, where they are now preserved in the library of the *Medici*, and known by the name of the *Pandectæ Florentinae*. Some authors allege, that *Lotharius* ordained by an edict, that the pandects should be publicly read and explained at *Bologna*, and pleaded in the tribunals; but *Corringius* and *Lindenbergius* fully refute their opinion (3).

(1) *Sigen. in regn. Ital. l. xi. p. 272. Capocciat. Hist. l. i. p. 35. (2) Politian. l. x. ep. 14. (3) Corring. de orig. jur. Germ. Lindenberg. in Prolegom. in Cōl. Læmantiq.*

Accordingly *Ranulphus*, count of *Avellino*, was created duke of *Calabria* and *Puglia*, and in the presence of the army received the standard from the hands of the emperor and the pope, the upper part of which, however, was held by his holiness.^u *Gives the investiture of it to Rainulphus;*

LOTHARIUS, having thus disposed of *Puglia*, returned with the pope to *Rome*, and from thence proceeded to *Lombardy*, where he was detained till the month of *December* in settling the disputes betwixt some cities and nobles, and a few weeks after died in his passage over the *Alps*. *Roger*, who had been waiting for his departure, was no sooner informed that he had returned to *Lombardy*, than he arrived with an army at *Salerno*, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. Having immediately reduced *Nocera*, and the territory belonging to *Rainulphus*, he marched to *Capua*, which he took and plundered, not sparing even the churches and nunneries. Upon the news of this success, the *Beneventans*, and *Sergius*, duke of *Naples*, came and voluntarily submitted to him; but *Rainulphus*, resolving to hazard all to return to his new dignity, marched against him with a small army, which he had raised from *Bari*, *Trani*, *Troja*, and *Melfhis*. *St. Bernard*, abbot of *Claravalle*, then in high reputation, at the pope's request endeavoured to effect an accommodation; but his mediation being rejected, both parties came to an engagement on the 2d of *October*, when *Roger* was intirely defeated, with the loss of all his baggage, and a great number of his men.^w The king, however, did not appear discouraged with this great defeat; but, retiring to *Salerno*, made great preparations for recruiting his army, that he might be again in a condition to take the field.

IN order to amuse his enemies, he seemed to hearken to the solicitations of *St. Bernard*, and agreed to a conference of three cardinals of either party, to examine into the merits of the election of *Innocent* and *Anaclet*. After the deputies had spent several days in disputing at *Salerno*, *Roger* proposed that their arguments should be committed to writing, and that one cardinal of each party should go with him to *Sicily*, to lay them before the *Sicilian* bishops. This proposal was accordingly agreed to; but *Anaclet* dying in the beginning of *January*, all further thoughts of a negociation were laid aside. *Roger* by that time had re-established his affairs, while his competitor had spent the whole winter in

^u FALCON. Benevent. Chron. ad an. 1137. PEST. DIAC. Liv. c. 105, 106. ROMUALD. Salern. Chron. ^w FALCON. Benevent. Chron.

some enterprizes of small importance. To keep up the faction against *Innocent*, *Roger* persuaded the schismatics at *Rome* to elect a successor to *Anaclet*, and soon after landed with his army in *Italy*. *Rainulphus* in vain endeavoured to draw him to another engagement, for he cautiously shunned him during the whole campaign, by encamping on the mountains. Though he was continually followed by him, he was nevertheless so successful as to reduce several towns, some of which he plundered and burnt, and, having obliged many of the rebels to submit, he returned, in the beginning of winter to *Sicily*.

INNOCENT, who had prevailed on the new anti-pope *Victor* to submit, and had thereby put an end to the schism, endeavoured in the beginning of the campaign to march with an army to the assistance of *Rainulphus*, but after he had arrived at *Albano*, being prevented by sickness, he returned to *Rome*, where, in a general council held in the month of *April* in the *Lateran* church, he denounced a sentence of excommunication against *Roger*, who, though he is said to have acknowledged him as pope after the resignation of *Victor*, still continued the war against him as a temporal prince*.

Rainulphus probably soon repented of this proceeding; for *Rainulphus*, on whom he chiefly depended as the instrument at *Troja* of his resentment against the king, died a few days after at *A. D. Troja*, being greatly lamented by all those of his faction.

1139. *Roger* is said to have expressed immoderate joy at his death; and, immediately after, landing at *Salerna*, assembled a numerous army, part of which he put under the command of his eldest son, duke *Roger*, who quickly reduced all the cities of *Puglia* except *Bari*, which at that time consisted of 50,000 inhabitants, and had a garrison of 400 horse. The king, during the absence of his son, reduced all the provinces of *Capitanata*, and other cities. He was, however, obliged to raise the siege of *Ariano*, which was garrisoned with 200 knights, and about 20,000 foot. Soon after, while he was encamped before *Troja*, he was informed that the pope had arrived with a powerful army as far as *St. Germano*, to the assistance of the rebels. *Roger* immediately sent ambassadors to him, offering to treat of peace; and, marching with his army towards *S. Germano*, conferences were held for several days by the deputies of both sides. The negotiation, however, broke off, because *Roger* absolutely refused to part with the principality of *Capua*; and the king, withdrawing his army, besieged some castles belonging to the rebels in that

* *FALCON. BEAUVENT. Chron.*

neighbourhood. The pope likewise began hostilities against the king, who, taking the advantage of the security of his Innocent enemy, surprised him on his march, and made him prisoner. *is taken* Though he treated him with the greatest respect, yet he ab- *prisoner by* solutely refused to grant him his liberty, unless he would Roger, absolve him from the sentence of excommunication, and con- *and con-* clude a peace. *Innocent* without much difficulty consented *firms to* to his request; and accordingly, four days after, on the 25th *him the* of June, absolved him, and all his adherents, and granted *title of* him the investiture of the kingdom of *Sicily*, of the duchy of *Puglia*, and the principality of *Capua*, on condition of his swearing allegiance to the holy Roman see, and paying a yearly quit-rent of 600 scyfatì.

AFTER this reconciliation, Roger accompanied the pope to Benevento, where he received the submission of the Neapolitans, who chose his eldest son for their duke; and having restored Benevento to the pope, he marched to Troja, which surrendering upon his approach, he proceeded to Bari. After a siege of two months, he obliged this city to submit; and having ordered prince Jaquintus, with ten other chiefs, to be hanged, and the eyes of many others to be put out, he returned about the end of October with his army to Salerno, where having confiscated the estates of the chief rebels whom he banished from his dominions, he set sail a few days after for Palermo. Early the following spring, he sent prince Anselmus with an army to reduce the province in the neighbourhood of Pescara on the coast of the Adriatic; and duke Roger soon after marching thither with a strong reinforcement, many cities quickly surrendered. As the pope made great complaint of these hostilities, Roger, who soon after arrived from Sicily, recalled his two sons, and sent ambassadors to Rome, earnestly desiring a conference with Innocent; who excused himself, by urging the necessity of his affairs. The king then went to Pescara, and having visited the places conquered by his sons, he returned to Ariano, where he assembled for the first time the estates of his kingdom, namely, by the barons and prelates; and among other things ordained, that none of his subjects should receive any Roman money, but should trade with what he then coined, more than one half of which consisted of brass. This edict occasioned an universal murmuring over all his states in Italy; but they had suffered so much by their late revolt, and his authority was now so fully established, that any opposition would only have involved them in greater misery. From

Ariano Roger proceeded to *Naples*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy ; and having confirmed to the inhabitants their ancient immunities, in the beginning of *October* he sailed from *Salerno* to *Sicily*, leaving duke *Roger* in *Puglia*, and prince *Ansfusus* at *Capua* * (S).

* *FALCON.* ut supra.

(S) It is a dispute betwixt the *Sicilian* and *Neapolitan* writers, whether the provinces of *Italy* were at this time formed into a kingdom by themselves, independent on the kingdom of *Sicily*. The *Sicilians* say, that the *Italian* provinces depended on *Palermo*, where the chief officers of the crown, who had the government of them, resided, and that the words of the bull of *Anaclet* are, *Siciliam caput regni constitutum*. It appears likewise from the constitutions of *Frederic II.* that by the kingdom of *Sicily* he not only meant the island, but the *Italian* provinces ; and *Clement IV.* in his bull of investiture to *Charles of Anjou*, called the kingdom, *regnum Siciliae citra & ultra Pharus*. *Gregory XI.* in the year 1363, having reconciled queen *Jean* of *Naples* and *Frederic III.* king of *Sicily*, in his bull calls *Naples* the kingdom of *Sicily*, and *Sicily* *Trinacria*. The two kingdoms being afterwards united in the person of *Alphonfus I.* he used the title of *Rex utriusque Siciliae*. It is alleged by the *Neapolitans*, that when *Roger* was reconciled to *Innocent*, no regard was paid to the bull of *Anaclet* ; and from cotemporary writers it appears, that the duchy of *Puglia*, mean-

ing all the *Italian* provinces subject to *Roger*, was erected into a kingdom independent on *Sicily*, and that he and his successors took the title of kings of *Puglia* or *Italy*. In the third volume of *Sicilia Sacra*, a charter begins with these words, after the invocation, *Rogerus Rex Apuliae*. *Giannone* mentions a diploma, dated 1130, wherein we read, *Rogerus, Dei Gratia, Siciliae, Apuliae, & Calabriae, Rex* ; and, in the charter mentioned by *Falco* of *Benvenuto*, *Roger* styles himself, *Dei Gratia, Siciliae, Italiae, Rex*. Another argument for the distinctness and independency of the two kingdoms, is drawn from the peculiarity of their laws ; for in *Naples* no other laws prevailed than the *Lombards*, which never were used, or had authority, in *Sicily*, where the *Lombards* never had any footing. Both kingdoms likewise had separately their supreme officers of the crown, which were introduced at this time by *Roger*, after the manner of *France*. These, according to *Giannone*, were the high constable, the high admiral, the high chancellor, the lord chief justice, the high chamberlain, the great protonotary, and the high steward (1).

(1) *Pergrin.* ad Lup. Protostat. & *Falcon.* *Giannone, Hist. di Napol.* lib. II.

ABOUT three years after, *Roger* was threatened with a The suc-
war by *Celestine II.* the successor of *Innocent*, who refused to cessors of
ratify the peace concluded betwixt his predecessor and the *Innocent*
king. The shortness of his pontificate, which continued only refuse to
six months, prevented an open rupture. But his successor acknowledge
Lucius II. being of the same sentiments, *Roger*, who was de- as king.
sirous of continuing in a good correspondence with the A. D.
holy see, had a conference with him at the monastery of 1143.
Monte Cassino. The pope, by the advice of the cardinals,
refusing to grant his request, and parting in an abrupt man-
ner, the king immediately entered the state of the church
with an army, and took *Terracina*, and many other places
in the *Campania di Roma*. *Roger* by this means prevailed on
the pope to agree to an accommodation; which was accord-
ingly effected, the king granting to *Lucius* a large sum of
money, and restoring all the conquests he had made from the
dominions of the church; and, on the other hand, receiving He obtains
from the pope a grant of the ring, the sandals, the sceptre, new pri-
the mitre, and the dalmatic, and that no person should be vileges
sent into his dominions as a legate without his desire, from from Lu-
whence the kings of *Sicily* value themselves, as being both cius II.
lords in spirituals and temporals in their dominions*. In 1144.
the mean time prince *Ansfusus* dying, *Roger* created his fourth
son *William*, prince of *Capua* and duke of *Naples*; and soon
after held a general convention of his states at *Capua*, where
several new laws were made, and many law-suits compounded.
Roger, having now established peace in *Italy* upon a solid
foundation, turned his thoughts to a foreign expedition, and
the following year invaded *Africa* with a powerful fleet.
He quickly made himself master of *Tripoli*, *Stace*, and *Cas-*
sa, and so harrassed the king of *Tunis* in other parts of his
dominions, that he consented to become his tributary^b.

ABOUT the same time he likewise carried his victorious arms He ra-
into *Greece*, to punish the perfidy of the *Greek* emperor *Ema-* wages the
nuel, who, in the beginning of his reign, had sent ambassa- costs of
dors to *Sicily*, with the proposal of an alliance by marriage; Greece.
which proposal was embraced by *Roger*, and ambassadors 1148.
were sent by him to *Constantinople* for that purpose. The
emperor, having changed his mind, after amusing the *Sici-*
lian ambassadors for some time, put them in prison, which
indignity greatly exasperating the king, he immediately fitted
out a formidable fleet, the command of which he gave to

* *Otho* Prising. de reb. gest. Fred. II. lib. ii. cap. 27, 28.
^b Anon. Cassin. an. 1145. SOLOM. DI LUCCA Chron. t. iii. Hisp.
illust. p. 375.

George of Antioch, his high admiral. The admiral, after taking the city of *Mutina*, attacked the island of *Corfu*, and, sailing to the *Morae*, ravaged all the coasts of that isthmus, and committed hostilities in all places of the *Negropont* and *Bæotia*, from whence, besides the rich booty, he carried off with him the chief workmen of the silk manufactures, and brought them to *Sicily* and *Puglia*, where before this time that art was unknown^c. The following year the admiral again entered the *Archipelago*, and advanced in a triumphant manner as far as *Constantinople*, burning and plundering the suburbs of that capital, and in a bravado shooting golden arrows into the emperor's palace. Upon his return he fell in with some *Grecian* ships, which he attacked and made himself master of, thereby setting at liberty *Lewis VII.* king of *France*, whom they had taken prisoner in his voyage from the *Holy Land*^d. *Roger* received *Lewis*, upon his landing in *Italy*, with the greatest honours; and about the same time granted assistance to pope *Eugenius* against the *Romans*, who for some years had renounced the papal authority, and endeavoured to restore the form of the ancient republic. As

Roger of his eldest son *Roger* had died the year before, he about this time created his only surviving son *William* duke of *Puglia*; and two years afterwards he associated him with himself in the kingdom, causing him to be crowned and anointed in *Palermo* by the archbishop of that city^e. Having thus nominated a successor, he laid aside all thoughts of war, and, residing at *Palermo*, spent the two remaining years of his life in erecting monuments of his munificence and piety, and endeavouring to convert the *Jews* and *Saracens* in his dominions to the Christian religion. He died of a fever in the end of *February*, in the 59th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign (T'). He was large and corpulent, had the face

associates his
son *William* in
the go-
vernment.

A. D.
1152.

His death.
1154.

^c GIANNONE Hist. di Napol.
^e BARBERIN. in Steph.

^d Appendix ad Siegers.

(T') *Roger* married three wives. By his first wife *Alberia*, daughter of *Alphonfus*, king of *Spain*, he had five sons, who all, excepting *William*, died before himself. By his second wife *Sybilla*, sister of the duke of *Burgundy*, he had no issue: and by his third wife, *Beatrice*, sister of the count of *Rotella*, he had a

posthumous daughter, named *Constantia*, who, when she was 30 years of age, was married to the emperor *Henry VI.* (1). *Roger*, duke of *Apulia*, left two bastard sons, *Tascred* and *William*, who were kept prisoners by their uncle in the royal palace in *Palermo* (2).

(1) *Pregrin. in Steph.*

(2) *Hug. Fekand. Hist. Sicil.*

of a lion, and a very rough voice. He was wise, discreet, and provident, and depended more on prudent council than strength. In amassing money he was very diligent, but in conferring benefits he was very sparing. He was a great terror to the *Greeks* and *Saracens*, and was more dreaded than beloved by his own subjects. He was a great admirer of learned and brave men of whatever nation, many of whom, upon his invitation, entered into his service, and were raised by him to the first honours of his kingdom.

WILLIAM, upon the death of his father, assumed the whole administration of the government; and on the following Easter repeated the ceremony of his coronation, in the presence of a numerous assembly of the prelates and barons of his kingdom. He quickly alienated the affections of his nobles, by banishing and imprisoning many of those who had been esteemed by his father, and by conferring the whole direction and management of his affairs upon *Majone di Bari*, a man of an obscure birth (U) and detestable character, whom he had promoted to the dignity of high admiral. His wicked ambition soon disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and occasioned a civil war, which was also in some measure owing to a rupture betwixt pope *Adrian* and the king. *Adrian*, who in the end of *December* had succeeded to the pontificate, a few months after sent cardinal *Henry* to the king at *Salerno*, with an apostolic letter; but having addressed his letter only to *William*, Lord of *Sicily*, the king ordered the cardinal immediately to leave his kingdom without an audience, and commanded the high chancellor and governor of *Puglia* to march with an army into the pope's territories. The chancellor accordingly ravaged the territory of *Benevento*, but not being able to make himself master of the city, he proceeded to *Campania di Roma*, where he took and burnt *Cesparano*, *Bacucco*, *Frusinone*, *Arce*, and other neighbouring places, and in his return demolished the walls of *Aquino*, *Pontecorvo*, and other places belonging to the monks of *Cassino*.

THE pope, in resentment for these hostilities, thundered a sentence of excommunication against *William*, and excited

Romuald. Salern. Chron. Chron. Cavenf. Chron. Foss. Novæ.

(U) This was the son of an oil-merchant at *Bari*, and at first was only a notary in the court (1).

(1) *Hug. Falcard ut supra.*

A great
rebellion in
Puglia.

the discontented nobles in *Apulia* openly to revolt. Though he was disappointed of assistance from the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, who this year had entered *Italy*, and recovered the imperial crown, yet his intrigues in *Puglia* were very successful; for many of the most powerful barons, being intirely disaffected to the prince on account of the power and insolence of *Majone*, swore allegiance to the pope as their sovereign, who about the end of *September* had arrived at *St. Germano* with a considerable army. *Robert*, formerly prince of *Capua*, with the other exiles, taking advantage of these confusions, again recovered their estates. *Robert*, by the pope's assistance, conquered all the principality of *Capua*, as far as *Naples* and *Salerno*; and *Robert*, count of *Loritella*, upon a rumour that *William* was poisoned by *Majone*, pretended to the kingdom, and seized *Bari* and all the coast of the *Adriatic* ^e. Mean while the *Greek* emperor, who had entered into a league with *Frederic Barbarossa* against *William*, seized *Brindisi*, and sent a fleet to *Ancona* with a large sum of money for the pope, offering to expel the king intirely from *Sicily*, on condition of being put in possession of three maritime cities in *Puglia* ^h. During these disturbances on the continent, *William* was shut up in his palace, and saw none of his subjects but *Majone*, and the archbishop of *Palermo*, who was privy to the designs of the admiral. The *Sicilians*, on this account, believing the king dead, took arms in several parts of the island. Though the king sent an ambassador to them, they refused to desist from their enterprize, but declared that they had only taken arms against the admiral and archbishop, who they assured him conspired against his life. Their answer being reported to the king, he at last roused from his security, especially as he was in hazard of his life by a violent sedition of the inhabitants of *Palermo*. Though he did not believe the admiral guilty, yet he left his palace, and marched against the *Sicilian* rebels at *Butera*, who were obliged to capitulate, and were pardoned on condition that they banished themselves from his dominions.

William
recovers
Puglia
A. D.
1156

HAVING thus quieted *Sicily*, he transported his army to *Brindisi*, and immediately sent an embassy to the pope, to treat of an accommodation. *Adrian* seemed inclined to hearken to his proposals, but, by means of some cardinals attached to the party of the emperor *Frederic*, the conferences were broke off, and nothing concluded. The king, being

^e HUGO FALCAND Hist. Sicul. ROMUAND Chron OTHO Frising l. ii. Chron. Anon. Cassin. ^h OTHO Frising. ut sup.

disappointed in his hopes of a peaceable accommodation, attacked *Brindisi* with great vigour, which at length, in the month of *May*, he made himself master of; taking a great many *Greeks* and rebellious barons prisoners. Having likewise enriched himself by the booty and large sums of money which the *Greeks* had brought thither, he marched to *Bari*, which, after allowing the inhabitants to retire with their effects, he intirely destroyed, because they had demolished the castle. Thus this once flourishing city, by this misfortune, was reduced to a few villages, in which condition it continued for a long time after¹. The king then went to *Benevento*, ^{*Besieges the pope in Benevento,*} whither the greatest part of the rebels had repaired to the defence of the pope, who, soon finding himself closely pressed by the besiegers, thought proper, according to *William of Tyre*, to agree to a peace, without the least regard from the barons, whom he had involved in the rebellion*; though, according to *Romuald the Salernitan*, and the author of the chronicon of *Cassino*, the pope prevailed on the king to allow them to depart the kingdom. By this peace the king was absolved from the sentence of ex communication, and obtained the investiture of the kingdom of *Sicily*, of the duchy of *Puglia*, and of the principality of *Capua*, with all their dependencies, by three different standards. The pope likewise granted him *Naples*, *Salerno*, and *Amalfi*, with their dependencies, and *Albo la Marcha*, on condition of paying for this last territory 500 scyfati yearly, besides the 600 for *Apulia*. At the same time many articles were settled and agreed to concerning ecclesiastical polity. All the clergy on the continent, subject to the king, were allowed to appeal to the see of *Rome*, which might also send legates thither, who nevertheless should not be allowed to pillage the churches. Visitations and consecrations, and translations from one church to another, were also admitted, and in *Sicily* the church of *Rome* was allowed the same privileges as in the other part of the king's dominions, excepting as to appeals, and the right of sending legates¹. After the conclusion of this peace, the king appointed *Simon*, the admiral's brother-in-law, governor of *Puglia*, and returned to *Palermo* with a great many prisoners, among whom was *Robert*, prince of *Capua*, who was betrayed by his vassal *Richard*, count of *Fondi*, and taken in his passage over the *Garigliano*, with his

and obtains from him the investiture of his states.

¹ Anon. Cassin. ad ann. 1156. FALCAND. ut supra. CAPPELLATR. Hist. l. ii. INVECH. Hist. Palerm. l. iii. ² GUL. Tyr. l. viii. ³ BARON. ad an. 1156.

daughter and one of his sons, the other son having fled to *Constantinople*. *Robert*, upon his arrival at *Palermo*, had his eyes put out, and soon after died in that city, being the last of the descendants of the counts of *Aversa*, who held the principality of *Capua*, which was then united to the kingdom of *Puglia*. *William*, having now no enemy but the *Greek* emperor, fitted out a powerful fleet, the command of which the high admiral gave to his brother *Stephen*, who, engaging the *Greeks* on the coast of the *Peloponnese*, gained a most complete victory, and afterwards plundered several maritime cities belonging to the *Greeks*. *Emanuel*, struck by these losses, at last agreed to a peace, which was concluded for 30 years; and, the *Greek* prisoners being restored, he consented to acknowledge *William* as a king^a.

The Greek
emperor
gives him
the title of

1157.
A D

MAJONE in the mean time continued to govern with his usual insolence; and, having formed a design upon the crown, he endeavoured to represent the king as a lunatic. He first advised him to publish cruel and tyrannical orders, and then by his own authority stopped the execution of them. He conferred the highest employments upon his own relations, flattered the clergy with hopes of preferment, was bountiful to the indigent, and very kind to the foreign adventurers who served in the troops; so that his authority was already much more regarded than that of the king^b. A few years after he allowed the *Sicilian* settlement on the coast of *Africa* to be taken by the *Moors*, by wilfully neglecting to assist the garrison; at the same time publishing, that the enemy had made themselves masters of the city by the king's connivance. His perfidy, however, which had long been the subject of popular discontent, was plainly discovered upon the arrival of the *African* garrison in *Sicily*. Other reports that prevailed at last excited the people openly to revolt. It was universally believed that *Majone* offered his assistance to *Alexander*, the successor of *Adrian IV.* against the antipope *Viktor*, and endeavoured to corrupt him by a large sum of money, that he might transfer the crown from *William* to him, after the example of pape *Nichary*, who had conferred the crown of *France* on *Pope*. As it was also known that he had corrupted the queen, and it was reported that he had already provided the ensigns of royalty, the city of *Naples*, and many others of *Puglia*, immediately entered into an association not to receive any orders or officers that should

Majone
openly
tries to
steal crown
1160.

^a *BERGUEIN*. in *Stem*. *FASCAND*. ut supra. ^b *ROMUALD*. *Chron.* ^c *Jo. CINNAM.* de reb. gest. *Jo. & EMMAN.* *COMM.* lib. iv. *ROM. Salern.* ^d *FASCAND.* ut supra.

come from the court, until he should be either put to death, or banished. A large body of armed men went through all *Puglia*, obliging almost all the cities to enter into this association.

MAJONE endeavoured to pacify them by honourable embassies; but his first ambassador, the bishop of *Mazzara*, encouraged them in their design, by giving them a fuller account of his villainy; and his second ambassador, *Matthew Bonello*, a young nobleman, whom the admiral designed for his son-in-law, was persuaded by the chiefs of the association to undertake his murder, in hopes of marrying the widow of the count of *Molise*, a natural daughter of the late king, which match the admiral had hitherto opposed. *Bonello*, upon his return to *Sicily*, was encouraged in his design by the archbishop of *Palermo*, who was then lying on his death-bed, having been poisoned by the admiral, in consequence of a dispute betwixt them about the government of the king's children after his murder. Accordingly, having assembled some armed men, he attacked the admiral at night, upon his return from the archbishop's palace, and murdered him with his own hand, after which he fled with his followers, and fortified himself in one of his castles. The king at first expressed great resentment for the murder of his favourite; but finding, among *Majone's* treasure, the sceptre, the crown, and the other ensigns of royalty, he was at last convinced of his treason, punished several of his accomplices, and recalled *Bonello* to court, who was welcomed at *Palermo* by the acclamations of the people. Is murdered by Bonello;

THE king, however, a few months after, by the persuasion of several eunuchs and creatures of the late admiral, began to conceive a disgust against *Bonello*, who, he was made believe, aimed at the crown himself, and had murdered *Majone* on account of his fidelity to him. *Bonello* who being sensible that he had lost the king's favour, and observing *Majone's* friends again restored to confidence, complained of the king's ingratitude and fickleness to many of the *Sicilian* barons, and entered into a conspiracy with them to seize the king, and either to put him to death, or imprison him for life, and proclaim his eldest son *Roger* king, then a boy about nine years of age. The barons, hearing that a soldier had discovered their conspiracy, hastened the execution of their design during the absence of *Bonello*; and, having made themselves masters of the palace, seized *William* without opposition, and proclaimed young *Roger* king. The *Palermians* in general at first approved of the king's imprisonment; but, not seeing their favourite *Bonello* appear, they forms an association to dethrone the king.

A. D.
1161.

soon began to murmur against the conspirators, and on the third day attacked the palace with such fury, that the barons were obliged to set the king at liberty, and fly to the castle of *Bonello*. During the tumult, prince *Roger*, happening to look out at a window of the palace, was shot with an arrow in a slight manner, but died soon after, being kicked in the breast, as it was said, by his father, who was enraged that he had been preferred to him. *William*, having granted some immunities to the inhabitants of *Palermo*, as a reward for their fidelity, marched against the conspirators, many of whom, at the intercession of *Bonello*, who professed an ignorance of the plot, were pardoned, and others of them allowed to go into voluntary banishment. A new insurrection soon after breaking out in *Sicily*, *William* was persuaded to imprison *Bonello*, and then marched against the rebels at *Butera*. As *Bonello* had his eyes put out, and the sinews of his ancles cut, he did not long survive his imprisonment. The king in the mean time, after spending the whole summer before *Butera*, was content to get possession of the town, by allowing the rebels to depart the kingdom, as he himself was desirous of transporting his army into *Puglia* against the rebellious barons of that duchy, who, since the admiral's death, still continued in arms, although he had sent the historian *Romuald*, archbishop of *Salerno*, to them, with an offer of pardon^p. Having taken and intirely destroyed *Butera*, *William* returned with his army to *Palermo*, and the following spring, transporting his troops to *Calabria*, took by storm the strong city of *Taverna*, and soon after made himself master of *Taranto*; which success struck such a terror into the rebels, that they immediately evacuated all their conquests, and marched towards the church territories. *William*, after executing a great many prisoners at *Taranto*, pursued the rebel army as far as *S. Germano*, obliging all the towns that favoured them to purchase their pardon, by paying large contributions. He then marched with his army to *Salerno*; but as he was offended with the inhabitants, he would not enter the city, but having exacted a large contribution from them, he sailed for *Palermo*.

As he was very fond of a lazy voluptuous life, upon his return to *Sicily* he ordered his domesticks not to acquaint him with any bad news, and resigned all care of the administration of the government to *Henry*, bishop of *Syracuse*, an Englishman, *Matthew* of *Salerno*, a notary, and *Peter*, a eunuch and *Saracen*. These two last miserably

Bonello is
imprisoned,
and dies.

William
reduces all
Puglia
A D.
1162.

Resigns all
the care
of the go
vernment.

^p ROMUALD, *Salern.* an. 1161,

the *Sicilians* by vexatious saits, and-raised immense fortunes, by prosecuting a great many, under pretences of the late rebellions; the bishop of *Syracuse* in the mean time in vain making remonstrances against their proceedings to the king, though, according to *Falcand*, the kingdom suffered more from these domestic robbers, than it would have done from the ravages of a foreign enemy. *William*, towards the end of his reign, desired to imitate his father's magnificence, and begun a fine palace at *Palermo*, which, however, he did not live to see completed, being cut off by a dysentery in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. A few months before his death, pope *Alexander* arriving from *France* at *Messina*, he ordered five of his galleys to conduct him and his retinue to *Rome*; and when he was on his death-bed, *John of Salisbury* informs us, that he sent him a present of 40,000 *l.* sterling, to assist him in opposing the faction of the antipope. At the same time, according to *Falcand*, he appointed his eldest son *William* as heir of his kingdom, declared his queen bailly or regent during his minority, and ordered his youngest son *Henry* to be content with the principality of *Capua* (W). On account of his indolence, avarice, and cruelty, he got the surname of *Wicked* from his subjects, his whole reign having been one continued course of tyranny and oppression. He was of a noble and graceful aspect, tall and corpulent, and very kind to his favourites. He was naturally insolent, and very fond of vain applause. However, he shewed great reverence for the clergy, was very devout, and regularly attended divine service.

Died at
Palermo.
A. D.
1166.

THE queen concealed the death of her husband a few days, being apprehensive of a popular commotion in *Palermo*: but many of the *Sicilian* barons, whom she had sent for, arriving at the palace, she then published his death, which was solemnly lamented by the citizens for three days, during which time the women, noble matrons, and *Saracens*, went clad in sack-cloth, howling through the streets, to the tolling of the bells. This public mourning being

FALCAND. Hist. Sicul.
MUALD. Salern.

BARON. ad an. 1166.

RO-

(W) He married *Margaret*, and *Henry*; two of whom, name-
daughters of *Garcia* king of *Na-* by, *Roger* and *Robert*, died ho-
nourably, by whom he had four sons, *Robert*, *William*, *Robert*,
and *Henry*.

(1) *Parvus. in Spem,*

con-

William
II. suc-
ceeds to
the throne.

concluded, *William*, then about twelve years of age, was conducted through the city on horseback, and solemnly crowned in the cathedral church, by *Romuald*, archbishop of *Spalerna*. The queen, to reconcile the people to her administration, immediately ordered all prisoners to be set at liberty, recalled the exiles, whom she restored to their former estates, made several donations of lands to the churches, counts, barons, and knights, and entirely remitted the imposition, which, under the title of redemption, had been laid upon the cities of *Puglia*, by the late king. Though by these means the king's dominions, during the first years of his reign, remained in a state of tranquility, yet great factions and quarrels disturbed the court, which were chiefly occasioned by the intrigues of cardinal *John of Naples*, the pope's legate in *Puglia*, who visited *Sicily* so often, that one of the courtiers said to him by way of reproof, that he imagined it was only twenty miles between *Palermo* and *Rome*.

He assists
the pope
against the
emperor.

A. D.
1167.

WILLIAM, in the second year of his reign, hearing that the pope was besieged by the emperor *Frederic* in *Rome*, sent two galleys thither with a large sum of money to his assistance. *Alexander* received the money with great thankfulness, but desiring still to continue in *Rome*, sent back the galleys. A few years after he received an embassy from the emperor *Emanuel*, to treat of a marriage between him and his daughter *Zura Maria*. The alliance was accordingly concluded and ratified, both by the emperor and the king; and the time being fixed for conducting the young princess by sea to *Puglia*, king *William* went to *Taranto* with his brother the prince *Henry*. The emperor, however, slighting his oath and promise, neglected to send the bride; so that the king, after continuing some time at *Taranto*, sent his brother, who was taken ill, to *Sicily*, and went himself to *Capua*, and not long after sailed to *Palermo*. Before his arrival in *Sicily*, his brother prince *Henry* died, in the thirteenth year of his age, and was interred in the sepulchre of his grandfather *Roger*, from whence the body was transported some time after to the church of *Monreale*, built and endowed by *William* near *Palermo* (X).

THE

* FALCAND. ut supra.

* GIANNONE Hist. di Napol.

(X) In this *Henry* ended the Norman princes of *Capua*, which principality was possessed by them 114 years, reckoning from *Richard* count of *Aversa*, in the

year 1058. Tho' the kings of *Naples* kept up the name of this principality for 300 years after, yet the dynasty, or government, was entirely abolished; for they who

THE king, about the same time, fitted out a formidable fleet, and sent it under the command of *Walter di Moac* to *Alexandria*, to assist the Christians against the *Saladin* of *Egypt* *. Soon after, the emperor *Frederic*, who was still engaged in a ruinous war in *Lombardy*, and refused to acknowledge pope *Alexander*, offered his daughter in marriage to *William*, and proposed to conclude a perpetual peace and alliance with him, in hopes by his assistance to humble the pope, and oblige the associated cities to submit to his despotic government. *William*, from his regard to the pope, and the good of the church, rejected this alliance; and soon after, by the advice of *Alexander*, sent an embassy to *Henry* *He marries* II. of *England*, to demand his daughter *Jean*. *Henry*, by the daughter of the advice of his barons in parliament, consented to the match, and the princess being conducted by many *English* king of noblemen to the city of *St. Giles* in *France*, from thence *England*. sailed to *Palermo*, where the marriage being solemnized, she A. D. was crowned queen of *Sicily* *. 1176.

THE emperor *Frederic* in the mean time being highly offended that the king had rejected his offered alliance, ordered his chancellor, *Christian*, archbishop of *Mentz*, to march with the army he commanded in the neighbourhood of *Ancona*, and invade the kingdom of *Naples*. The chancellor's attempts, however, to invade the king's territories, were ineffectual; for being opposed by the *Puglians*, under the command of *Tancred* count of *Lecce*, *Roger* count of *Andria*, and many other barons; he was obliged to retire, after he had advanced as far as the village of *Celle*. *Frederic*, about the same time, being entirely defeated by the confederate army of the *Lombards* at *Lignano*, began seriously to think of an accommodation with the pope, who agreeing to a congress at *Bologna*, desired king *William* to send his deputies thither, as he was resolved not to agree to a peace unless he was likewise included. The king accordingly appointed the historian *Romuald*, archbishop of *Salerno*, and *Roger*, count of *Andria*, as his ambassadors, who, together with the pope and his retinue, embarked on board eleven galleys at *Vesit*, and arrived, about the eighteenth of *March*, at *Venice*, whither the congress was transferred, at the desire of the emperor. The negotiations continued for several months;

* CAPRECLAT. l. iii. * ROMUALD. *Salern.* HENDERSON'S *Annals* of *England*.

who afterwards possessed *Capua* *Norman* princes, either in dignity or compared to the ty or dominion (1).

(1) *Perugin.* & *supra*.

at length, in the month of *August*, *Frederic* concluded a perpetual peace with the church, a truce for six years with the associated cities of *Lombardy*, and a peace for fifteen years with king *William*, who solemnly ratified the treaty in the beginning of the following year ⁷.

A. D.

1177.

THE remaining transactions of *William's* reign are buried in great obscurity. About three years after we find, by the chronicon of *Monte Cassino*, that he concluded a peace for ten years with the king of *Morocco* ². And about four years after, that he sent count *Tancred* with a great fleet and army to invade *Greece*, in resentment for the barbarities which the usurper *Andronicus* had committed against the *Latins* at *Constantinople*. The *Sicilians* took and pillaged *Durazzo*, *Salonchi*, and many other places, where they exercised great cruelty against the *Greeks*; and, in contempt of their religion, plundered and polluted their churches, which from that time raised an irreconcilable enmity betwixt the two people. The *Constantinopolitans*, enraged at their losses and disgrace, turned their resentment against *Andronicus*, whom they put to a most cruel death; and *Ishacius Angelus* seizing the empire, a powerful army immediately assembled under him, defeated the *Sicilians*, and retaliated the injuries they had suffered from them ³.

and guides

his aunt

Constantia

in mar-

riage to his

son Henry

A. D.

1185.

The king about the same time received an embassy from the emperor *Frederic*, who demanded his aunt *Constantia* for his eldest son, *Henry* king of the *Romans*. As *William*, though he had been nine years married, had yet no issue, and *Constantia* was the apparent heir of the crown, the match was opposed by many people in *Sicily*; but the king being at last persuaded by the archbishop of *Palermo*, gave his consent; and having obliged all the counts of the kingdom to swear, that, if he should die without heirs, they would continue faithful subjects to her and her husband, he sent her, accompanied with a great train of counts and barons, to *Rieti*. The emperor's ambassadors conducting her from thence, to *Milan*, the marriage, which afterwards proved very fatal to *Sicily*, was celebrated the following *January*, in the gardens of *St. Ambrose*, with great splendor and magnificence (Y). *William* survived this marriage not quite four years.

⁷ ROMUALD. Salern. Chron.

² Chron. Cassin. an. 1181.

³ NICET. Hist. Chron. Cassin. an. 1185.

(Y) Some latter historians fifty years of age, and that the pope granted a dispensation for a nun, at this time upwards of her vows: but these fabulous stories

The History of Naples.

years, but died, without issue, at *Palermo*, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign ^b. As he had a great regard for the laws and justice, and governed with great moderation, he was surnamed *William the Good*. *Richard of S. Germano* begins his chronicle with his elogium. According to him, *William* was endowed with all royal virtues, was the delight of his people, and the protector of strangers, the poor, and oppressed. During his reign there was peace and security through all his dominions; the traveller not being afraid of robbers, nor the sea-faring man of pirates.

His death.
A. D.
1189.

THE death of king *William* was followed by a most calamitous civil war. Many of the chief nobles who were allied to the blood royal aspired to the crown: but the two principal factions were, those of the chancellor and the archbishop of *Palermo*. The archbishop, and his party declared for *Constantia*, whose marriage with *Henry* he had promoted from his resentment to the chancellor, who had been a means of exempting the new church of *Monreale* from his jurisdiction. The chancellor, knowing the aversion of the *Sicilians* to the dominion of the *Germans*, and the great popularity of *Tancred* count of *Lecce*, bastard son of duke *Roger*, king *Roger's* eldest son, declared him king; and sending for him to *Palermo*, crowned him with his own hands, in the month of *January*, having obtained the approbation of *Clement III.* *Lecce* is who thinking it for the interest of the holy see that *Sicily* should not be united to the empire, very readily granted

Tancred
count of
Lecce is
declared
king.

^b RICHARD. Chron. apud MURATOR, t. vii. PELLEGRIN, in Stem. Chron. Cassin. ^c RICHARD. Chron. ut supra.

A. D.
1190.

stories deserve no credit, as they are contradictory to the accounts of cotemporary historians. *Geoffrey of Viterbo*, an eye-witness, says, she was born after the death of her father *Roger*, and consequently she was, when married, only in the thirty-second year of her age (1). *Falcand* and *Richard of S. Germano* say, that she was brought up in the royal palace, and not in a monastery (2). *Arnold of Lubek*,

who gives a particular account of the marriage, makes no mention of her having been a nun. *Romuald, William Neubrigensis*, the appendix to the abbot of *Usparg*, and pope *Innocent*, in his letters, are quite silent as to that fact; and so far were the popes from granting a dispensation, that they condemned the match, and afterwards gave the investiture to *Tancred* (3).

(1) *Geoffrid. Pantheon. apud Murator, t. vii. Richard Chron.*
ut supra:

(2) *Falcand, ut supra.*
(3) *Arnold. Chron. t. iii. l. 14. Baron. Annal. Germanie*

the investiture of the kingdom to the count ^a. *Tancred* immediately was almost universally acknowledged in *Sicily*, and reduced five chiefs of the *Saracens*, who, during the interregnum, had raised an insurrection in *Palermo*, from whence, however, they had been expelled by the Christians. Mean while *Roger*, count of *Andria*, who during the reign of the late king had been high justiciary and governor of *Puglia*; highly disgusted that *Tancred* was preferred to him, refused to acknowledge him as king, and writing to *Henry* to come into *Italy*, assembled an army in order to support the pretensions of *Constantia*. *Henry* immediately sent the marshal of the empire, with a considerable body of forces, to *Italy*; but before their arrival, *Tancred*, by means of *Richard* count of *Cerra*, whose sister he had married, reduced all *Puglia* and *Terra di Lavoro*, and obliged the abbot of *Monte Cassino* to take an oath of allegiance. *Richard*, having received large sums of money from *Tancred*, and having got possession of the magazines in *Puglia*, raised a large army, and made an attempt upon *Capua* and *Aversa*: but the German army joining the count of *Andria*, he was obliged to retire, and stand on the defensive. He was, in his turn, besieged in the city of *Ariano*; but the excessive heats, and scarcity of provisions, occasioning a great sickness among the *Germans*, the marshal, to prevent the total ruin of his army, raised the siege, and returned to *Germany*. *Roger* count of *Andria* still continued the war; and having fortified the castle of *St. Agatha*, retired to *Ascoli*, in hopes of a new reinforcement from *Henry*. He was, however, soon after murdered by *Richard*, who had prevailed upon him to come out of the city to a conference. After his death *Richard* again marched against *Capua*, which imprudently surrendered, when *Henry*, who by the death of his father in *Asia* was now emperor, had entered *Italy* with a powerful army.

Henry
sends an
army to
Puglia to
support his
claim to
the crown.

DURING these transactions on the continent, *Tancred* received with great hospitality the kings of *England* and *France*, who had arrived with two formidable fleets at *Messina*, in their way to the *Holy Land*. *Tancred*, at the intercession of *Richard* of *England*, was reconciled to his sister, the widow of the late king *William*, and afterwards concluded a treaty for a marriage betwixt the king of *England*'s nephew and one of his daughters, giving *Richard* at that time 20,000 ounces of gold as his daughter's portion; which money the *English* king promised to restore, if the marriage should never

^a Gul. Neubrigens. Chron. Cassi. RICHARD Chron.

take effect. A few months after, *Tancred* passed over into *Tancred*
Puglia, and having called a parliament of his barons at *reduces*
Thermula, went from thence to *Abruzzo*. Having defeated *Puglia*;
count *Rainald*, and reduced that province, he marched from
thence to *Brindisi*, where he celebrated a marriage betwixt his
eldest son *Roger*, and *Irene*, sometimes called *Urania*, daugh-
ter of the emperor of *Constantinople*. After the celebration
of the marriage he caused his son *Roger* to be crowned king
of *Sicily*, and then returned in a triumphant manner to *Pa-*
lermo.

THE emperor *Henry* in the mean time arriving at *Rome*, which af-
received the imperial crown from *Celestine* III. in the month *towards*
of *April*, and then marched with his army towards *Puglia*. Having taken the
strong castle of *Arce* by storm, he struck such a terror into the whole province, that, as he advanced,
all the cities submitted to him till he arrived at *Naples*, whi-
ther *Richard* count of *Cerra* had retired with his army. At
the city was strongly fortified, and open to the sea, it baffled
all the emperor's attempts, who being seized with an
epidemical sickness, which had carried off great part of his
army, was at last obliged to raise the siege, which had con-
tinued near four months. At his departure he left the em-
press *Constantia* in *Salerno*; and placing garrisons in *Capua*,
Arce, and *Sorrella*, and taking the abbot of *Cassino*, and feve-
ral citizens of *S. Germano*, as hostages, he returned to *Ger-*
many. *Henry* was no sooner gone than the count of *Cerra*
again took the field, reduced *Capua*, *Arce*, *Aversa*, *Teano*,
and *S. Germano*. But he could not prevail with the dean
of *Monte Cassino* to declare for *Tancred*, though he was ex-
communicated by the pope, and the monastery laid under an
interdict. The dean, instead of acknowledging *Tancred*, ex-
erted himself with great spirit in behalf of the emperor.
Having concerted measures with *Disfeld*, the governor of
the castle of *Arce*, in *January* he retook the city of *S. Ger-*
mano, and all the other places belonging to his monastery.
He likewise attacked many other cities, with various success;
while the officers of *Tancred* in their turn invaded those places
that held for the emperor. *Tancred*, in the mean time, at
the intreaty of the pope, sent back the empress *Constantia*
to her husband; and as count *Burhold* had arrived in *Pu-*
glia with a strong reinforcement of *German* and *Florian*,
to support the imperial party, the following year he himself
went over thither to stop their progress. He quickly assem-
bled a powerful army, but was dissuaded by his officers from

venturing an engagement with *Berthold*; who, though inferior to him in number, had marched towards him in hopes of a general battle. *Berthold* was obliged to retire to the county of *Molise*, for want of provisions, where he was killed by a stone thrown from a castle. *Tancred*, in the mean time, took the castles of *St. Agatha*, *Caserta*, and *Forsa*, and soon after went over to *Sicily*, where he died in the end of this year, or, according to some authors, in the beginning of the following. His death is attributed to grief for the loss of his eldest son *Roger*, whom he survived only a few weeks, leaving the kingdom to his youngest son *William*, then a minor 8.

Tancred dies.

A. D.

1193.

THE emperor *Henry* hearing of the death of *Tancred* and *Roger*, immediately made great preparations for an expedition to *Sicily*. About the month of *June* he arrived with a great army at *Genoa*; and having wheedled the *Genoese* and *Pisans* by large promises to fit out a fleet of upwards of an hundred sail, he proceeded to *Campania*, where he arrived about the end of *August*, and was received by the abbot of *S. Germano* and many *Puglian* barons. The *Genoese* and *Pisan* fleets in the mean time took possession of *Gaeta* and *Naples*, upon a capitulation. He himself, after visiting *Monte Cassino*, and reducing almost all the cities of *Puglia*, proceeded to *Salerno*, which he took by storm. In resentment for the captivity of the empress, he allowed his army to pillage the city, ordered the walls to be destroyed, executed a great many of the inhabitants, and banished others. Having left this noble city almost wholly desolate, he then marched through *Calabria*, and passing the *Faro*, landed at *Messina*. The submission of the *Puglians*, and the formidable appearance of his fleet, struck a terror into the *Sicilians*, so that without any difficulty *Henry* made himself master of the whole island. As the queen *Sibilla* had retired with her children into an impregnable castle, the emperor, not willing to lose time in a siege that perhaps would prove fruitless, prevailed upon her to submit voluntarily, by promising her, with the most solemn oaths, the county of *Lezze* for herself, and the principality of *Taranto* for her son.

Having conquered Sicily he treats his new subjects with

HENRY having thus entirely reduced the kingdoms of *Puglia* and *Sicily*, and got his competitor into his power, in order to establish his authority, most imprudently had recourse to perfidy, cruelty, and rigour. A few days after the submission of king *William*, having convened on *Christ-*

* Chron. Cassin. RICHARD Chron. SIGON. in regn. Ital. Chron. Fossæ Novæ.

was-day a general assembly in the royal palace at *Palermo*, great cruelty. he pretended to have discovered a conspiracy formed against him by *Sibilla* and the friends of the late king *Tancred*. On this pretence he immediately imprisoned the queen, her son, and two daughters; and also the archbishop of *Salerno*, the bishops of *Trani* and *Ostuni*, with many other prelates and barons. He caused many of them to be hanged, some to be burned, and the eyes of others to be put out. The unfortunate *William* was castrated, and his brother and two sisters carried prisoners to *Germany*, with many of the nobles of the kingdom, whose estates *Henry* conferred upon those of his own party. Having likewise stripped the royal palace of all its treasure and rich furniture, he set out on his return to *Germany*, leaving the exhausted and ruined kingdom to the administration of *Constantia*, who had come that year into *Italy*; and in her journey through the march of *Ancona* was delivered of a son, named *Frederic Roger* ^b.

A. D.
1195.

HENRY, to establish his authority in *Italy* without any regard to the pope, treated his brother *Philip*, who had married *Irene*, the widow of the late king *Roger*, duke of *Tuscany*, and of the estates of *Mathilda*. He conferred the title of duke of *Ravenna* and marquis of *Ancona* on *Marcoaldus*, one of his generals, created *Conrad* surnamed *Musca* in *Cervello* duke of *Spoleto*, and left *Diebold* governor of *Puglia*. He, however, neglected to fulfil his engagements to the *Genoese*, and paying no regard to their deputation to him at *Pavia*, in the beginning of the following year left *Italy* ^c. Upon his arrival in *Germany* he sent the bishop of *Worms*, as his lieutenant, to *Italy*, who ordered the walls of *Naples* and *Capua* to be entirely destroyed ^d.

He returns
to Germany.
A. D.
1196.

As the emperor found himself universally condemned for his behaviour to *Richard Cœur de Lion*, king of *England*, whom he had unjustly detained in his return from the *Holy Land*, and as a great spirit appeared at this time in *Germany*, of undertaking a new crusade, he likewise assumed the cross, in hopes thereby of recovering his reputation. * However, according to *Arnold of Lubec*, he had another design in view, and intended by means of the crusaders to extirpate the *Normans* entirely from *Puglia* and *Sicily*. Accordingly, one division of the crusaders parting for the *Holy Land*, by the way of *Hungary*, and another taking shipping at *Hamburg* and *Frisland*, *Henry*, in the be-

^b Idem ibid. Chron. Cavenf. ap. MURATOR. t. vii. ARNOLD LUBEC. Chron. l. iv. c. 20. ^c SIDON. de regn. Ital. MUIBOM rer. Germ. Script. t. iii. p. 139. ^d RICHARD Chron.

beginning of *November*, marched into *Italy*, at the head of a third army, consisting of about 60,000 men. Upon his arrival at *Casua* he called a general assembly of the barons, and condemned *Richard* count of *Cerra*, who some time before had been made prisoner by *Diebold*. *Richard*, after being tied to a horse's tail, and dragged through the streets of *Casua*, was hung up by the feet, and after he had been two days in torment, was at last put to death by means of a heavy stone hung to his neck by the emperor's buffoon¹. *Henry* then created *Diebold* count of *Cerra*, sent his brother *Otho* to besiege *Roca Secca*, where some *Norman* barons had fortified themselves, and having laid a tax upon all the kingdom, in the beginning of *January* transported his army into *Sicily*.

He passes
again into
Sicily;

A D.

1197.

He immediately sent an ambassador to *Constantinople*, ordering the emperor *Alexius Angelus* to restore all the coasts of *Greece*, from *Epidaurus* to *Salonichi*, which had been conquered by king *William*, or to pay for those territories a tribute of sixteen talents of pure gold^m. In the mean time he exercised all manner of cruelties against the *Sicilian* nobles. He ordered crowns to be nailed to the heads of those nobles who had conferred the crown on *Tancred*, not sparing even their children, who were put to death by various tortures; and upon a suspicion of treason he castrated the high admiral *Margaritone*, and caused his eyes to be put out, though he had formerly for his services created him duke of *Durazzo*, and prince of *Taranto*. *Constantia*, affected by the barbarity exercised by her husband against her countrymen, was prevailed upon to enter into a conspiracy against him; and while he was besieging a castle, she went to *Palermo*, seized the treasure, and openly declared against him; which encouraging the *Sicilians*, they surprised a great many *Germans*, and put them to death. The emperor immediately fled to a strong castle; but being surrounded by the *Sicilians*, he submitted to the terms of a capitulation prescribed by the emperor, and recovered his liberty, on condition of immediately sending off his army to the *Holy Land*. The army accordingly embarked, and sailed from *Sicily* on the first of *September*, under the command of *Conrad* bishop of *Hildesheim*, chancellor of the empire. *Henry*, who remained behind, fell sick, and died on the twenty-eighth of the same month, according to some authors of poison, which was given him

where he
is besieged
by Con-
stantia.

His death.

¹ Idem ibid. Chron. Fosse Nov.
SET, Hist.

^m Vide BARON & NI-

by the empress *, though some attribute his death to his excessive exercise of hunting *.

As Henry died excommunicated, on account of the money he had extorted from the king of England, *Constantia* sent the archbishop of *Messina* to *Rome*, to beg of the pope liberty to bury his body in holy ground; and, at the same time, demanded from *Celestine* the usual investiture for her infant son *Frederic*. The pope, upon receiving a thousand marks of silver for himself, and as much for the cardinals, granted the investiture to *Frederic*; after *Constantia* had sworn that he was her lawful son by her late husband *Henry*; but he refused to allow the emperor's corpse to be interred in holy ground, till all matters should be accommodated with the king of England. The difference being at last adjusted with king *Richard*, the corpse was buried; and a few weeks after *Celestine* was succeeded in the pontifical chair by *Innocent III*.

MEAN while *Constantia* ordered *Marcoaldus*, and all the *Constantia orders* *German*s, to quit her dominion. As he was greatly detested on account of his cruelty and rapaciousness, she granted him a safe-conduct, and desired two cardinals that were in *Puglia*, and the count of *Celano*, to protect him from the enraged natives. *Marcoaldus* having left *Castellano* and *Bailies*, in the county of *Molise*, which he had obtained from the emperor on the death of *Musca* in *Cervello*, proceeded from thence to the march of *Ancona*, where he was immediately excommunicated by pope *Innocent*, who being a man of great abilities, and in the vigour of life, resolved to begin his pontificate with the recovery of the territories of *Mazhilda*, which had been usurped by the three late emperors, and given as fiefs to their friends. *Philip*, the late emperor's brother, who possessed great part of *Tuscany*, and *Conrad*, who had been created duke of *Spoletto*, were likewise excommunicated. These two immediately resigned all the territories claimed by the church; *Conrad* from a principle of religion, but *Philip* from policy, that he might procure the favour of the pope in his contest for the imperial crown against *Otho* of *Brunswick*. *Marcoaldus*, however, finding that the inhabitants of *Romaniola* and the march of *Ancona* had an aversion to the *Roman* government, despised the excommunication; and assembling an army, resolved to maintain the possession of his territories by force.

* Roccus, HovDEN. Annal. Angl. RICHARD, Chron.
 * SICON. ut supra.

Obtains the investiture for her son.
Her death. CONSTANTIA, in the mean time, sent for her infant son *Fraderic* from *Ancona* to *Sicily*, and earnestly solicited the pope to grant him the investiture. *Innocent*, who was wholly bent on enlarging the papal authority, both in spirituals and temporals, absolutely refused to grant her demand, unless the four articles formerly stipulated with king *William I.* concerning the right of elections, legations, appeals, and councils, were annulled. *Constantia* being persuaded to agree to his demands, at length obtained the investiture; but dying a few weeks after, on the 27th of *November*, most imprudently by her last will left the care and guardianship of her son and kingdom to *Innocent*, which deed gave an opportunity to the popes of encroaching upon the prerogatives of the kingdom, and was the foundation of their pretended claim of being administrators during the minority of the kings, although they were not appointed guardians by the preceding prince.

Pope Innocent acts as regent of the kingdom of Sicily. INNOCENT gladly accepted of the guardianship, and immediately began to exercise it, by sending a cardinal legate to *Sicily*, to take the government of the kingdom, and to administer the oath of fidelity to the prelates and barons in the name of the pope, as governor and guardian. The chancellor of *Sicily*, however, with a great party, refused to take the oath prescribed by the legate, who, finding his authority opposed, soon after returned to *Rome*. A great party in *Puglia* likewise disrelished the administration of the pope, and invited *Marcoaldus* to assume the government, who, being defeated in *Romaniola* by the *Bolognese* and papal troops, marched with all his *Germans* to the county of *Melise*; and pretending that the emperor had left him as guardian of his son, and governor of the kingdom, began to attack those that adhered to *Innocent*. Having, in the beginning of the following year, burnt several castles belonging to the monastery of *Cassino*, in order to prevail with the abbot to acknowledge him as governor, *Innocent* sent two cardinals, with a considerable body of forces, to the defense of the monastery. *Marcoaldus*, however, being joined by *Diepoldus*, and other *Germans*, to whom *Henry* had given estates and baronies in *Puglia* and *Sicily*, took *S. Germano*, which he pillaged and burnt, exercising likewise great cruelty upon the miserable inhabitants. He then besieged the monastery of *Cassino*, whither the two cardinals, and many of the prin-

² SPOND. Annal. ad. an. 1198. GIANNONE ut supra. ³ GIANNONE ibid.

elical inhabitants of *St. Germano*, had retired. But as his camp was much incommoded upon the hill by showers of hail and snow, he agreed to raise the siege, upon receiving a considerable sum of money from the abbot; and marching with his army against *Avellino*, obliged that city to purchase its security by the payment of a large contribution. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the pope, he continued for more than a year his hostilities against the nobles of the opposite faction, many of whom condescended to buy their peace by base submissions. *Richard* count of *Fondi* particularly gave his daughter in marriage to *Sigisfrid*, the brother of *Diebold*, whose daughter was likewise married to *William* count of *Caserta*. *Innocent*, in the mean time, excommunicated *Marcoaldus* and his adherents, sent money to the counts of *Puglia* to raise soldiers against him, ordered all the prelates of the kingdom to curse him and his followers every *Sunday* and holy-day, and even proposed to cause a crusade to be published against him.

MARCOALDUS, being sensible that the spirit and activity ^{who as-} of the pope was the greatest interruption to his ambitious ^{pursues to the} designs, endeavoured, by several embassies and great promises, ^{crown.} to make him his friend. By means of *Conrad* archbishop of *Mentz*, who about this time arrived at *Puglia* from the *Holy Land*, he proposed to the pope, that if he would only not oppose him in his intended conquest of *Sicily*, he would immediately give him 20,000 ounces of gold, and after he had established himself in *Palermo*, he would pay him other 20,000 ounces, would swear allegiance to him as his sovereign, would double the yearly tribute, and would allow the apostolic see greater prerogatives than it had ever yet enjoyed in *Sicily*; adding, that the pope ought not to make any scruple to agree to his proposal, because he was guardian of the young *Frederic*, as he was ready to prove that boy a supposititious child, and not the son of the late emperor and empress. *Innocent* paying no regard to these proposals, and not allowing the birth of the prince to be called in question, because his predecessor had declared himself satisfied with the oath of *Constantia*, *Marcoaldus* had recourse to another expedient; and pretending a great desire to be restored to the communion of the church, prevailed with the pope to send three cardinals to treat with him at *Veroli*. Though nothing was concluded at the conference, yet *Marcoaldus*, having treated the cardinals with great respect, upon their departure immediately published by letters through the king-

* Vita Innocent ap. MURATORI. t. iii. p. 491.

dom, and in *Germany*, that he was reconciled to the pope, who had appointed him governor of the kingdom, and had sent two cardinals to exhort the *Puglians* to submit to him.

THIS imposture, however, being soon discovered by the letters of *Innocent*, which gave a particular account of the transactions at *Veroli*, *Marcoaldus* resolved not to waste more time in *Puglia*, but to make an attempt upon the capital. Accordingly, having left *Diepoldus* with his two brothers *Otho* and *Sigisfrid*, *Conrad* of *Sorella*, *Otho* of *Laviano*, *Frederic* of *Malento*, and many other *Germans*, to support his party in *Puglia*, he embarked, with a considerable army, at *Salerno* for *Sicily*. The guardians and preceptors of the young prince immediately wrote to the pope for assistance, who sent them 200 horse under the command of *James*, his cousin and marshal, who was accompanied with a cardinal legate, and with the archbishops of *Tarento* and *Naples*. These troops, in their march through *Calabria*, defeated *Frederic* of *Malento*; and afterwards, passing the *Faro*, landed at *Messina*, while *Diepoldus* with his *Germans* made a second incursion into the territories of *Cassino*, and ravaged several places in that neighbourhood.

DURING these transactions, *Sibilla*, the widow of the late king *Tancred*, arrived at *Rome*. After the death of the emperor *Henry*, she had escaped from her imprisonment to *France*, where her eldest daughter *Albinia* had married *Walter* count of *Brenna*, a *French* nobleman. As the young king *William* died in prison, the count of *Brenna* demanded of the pope the principality of *Tarento* and county of *Locca*, in right of his wife *Albinia*, according to the stipulation made with the emperor *Henry*. *Innocent* was greatly embarrassed with this demand; being apprehensive, that, if the count met with a refusal, he would join the *Germans*; and dreading likewise, that, if he should acquire any power and authority in *Puglia*, he would revenge the injuries his wife and her friends had suffered from *Henry* upon his son *Frederic*. At last he consented to his request; and having taken an oath from him in a public consistory, that, on no pretence, he would do any prejudice to *Frederic*, or disturb the kingdom, he wrote to the governors of the king in *Sicily*, informing them of what he had done. *Walter*, the chancellor of the kingdom, and bishop of *Treva*, was greatly alarmed with the proceeding of the pope. As he and all his party had been the greatest enemies of *Tancred*, he dreaded the resentment of the count of *Brenna*; and therefore, assembling the people of *Messina*, he condemned the grant in a vehement discourse, censuring the pope with great freedom; as usurp-

and passes
over into
Sicily

A. D.
1200.

Walter
count of
Brenna
claims the
principality
of 'Ta-
rento.

ing a power which he had no right to. The count, however, having secured the favour of the pope, resolved to prosecute his design; and for that purpose returned to France, to raise a body of troops.

MARGOALDUS, in the mean time, having prevailed with the *Saracens* in *Sicily* to espouse his cause, reduced a great many cities and castles, and at last invested *Palermo*. The papal army immediately marched to the relief of the place; and being joined by the loyal party, under the command of the chancellor, and several other bishops, encamped before the city. *Marcoaldus*, upon their arrival, raised the siege; and to gain time till he should be joined by some reinforcements, endeavoured to amuse them by a negotiation for peace, which the chancellor and the archbishops of *Messina*, *Monreale*, and *Cefalu*, had even agreed to: but the majority of the army declaring with great warmth against an accommodation, the conferences were broke off, and four days after a battle ensued, in which *Marcoaldus* was intirely defeated, with the loss of his camp and all his baggage. As the victory was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of the marshal *James*, the governors of the young king conferred upon him the county of *Andria*. However, from a mean jealousy, they soon after began to deny his soldiers common necessaries; so that, many of them falling sick and dying, the marshal was obliged, about the end of *August*, to return to *Puglia*, where, during his expedition in *Sicily*, *Diepoldus* had gained a victory over the count of *Celano* near *Venafro*.

ABOUT the same time a new difference happened betwixt the pope and the chancellor, who, upon the death of the archbishop of *Palermo*, had got himself elected his successor, and obtained the confirmation of the legate without the knowledge of the pope. *Innocent* reprimanded his legate very severely, but at the same time offered to allow the chancellor to retain the archbishopric under the title of procurator, or minister. The chancellor rejected that favour with disdain, and both spoke and wrote against the pope with great bitterness and malice, particularly with regard to his grant in favour of the count of *Brennu*. The count mean while had arrived at *Rome* with a small body of *Frenchmen*, on which account his intended enterprize became the subject of public ridicule. The pope, however, writing to the counts, barons, and castellans of *Puglia*, in his favour, and giving him 500 ounces of gold to levy more troops, he boldly entered

• Vide auct. sup. citat.

* RICHARDI Chron.

The count
of Brenna
conquers a
great part
of Puglia.

A. D.
1202.

Terra di Lavora, and was received by the inhabitants of *Pesano*, where he was joined by the abbot of *Cassino* with a good number of men, and *Richard* archbishop of *Capua*. From thence he marched to *Capua*; and having reduced the citadel, on the 10th of *June* he engaged and intirely defeated *Diepoldus*. He then entered into an alliance with the count of *Celano*; and having assisted him in reducing the county of *Molise*, he marched without opposition to *Puglia*, where *Melphis*, *Veroli*, *Monte Pilaso*, and several other cities, put themselves under his protection. He likewise, in the beginning of the following year, reduced the castle of *Lecce*; and also *Matera*, *Otranto*, *Brindisi*, and many other cities of the principality of *Tarento*.

The chan-
cellor
makes
peace with
Marcoal-
dus, in or-
der to op-
pose the
count.

His surprising progress greatly alarmed the chancellor, who, notwithstanding the mandates of the pope, had assumed a most despotic authority. He disposed, in a most absolute manner, of the whole revenues of the kingdom, raised a powerful faction to countenance all his proceedings, by conferring counties, baronies, the government of cities and castles, and other offices and dignities, upon his creatures; and sending for his brother *Gentile*, count of *Manopello*, appointed him one of the king's council, and is said to have designed to have raised him to the throne. As a means to check the progress of the count of *Brenna*, he, with his brother *Gentile*, concluded a peace and alliance with *Marcoalus*, who was still excommunicated; and *Gentile's* son having married a niece of *Marcoalus*, it was agreed betwixt them that the whole administration should be divided betwixt *Marcoalus* and the chancellor; the one to govern in *Sicily*, and the other in *Puglia*. This convention, however, never took effect; for both parties suspecting each other's treachery, renewed their former enmity, and publicly reproached each other with their villainy. The chancellor, in the mean time, who had dissipated the revenues of *Sicily*, trusted the care of the king and palace to his brother; went over into *Puglia*, where he raised large sums by extortion and exactions, robbing the churches of all their wealth and plate, not sparing even the shrines and images. As he still continued to rail against the pope, and endeavoured to raise an association against the count of *Brenna*, *Innocent* at length, provoked by his proceedings, thundered a sentence of excommunication against him, and deposed him from both his churches, which he conferred on other prelates.

He is ex-
communi-
cated by
the pope.

In consequence of this anathema, the chancellor immediately lost all credit with the people, who treated him with contempt and insult; so that he was fain to join himself to *Diepoldus*,

Diepoldus, who still commanded an army to oppose the count of *Brenna*. *Innocent* soon after, having written a long letter to the young king, justifying his transactions with regard to the count of *Brenna*, sent a cardinal legate into *Puglia*, charging the counts and barons to join him and the count against *Diepoldus*. The chancellor, hearing of the arrival of the legate, came to him, and begged to be restored to the communion of the church; but the legate insisting upon his agreeing not to oppose the count, he broke out into blasphemous expressions, and returned to *Diepoldus*, who soon after marched against the count, and surprised him in the neighbourhood of the famous *Canna*. Though the count was greatly inferior to him in numbers, yet he attacked him with such fury, that he gained a most complete victory, and took a great number of prisoners of note, among whom were the two brothers of *Diepoldus*, the chancellor's cousin, and the archbishop of *Salerno*. The count defeats Diepoldus.

GENTILE, in the mean time, who had been left governor in *Sicily*, again renewed his friendship with *Marcoaldus*, and was persuaded by him to resign the whole administration to him, and to retire to *Messina*. *Marcoaldus* immediately made his authority be acknowledged almost over the whole island, and endeavoured, by large offers to the pope and the count of *Brenna*, to persuade the count to renounce his claim. It was generally supposed that he would then have put the young king to death and usurped the kingdom, if it had not been for his apprehensions of the count, who looked upon him as heir apparent of the crown. All his schemes, however, were interrupted by death, which happened to him towards the end of the year. Marcoaldus dies.

A. D.

1203.

UPON the death of *Marcoaldus*, *William Capparo*, or *Capparore*, a *German*, immediately seized the palace and the king, and assumed the title of governor of *Sicily*, and guardian of the king. The greatest part, however, of the followers of *Marcoaldus* refused to obey him, and formed a party in opposition to him. The chancellor, thinking this a fit opportunity of recovering his former authority, made a new offer of implicit submission to the holy see; and obtaining absolution from *Innocent*, passed over into *Sicily*, declared against *Capparo*, reassumed the office of high chancellor, and wrote to the pope, pressing him to send a legate into the island to overawe the different factions. *Innocent* immediately sent his nephew cardinal *Gerardo* thither, who, upon his arrival, received the submission of *Capparo*, and granted him absolution. He could not, however, reconcile *Capparo* to the chancellor; and *Capparo* still retaining his power and authority, and neglecting

The chancellor recovers his authority.

lecting to fulfil his promises, *Gerardo* left *Palermo*, and retired to *Messina*.

INNOCENT, in the mean time, sent his cousin the marshal to the assistance of the count of *Brenna*, appointing them both high justiciaries of *Puglia* and *Terra di Lavoro*. Towards the end of the campaign, it being reported that the pope was dead at *Anagni*, whither the count and the marshal had gone to visit him, several cities, particularly *Matera*, *Brindisi*, and *Otranto*, revolted from the count; some of them massacring, and others expelling, his garrisons. **INNOCENT**, however, soon after recovering from a severe illness, that had occasioned the report of his death, they returned to *Puglia*, and reduced several castles; but were not able to recover the above-mentioned cities. The marshal reduced *Adria*, and took the title of count of that city; and *James* count of *Tricarico*, and *Roger* count of *Chieti*, joining him and the count of *Brenna* with their forces, they so harassed the *Germans*, that they were obliged to desert the field, and shut themselves up in their forts. The count of *Brenna*, however, becoming too secure and confident from the great success of his arms, was surprised the following summer^a by *Diepoldus*, whom he was besieging in *Sarno*. The *Germans*, being informed of the great security of the besiegers, sallied out upon them at break of day; and, having forced their camp, attacked the count, who, after defending himself for a long time, and receiving a great many wounds, was at last taken prisoner and carried into the city, where he died a few days after, leaving his wife *Albinia* big with child^b. She was soon after delivered of a son, named *Walter*, and then married to the count of *Tricarico*.

The count of Brenna is attacked by surprise, and dies of his wounds.

A. D. 1205.

Diepoldus is reconciled to the pope.

A. D. 1206.

THE unfortunate death of the count of *Brenna* so animated the opposite faction, that *Innocent* was obliged to conclude a peace with *Diepoldus*. Upon his swearing solemnly to submit to the mandates of the holy see in every thing for which he had been excommunicated, to acknowledge the pope as regent of the king and kingdom, and not to favour the pretensions of *Philip* duke of *Suabia* to the prejudice of *Frederic*, he absolved him and all his followers from the sentence of excommunication, and the year following received him very graciously at *Rome*^c. *Diepoldus*, after several conferences with the pope, who continued him in command, returned to *Salerno*, from whence, in the month of *November*, he sailed over to *Palermo*. Soon after his arrival, he prevailed with

^a **FERRARINI** ad Anon. Cassin. an. 1205.
^b **cent. ap. MURATOR. t. iii. RICHARDI Chron.**
^c **ibid.**

^d **Vita Innocent.**
^e **Idem**

Capparo to deliver the king to the chancellor and the legate, and to promise likewise to deliver the palace. Having conducted the young king to *Palermo*, he invited the chancellor and legate to an entertainment; but a rumour arising, that he intended to seize them, they surprised him and his son, and imprisoned them both. He soon after escaped from prison, and returned to *Salerno*; from whence, going to *Terra di Lavore*, he assembled an army, and in the month of *May* gained a victory over the *Neapolitans*, and took their general, *Goffredo di Montefusco*, prisoner. *Goffredo* and the *Neapolitans*, according to a certain author^a, about two months before, had taken and entirely destroyed the city and castle of *Cuma*, which for some years had become a receptacle for pirates and German deserters, who infested both sea and land, and plundered all parties without distinction. *Diepoldus* had perhaps privately favoured the inhabitants of *Cuma*; or received an insult from the *Neapolitans*; for the authors who mention his victory give no reason for the hostilities: however, from this time the church of *Cuma*, with all its revenues and prerogatives, was annexed to the see of *Naples*^a.

CUMA, however, was not the only nest of robbers; for *Conrad di Morlei*, who was in possession of *Sora*, *Sorella*, *Rocca d'Arce*, and several other places near the *Garigliano*, ravaged all the country round with great barbarity, and made frequent incursions into the *Campania di Roma*. The pope, having in vain admonished him for a long time, at length ordered the cardinal legate of *Campania* to attack him. He, being assisted by the pope's brother *Richard*, and *Roffred* abbot of *Cassino*, whom the inhabitants of *Sora* had privately admitted into their city, in the beginning of *January* took *Sora*, *Blanello*, a fort that overlooks the city, and *Sorella*, whither *Conrad* had retired. An accommodation was then agreed to, whereby *Conrad*, upon receiving a thousand ounces of gold and twenty horses, promised to deliver up *Rocca d'Arce*, with all the places he possessed upon the confines of the kingdom. This service was so agreeable to the king, that he immediately granted the investiture of all these places to the pope's brother *Richard* and his heirs, with the title of count of *Sora*^b.

A. D.
1208.

GREAT disturbances, in the mean time, happened in *Sicily*. The chancellor continued at open enmity with *Capparo*, *Sora*.

^a Chron. Cassin. an. 1207. RICHARD. Chron. • Vide GIANNONE Hist. di Nap. l. xv. sect. 1. • CHIOCCARELLI de Archiep. Neap. ^b Vita Innocent ut supra. Chron. Cassin. RICHARD. Chron.

who still remained in possession of the palace, and had again got the king in his power. The *Saracens* in the mountains, encouraged by these dissensions, openly renounced their allegiance to the king, and began hostilities against the Christians. To put a stop to these disorders, *Innocent*, a few weeks after the accommodation with *Conrad di Marlei*, went, attended with a great many cardinals and prelates, to *Palermo*. After some conferences with the king, to whom he proposed an alliance with *Constantia*, the sister of the king of *Arragon*, he left *Sicily*, and on the 23d of *June* arrived at *St. Germano*, where he assembled the counts and barons of *Puglia*, with the deputies of the cities, and prevailed with them to enter into an association for the defence of the king, to furnish him with 200 horse at their own charge, and to refer all their private quarrels to the determination of the two chief justiciaries; namely, the count of *Celano* and the count of *Fondi*.^d

Frederic
assumes the
adminis-
tration,
and mar-
ries the sis-
ter of the
king of Ar-
ragon.

INNOCENT after this seems not to have intermeddled in an authoritative manner in the administration of the kingdom; *Frederic*, though only thirteen years of age, being declared major, as a most probable means of putting an end to those factions, which had involved the nation in so many calamities for ten years^e. The pope, however, still continued his negotiations for the marriage of the king with *Constantia*, which was at last concluded, and celebrated the following spring at *Palermo* with great pomp and magnificence^f. Mean while the two justiciaries in *Puglia*, by their mutual animosities, still kept alive the disturbances in that province. A few months after the convention held at *St. Germano*, the count of *Fondi*, by the assistance of *Diepoldus*, had expelled the count of *Celano* from *Capua*, being even assisted by the *Capuans*, who had an aversion to his government on account of their hatred to his son, who was their archbishop. The count of *Celano*, however, a few months after, by means of the archbishop his son, recovered the city of *Capua*, obliged the count of *Fondi* to retire, and entered into a good correspondence with *Diepoldus*, who was then governor of *Salerno*.

A. D.
1209.

Otho IV. DURING these disturbances, *Otho IV.* who, by the death is crowned of his competitor *Philip* of *Suabia*, had succeeded to the emperor; German empire, entered *Italy* with a powerful army, and received the imperial crown from the pope in the church of *St. Peter* on the 2d of *October*. As *Innocent* had been his

^d GIANNONE ut supra.

Cassin. Chron.

CHARD, & Cassin.

^e Vit. Innocent. RICHARD, &

^f Vit. Innocent.

CHRON. RICHARD, & Cassin.

constant friend during his ten years struggle for the empire, *Otho* made very large promises to him in behalf of the *Roman* see; but after his coronation, whether from ambition, or perceiving his engagements to the empire and the holy see were inconsistent, he declared his intention of maintaining the imperial rights in *Italy*; and marching from *Rome*, immediately seized several cities in *Tuscany* belonging to the estates of *Mathilda* *. He likewise laid claim to *Puglia*, in consequence probably of the conquest of the emperor *Latharius*; for the pretensions of the *German* emperors to this province could not be founded on the conquest of *Charlemagne*, who we have seen never was able to reduce the duchy of *Benevento*. *Otho* was invited to invade *Puglia* by the count of *Celano* and *Diepoldus*, who, in the end of the following year conducted him to *Capua*, when, according to *Richard of St. Germano*, he created *Diepoldus* duke of *Spoletto*. All the country, from *Sora* to *Capua*, immediately submitted to him except *Aquino*. Almost all the cities of *Puglia* likewise surrendered to him without opposition. The *Neapolitans*, from their hatred to the *Aversans*, opened their gates to him, and pressed him to besiege *Aversa*, which city, however, contrary to their expectation, surrendered upon a capitulation, and agreed to pay him a large sum of money.

THE pope, who was greatly provoked with these proceedings of *Otho*, endeavoured by several embassies to persuade him to desist from his hostilities; but finding his remonstrances had no effect, in the end of this year he denounced a sentence of excommunication against him and all his adherents, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance to him, and wrote to the princes of *Germany*, exhorting them to elect another emperor. *Otho*, who was persuaded that he was only asserting the just rights of the empire, paid no regard to this sentence. Many of the princes of *Germany*, however, at the persuasion of the pope's legates and prelates, renounced their allegiance to the emperor; and on the 15th of *December* the king of *Bohemia*, the dukes of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, the landgrave of *Thuringia*, and the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Triers*, elected the young *Frederic* king of *Sicily*, *Frederic* who had been declared heir to the empire when an infant, even before the death of his father *Henry VI*. *Frederic* willingly accepted of the imperial dignity, contrary to the persuasions of *Constantia* and the *Sicilian* barons; and leaving his queen, and her infant son *Henry*, at *Palermo*, embarked for *Gæta*, from whence he sailed to *Rome*. After some con-

He is ex-
communicated by
the pope.
A. D.
1210.

* Apolog. pro Othone ap. MAISON. t. iii. p. 120.

imperial crown. While he was assembling his army for that purpose, he sent for his queen *Constantia* to *Germany*, and ordered the count of *St. Severino* to seize and imprison his father-in-law *Diopoldus*, who was endeavouring to raise disturbances in *Puglia*.

AFTER *Constantia* had continued upwards of a year in *Germany*, *Frederic* set out on his expedition to *Italy*, and at *St. Leo*, in the duchy of *Urbino*, was met by the pope's legate, where he swore to preserve the rights of the church, and to yield the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Puglia* to his son *Henry*; and likewise confirmed his donation of the county of *Fondt* to the apostolic see^m. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where, on the 22d of *November*, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and renewed his vow of an expedition to the *Holy Land*, which he promised to undertake whenever his holiness should think proper. After his coronation, *Frederic* sent his chancellor, the archbishop of *Spire*, with full power to *Lombardy*, to prevail with *Milan*, and some other cities, which, from their aversion to the family of *Barbarossa*, had espoused the cause of *Otho*, to acknowledge him as emperor. Many of these cities had long distinguished themselves in the disputes betwixt the emperors and popes, by their attachment to the latter; and though *Frederic* had hitherto shewn so much condescension to the pope, yet *Honorius* is accused at this time of privately preventing the emperor's orders from being received and executed by the *Guelph* faction, in order to depress, or at least balance, his power.

THE emperor, however, not seeming to mind the pope's proceeding, left *Rome*, and went to *St. Germano*, where he was received with great honour and respect by the abbot of *Monte Cassino*. From thence he went to *Capua*, where he called a general parliament, in which he published several new regulations, which are contained in twenty chaptersⁿ. He particularly ordered all the forts and castles lately built by the barons to be demolished; and by the advice of *Andrea Bonello*, a famous lawyer, and his attorney-general, he established a new tribunal in *Capua*, called *Corte Capuana*. He commanded the barons, the corporations of the cities and towns, and all other persons, to produce the grants and privileges of their castles, and other things which they held of him and his predecessors, to be inspected by this court, whether they were valid, or had been illegally granted in time of troubles; declaring, that those who did not produce their

^m Vide auct. sup citat. GIANNONE. ⁿ RICHARD. Chron.

charters, should forfeit their grants and privileges. In consequence of this order, several grants, that had been surreptitiously obtained, were revoked, and others were afterwards reckoned invalid, for not being produced in time, which occasioned a general murmuring thro' the nation, and prompted many of the prelates and barons to refuse obedience to the king's orders. *Frederic*, after dismissing the parliament, went, in the beginning of the following year, to *Seffa*, where he revoked the grant of the county of *Sora*, which for some years had been in possession of *Richard*, the late pope's brother. He afterwards went to *Bojano*, where by force he compelled the count of *Molise*, and some other barons, to submit to his new regulations. He likewise set *Diepoldus* at liberty, upon receiving some towns which were in possession of his brother *Syfrid*; and afterwards, making a progress through *Puglia* and *Calabria*, he expelled many refractory and rebellious prelates and barons, who retired to *Rome* under the protection of the pope.

*Banishes
several
prelates
and ba-
rons;*

*and holds
another
parliament
at Messina.*

UPON his arrival at *Messina*, *Frederic* called a parliament of *Sicilian* barons, in which he published several regulations; and, as a subsidy for the Christians in the *Holy Land* and in *Egypt*, ordered the twentieth part of all ecclesiastical revenues, and the tythes of secular possessions, to be raised; which money, with forty-three galleys, he sent under the command of *Walter de Palear*, the chancellor, and the count of *Malta*, to *Damiata*, which was then besieged by the sultan of *Egypt*. He himself, in the mean time, was engaged in reducing the *Saracens* in *Sicily*, on which account he excused himself from going in person to the *Holy Land*, though he was continually urged and solicited by the pope to fulfil his vow. *Honorius*, being greatly jealous of the emperor's power, was very desirous that he should leave *Europe*. He therefore inveighed bitterly against him for delaying his expedition, and, at the same time, accused him of oppressing the church, and violating the ecclesiastical liberty, by taxing the clergy, expelling prelates, and substituting others in their place. *Frederic*, in his own justification, alleged, that, from the time of *Charlemagne*, it had been lawful for the emperors to give the investiture of bishoprics; that all princes might expel disaffected prelates out of their dominions; and that, as king of *Sicily*, he had enjoyed the prerogative of giving investitures to prelates, and of confirming their election by his assent, which right he was resolved not to part with, though *Innocent III.* had violated it during his minority^o.

*Difference
between
him and
the pope.*

FREDERIC, however, to give some satisfaction to the pope, who upon the news of the loss of *Damiata* renewed his complaints against him, published some severe edicts against heretics, made a formal renunciation of the estates of *Mathilda* into the hands of the apostolic nuncio, and conferred the kingdom of *Sicily* upon his son *Henry* ^P. Notwithstanding these concessions, the misunderstanding betwixt him and the pope still increased. As he continued to raise the twentieth penny upon the ecclesiastics, and turned out several prelates in *Sicily* and *Puglia*, whose fidelity he suspected, *Honorius* made loud complaints against him, and even threatened him with excommunication and deposition. *Frederic*, to appease the pope, imprisoned the count of *Malta*, and stripped him of all his lands and offices, the chancellor having fled to *Venice*, where, as there is no farther mention made of him, it is probable he died in exile. The king likewise, to prevent a rupture, left *Sicily*, and had a conference for fifteen days with the pope, who, in the month of *February*, had come to *Verona*. He published an edict in that city in favour of the ecclesiastical liberty; and having obtained leave to put off his sacred expedition some time longer, a general conference was appointed to be held, in the month of *November*, at *Verona*, to which all Christian princes were invited. *Frederic* then, taking leave of the pope, returned to *Puglia*; and having ordered the count of *Acerro* to besiege the rock of *Magenul*, held by the count of *Celano*, he hastened over into *Sicily* to oppose *Mirabel* the *Saracen* prince, who still continued his incursions against the Christians ^q. While *Frederic* ^{The queen} was employed in defeating the infidels, his queen *Constantia* ^{Constantia dies in} died in the city of *Catania*; and the count of *Celano*, escaping ^{Sicily.} from *Magenul*, surprized the imperial garrison in *Celano*, and having overrun all the county of the *Marfi*, plundered *Givita*, and burned *Paternum*. The count of *Acerro* immediately besieged *Celano*; but afterwards, trusting the siege to the *Neapolitans* and *Cajetans*, he again invested *Magenul*, which at length surrendered.

THE emperor, in the mean time, had intirely reduced the *Saracens*; and returning to *Puglia*, proposed another conference with the pope, which was prevented on account of the sickness of his holiness. A few months afterwards, however, the conference, which should have been held at *Verona*, was transferred to *Ferentino*, where, in the beginning of the following year, *Frederic*, at the solicitation of the pope, *John de Brenna* titular king of *Jerusalem*, *Hermannus Salza* grand

A. D.
1222.

A marriage is concluded betwixt Frederic and the daughter of the king of Jerusalem.

A. D.

1223.

master of the Teutonic order, and several others, renewed his engagements of going to the *Holy Land* within two years. As a motive to interest him in that expedition, the pope negotiated a marriage betwixt him and *Jolanta*, or *Violanta*, the only daughter of *John de Brenna*, who, in right of her mother, was heiress of the crown of *Jerusalem* (Z). The emperor, who had been some months a widower, willingly agreed to the match, upon condition that *John de Brenna*, as a portion for his daughter, should immediately resign his rights to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. As to the possession of the kingdom, that was afterwards to be disputed with the sultan, who, about thirty years before, had recovered the whole from the Christians, excepting a few places on the sea-coast.

UPON the conclusion of the conference, the young bride was immediately sent for from *Ptolemais*; and *Frederic*, returning to *Puglia*, made great preparations by sea and land for the conquest of his new kingdom. Mean while, by the mediation of the pope, he allowed the count of *Celano* to depart the kingdom; and having got possession of all his cities and castles, he ordered *Celano* to be entirely destroyed. He likewise ordered forts to be built in *Gaeta*, *Naples*, *Aversa*, and *Foggia*; and returning to *Sicily* against the *Saracens*, who had again revolted, he conquered a great part of them, whom he transported to the continent, and allowed them to settle in *Lucera* and its neighbourhood. As the others had fled to the mountains, he sent for several *Puglian* barons to come to his assistance; but upon their arrival in *Sicily*, he ordered them to be imprisoned, and their lands upon the continent to be seized. These barons, however, the following year, at the intercession of the pope, and upon leaving their sons as hostages, were set at liberty, and went to *Rome*. *Frederic*, about the same time, sent the late inhabitants of *Celano* to *Malta*, exempted the clergy of *Puglia* from all taxes and impositions, and being greatly delighted with the situation of *Naples*, resolved to make it the chief place of his residence. For this purpose he enlarged and embellished the city, and this year erected the private schools, which had long flourished there, into a university (A).

Frederic embellishes Naples.

A. D.

1224.

As

(Z) This *John de Brenna* was brother of *Walter*, who married the eldest daughter of *Tancred* king of *Sicily*.

(A) *Richard* of *S. Germano* tells us, that the emperor dis-

patched letters, in behalf of the university of *Naples*, through all the kingdoms of *Puglia* and *Sicily*. Some other letters concerning this university are extant in the six books of letters written

As the war still continued with the Saracens in Sicily, he renewed the taxes upon his subjects; but, to avoid disputes with the pope, he raised 300 ounces of gold from the lands of the monastery of *Cassino*, under the name of a loan. Soon after the titular king of *Jerusalem* arriving at *Capua* with his young queen, the sister of the king of *Castile*, he sent him and the patriarch of *Jerusalem* to the pope to ask a prolongation of the time for his expedition to the *Holy Land*, urging the necessity of his continuance in *Italy*, on account of the rebellion of the *Saracens*, and the mutinous spirit of the *Lombards*, who, at the instigation of the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Bologna*, threatened a general revolt. His ambassadors receiving a favourable answer from the pope, in the end of *July*, he went to *S. Germano*, where he entered into new engagements to the pope's legates; and being absolved by them from the vow he had made at *Veroli*, he promised, under pain of excommunication, to go to *Palestine* within two years, counting from the month of *August*. The emperor soon after caused another loan to be raised from the clergy, by which he received 1300 ounces of gold from the monastery of *Cassino*; and, at the same time, refused to admit five prelates, whom the pope, without his knowledge, had nominated to some vacant benefices in *Puglia*. A few weeks after, and married the empress *Jolanta*, or *Jole*, arriving at *Brindisi*, *Fredericus* solemnized his marriage with great pomp and magnificence; and, in the beginning of the following year, he ordered his

A. D.
1225.

written by the famous *Peter delle Vigne* his secretary. By these letters it appears he prohibited all other schools in the kingdom, except Grammar schools. He invited able professors in all faculties from remote parts, and appointed them large salaries. He prohibited any person born in the cities of *Lombardy*, that had rebelled against him, from being received into the university; granted to the doctors and masters jurisdiction and power to take cognizance of the civil causes of the scholars; commanded all the governors of the provinces to oblige the scholars within their jurisdictions to go and study at *Naples*; and declar-

ed, that he would take the scholars under his particular care and protection: that both in their journey to and stay in *Naples*, they should not be molested in their persons or goods; that they should have the best lodgings in the city at easy rates; that money should be lent them for their necessary occasions; and that they should be furnished with provisions at the same price with the *Neapolitan* citizens.

As the king likewise established his high court in this city, it immediately began to be much frequented, and to be distinguished above all other cities of the kingdom (1).

(1) *Richard, Chron. ap. Murat. Petr. de Vigne. l. iii. epist. 10, 11, 12, & 13.*

barons and knights to assemble at *Pescara*, and to accompany him to the diet of *Cremona*, having written to his son *Henry*, king of the *Romans*, to pass the *Alps* with an army, and join him in *Lombardy*.

The cities of Lombardy enter into an association against him.

A. D.
1226.

HENRY, who the year before had married a daughter of the duke of *Austria*, was prevented from advancing into *Italy* by the *Lombards*, who had seized the passes of the *Alps*; and *Frederic* upon his arrival at *Cremona* found no deputies from the Cities of *Milan*, *Verona*, *Piacenza*, *Vercelli*, *Lodi*, *Alexandria*, *Treviso*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Turin*, *Novara*, *Mantua*, *Brescia*, *Bologna*, and *Faenza*, which cities, in the month of *March*, had entered into a new association for twenty-five years, in defence of their liberties^r. The emperor, in resentment, put the associated cities to the ban of the empire, and having prevailed with the pope's legate to lay them under an interdict, he returned with his army to *Puglia*, and in his march had a conference with the pope at *Reate*. Tho' the pope and the emperor, during the whole summer, had been upon bad terms of correspondence, on account of the five prelates, who were kept out of the possession of their churches, and because *Frederic* had not only levied money upon the clergy, but had published an edict, ordering monks and priests guilty of homicide and other enormous crimes to be punished by the secular magistrate, yet at this conference they were, again reconciled. *Frederic* consented to admit the prelates nominated by the pope, and *Honorius*, who was suspected of having promoted the association of the cities of *Lombardy*, promised to act as mediator betwixt them and the emperor. An accommodation was accordingly concluded with the *Lombard* cities, by which *Frederic* engaged to forgive all past injuries, and revoke all edicts to their prejudice, on condition that they should send 400 knights to the *Holy Land*, and live in friendship with the imperial cities.

HONORIUS survived this transaction a short time, and died in *March* following. His successor, *Gregory IX.* immediately after his election reminded the emperor of his vow. As infinite numbers of crusaders at this time were arriving in *Italy*, *Frederic* appeared as earnest for the expedition as the pope; and in the month of *August* embarked at *Brindisi*. However, three days after he had set sail, returning to *Italy*, under pretence of sickness, he was solemnly excommunicated by the pope at *Anagni*, on the twenty-ninth of *September*. *Gregory* excommunicated him a second time at *Rome*, on the se-

He omits his voyage to the Holy Land;

^r *RICHARD. Chron. SIGON. de regn. Ital.*

venteenth of *November*, interdicted his kingdom, and informed all the Christian princes, by letters, of what he had done. *Frederic*, who had gone to the baths of *Pazzuolo*, and is excommunicated by the pope. and had sent several ambassadors to the pope, to plead the excuse of his illness, finding that *Gregory* would not accept of his vindication, wrote to all the Christian princes, in his own justification, and complained of the unjust proceeding of the pope. He likewise ordered all the justices of *Sicily* and *Puglia* to oblige the priests and monks in their provinces to celebrate divine service as usual; and afterwards holding a general meeting of the barons of the kingdom at *Capua*, he required from them a tax of eight ounces of gold for every fief they held, and a soldier for every eight fiefs, to be ready against the month of *May*, when he intended to sail for the *Holy Land*.

A. D.
1227.

FREDERIC, in resentment for the pope's proceeding, by the influence of his money, raised a strong faction in *Rome*, which the following spring obliged *Gregory* to quit the city, and retire to *Perugia*. He likewise sent an army into the duchy of *Spoletto*, and the march of *Ancona*; and notwithstanding the rigorous prohibition of the pope, raised a large sum of money from the clergy in his dominions. In the mean time the empress *Jolanta*, after being delivered of a son, who was named *Conrad*, died at *Andria*. Soon after her death, *Frederic* held a parliament at *Barletta*, and having regulated the succession of his kingdom, in case of his death, and appointed *Rinaldo*, duke of *Spoletto*, regent during his absence, on the eleventh of *August* he sailed from *Otranto* with twenty galleys and a great number of transports, for the *Holy Land*.

A. D.
1228.

Frederic proceeds to the Holy Land.

GREGORY was highly exasperated upon hearing that *Frederic* had presumed to depart for the *Holy Land* before he had made his peace with the church, and regarding his own private resentment more than the advancement of the public cause, he, in great indignation, wrote to the patriarch of *Jerusalem* and the master of the holy sepulchre, to have no communication with the emperor, and to give him no assistance. He likewise excited the associated cities of *Lombardy* to violate the late pacification, and to attack those of the imperial faction; and in order to force the imperialists to evacuate the march of *Ancona*, he assembled a large army, which in the beginning of *January* he sent against the kingdom, under the command of his legate *Pandolph*, and invades the exiled barons, *Roger* count of *Fondi* and *Thomas* count of *Puglia*.

* GIANNONE ut supra.

A. D. 1229. *Celano*. The army, which was distinguished by the name of *the militia of Christ*, quickly reduced several strong castles on the frontiers. The soldiers, instead of a cross, wore two keys upon their cloaths; and having but an inconsiderable army to oppose them, made themselves masters of many cities and towns; and in imitation of the *Saracens* of the imperial army, who the year before had committed great outrages in the march of *Ancona*, they burnt several places, and pillaged the inhabitants.

Frederic returns to Italy; FREDERIC in the mean time finding it impossible to act with vigour against the sultan, because the crusards refused to obey him, and being informed that the papal army had conquered a great part of his dominions in *Italy*, concluded a peace with the sultan for ten years, and in the end of *May* returned with two galleys to *Brindisi*. Upon his arrival he immediately proposed an accommodation to the pope, and wrote to all his faithful subjects, promising to march directly to their assistance. His proposal being rejected, he immediately began his march for *Terra di Lavoro*, and having many *German* crusards in his army, who had followed him to *Italy*, in less than three months he recovered almost all his dominions, with little or no opposition. His quick progress alarming the pope, he at last consented to treat of peace; and the negotiations being begun in the end of

A. D. 1230. *November*, a cessation of hostilities in some measure took place. The principal negotiators were the archbishop of *Reggio* and the master of the Teutonic order, who, after several journeys betwixt the emperor and the pope, composed certain articles for the treaty, which *Frederic* would by no means agree to, as the church pretended to retain *Gaeta* and *S. Agatha*. On this account the peace was retarded several weeks; however, that article being left in suspense, the emperor at length, by the persuasion of *Walo*, or *Qualdo*, a Dominican, accepted of the treaty, and on the twenty-second of *July* swore in the church of *S. Germano* to satisfy the pope in all the points for which he had been excommunicated. A few weeks after he was solemnly absolved from the sentence of excommunication by the bishop of *Sabina*; and on the first of *September* entered *Anagni*, where he had several conferences, for three days, with the pope, who entertained him with great kindness, and invited him to dine at the same table with himself (B).

and concludes a peace with the pope;

FRE-

(B) By this treaty the emperor granted a general indemnity to all those who had adhered to the church, promised to restore all

FREDERIC having made a peace with *Gregory*, the following year published a volume of laws for the government of his hereditary dominions; which constitutions for a long time after were held in great esteem. About the same time he sent a small reinforcement of troops to the *Holy Land*; ordered strict inquisition to be made after a sect of heretics called *Patareni*, who held private conventicles, and were very numerous over all *Italy*, particularly in *Naples*; and seized all the possessions of the knights templars and hospitalers in his kingdom for his own use^t. As the pacification betwixt him and the pope had not restored tranquility to *Lombardy*, but the two opposite factions still continued their hostilities against each other with great animosity, he prevailed on the pope to send two legates thither, to persuade the rebellious *Guelf* cities to return to his obedience. He likewise appointed a general diet to be held soon after at *Ravenna*, whither he went attended only with his courtiers, to give no suspicion to the *Lombards*; and having written to his son *Henry* to come to the diet, celebrated his *Christmas* with great magnificence. Though the pope seemed to interest himself for the repose of *Italy*, yet the negotiations of his legates were ineffectual: for the associated cities not only neglected to appear at *Ravenna*, but assembling an army, opposed the passage of his son *Henry*, and attacked the cities of the imperial party. *Frederic*, on this account, laying aside all thoughts of peace, went from *Ravenna* to *Venice*, and from thence to *Aquileia*, where, in a conference with his son *Henry* and the *German* nobles, he settled a plan for the operations of the war^u.

FROM *Aquileia* he returned by sea, in the month of *April*, to *Puglia*, and suspecting, from the disposition of the *Lombards*, that the peace with the pope would not be of long continuance,

^t RICHARD. Chron.
nal.

^u SIGON. ut supra. SPOND. An-
nal.

all places of the church patrimony which he had seized, to make good all the losses of the monasteries, churches, and barons, that had adhered to the pope, to recal the banished prelates, to make no infringement on the immunity of ecclesiastics, and to pay, according to *Bzovius*, 120,000 ounces of gold,

or, according to others, 12,000 ducats, to the pope. *Richard of St. Germano* makes no mention of the payment of any money, but relates, that arbitrators were to be appointed within a year, to regulate the form and manner of restoring *St. Agatha* and *Gastata*, with the honour of the church (1).

(1) *Richard. Chron.*

Frederic
punishes
some rebels
in Sicily.
A. D.
1233.

he caused all the cities on the borders of *Campania* to be strongly fortified. In the mean time the city of *Messina* in *Sicily* revolted, on account of the oppression of the chief justiciary, and his army in *Palestine* was defeated by *John de Baruch*, who likewise made himself master of *Acon*. As a means to prevent the progress of the infidels in *Asia*, *Frederic* wrote to the pope, desiring him to order the masters of the knights templars and hospitalers to assume the chief command in *Palestine*, promising to restore all the possessions of these two orders that he had lately seized w. To quiet the disorders in *Sicily*, he went over thither in the month of *April*; and after punishing the chiefs of the sedition in *Messina* with death, he reduced the castle whither the rebels had retired, which he intirely destroyed. In the mean time he caused the castles in *Frani*, *Bari*, *Naples*, and *Brindisi*, to be fortified; sent a governor to the city of *Gaeta*, which at last consented to take the oath of allegiance to him and his son *Conrad*; and as the *Saracens* of *Lucera* had served him with great fidelity in his war with the pope, he ordered that city to be enlarged and fortified, and even connived at several outrages which the infidels committed, so far as to allow them to pull down a church, and carry off the materials, on which account he received a threatening letter from *Gregory* x. During his residence at *Messina* he published several edicts, one particularly appointing seven fairs to be held every year in different parts of his kingdom; namely, at *Sulmo*, *Capua*, *Lucera*, *Bari*, *Tarento*, *Cosenza*, and *Reggio*, prohibiting any merchandize to be exposed to sale in that province where the fair was held, while the fair lasted. He also ordered general courts and assizes to be held twice a year in certain provinces of the kingdom, when it should be lawful for any one to lay his complaints against the judges or any other magistrate, before the king's deputy.

He assists
the pope
against the
Romans.

HAVING settled the affairs of *Sicily*, he returned in the month of *February* to *Italy*, where he applied himself to re-establish the university of *Naples*, the flourishing state of which had been greatly interrupted by his war with the pope. About the same time *Gregory* being expelled by the *Romans*, who had assembled a most numerous army, and attacked some cities in the pope's interest, *Frederic* marched in person to his assistance; and having left a garrison in *Viterbo*, invested the city of *Rasbampano*, which was held by the rebels. Two months after, however, he raised the siege, and

w RICHARD. Chron. Bos. Hist. Hospital. l. xvii. Annal.

* SPOND.

returned in *September* with great part of his army to *Puglia*, being accused by some writers of having entered into a private correspondence with the rebels[†]. Great numbers of *Germans*, nevertheless, continuing in the pay of *Gregory*, a few weeks after they surprized the *Roman* army, and gaining a complete victory, obliged the rebels to submit.

FREDERIC in the mean time hearing of the rebellion of his eldest son *Henry*, went the following spring with his son *Conrad* into *Germany*. Having quickly obliged his son to submit and ask his pardon, he carried him prisoner to *Worms*; where in the month of *July* he married *Isabel* the daughter of the king of *England*. Soon after he sent *Henry* prisoner into *Puglia*; and having caused *Conrad* to be elected king of *Germany*, and to be crowned in *Cologne*, he returned with him to *Italy*, and presented him to the pope at *Rieti*, where he endeavoured to persuade *Gregory* to assist him against the associated cities of *Lombardy*. The pope's views were very different from those of the emperor. He therefore dissuaded him from bringing a *German* army into *Italy*, by promising to use his utmost endeavours for an accommodation, at the same time reminding him that the truce with the sultan was near expired, and that he intended another general crusade to the *Holy Land*. *Frederic*, not satisfied with this discourse, returned immediately to *Germany*, and in the beginning of the following year published a letter, appointing a general diet to be held in the month of *July* at *Parma*. Having assembled a formidable army at *Augsburgh*, in the month of *June* he passed the *Alps*, notwithstanding the opposition of the confederate army, and arrived at *Verona*; from whence he proceeded to *Cremona*. He then held the diet at *Parma*, and the confederates still refusing to submit, it was resolved to prosecute the war against them with vigour. After dismissing the assembly, the imperialists ravaged the territories belonging to the allies; and on the first of *November* took *Vicenza*, which was pillaged and burnt. *Frederic* duke of *Austria* in the mean time raising a rebellion in *Germany*, the emperor repassed the *Alps*, and having reduced the duke, returned the following autumn to *Italy*; when being joined by 10,000 *Saracens*, he gained a complete victory over the allies at *Cortenuovo*; in consequence of which all the associated cities surrendered to him, except *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Alexandria*, and *Brescia*[‡].

[†] BLOND. Dec. 7. l. ii. PLATIN. in Greg. IX. ^{*} [‡] SIGON. in regn. Ital. Epist. PETR. de Vin. RICHARD. Chron.

*He is ex-
communicated by
the pope.*

A. D.

1239.

THE emperor after this victory returned in a triumphant manner to *Cremona*. The war, however, still continued; for *Gregory*, who had long been jealous of the emperor's power, now openly attached himself to the associated cities, and the following year sent legates to the king of *Arragon*, inviting him to come to the relief of *Italy*, offering him 150,000 imperial pounds, and to declare him lord of *Lombardy*, if he would engage in the war against *Frederic*. This embassy to the king of *Arragon* proving ineffectual, and *Frederic* growing still more formidable in *Italy*, *Gregory* the year after denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him on *Holy Thursday*, under pretence that he had violated the rights of the church, by giving the island of *Sardinia*, with the title of king, to his natural son *Henry* or *Hentius*, though that island was known to be a fief of the see of *Rome*^a. *Frederic* immediately wrote to the princes of *Europe* in his own justification, and published several other letters against the pope, whom he accused of many crimes. At the same time he renewed the war in *Lombardy* with greater fury, and recalling *Hentius* from *Sardinia*, ordered him to invade the march of *Ancona*. After ravaging the march of *Treviso* and the *Milanese*, he left strong garrisons in *Lombardy*, and marched in the beginning of the year towards *Rome*; but being prevented by the *Romans* from making himself master of the city, he ravaged their territory, and proceeded to *Puglia*.

A. D.

1240.

BOTH parties still continued to reproach each other with great bitterness in their public manifestoes; but *Gregory* not receiving that assistance from the kings of *France* and *England* which he expected, published letters for convoking a general council the following *Easter* at *Rome*, as the most proper means for procuring a peace. *Frederic*, who had ordered *Benevento* to be besieged, and was then investing *Faenza*, consented to the calling of a council, and agreed to a truce with the pope till the conclusion of that assembly^b; but refused to grant a cessation of arms to the confederates. A few weeks after, however, he thought proper to revoke his assent, and declared publicly by letters, that he would not grant his safe-conduct to any bishops coming to the council, but would treat them as his enemies. This threatening he effectually fulfilled the following year, by taking three cardinal legates, and a great number of *French* and *English* archbishops and bishops prisoners, who were going on board thirty *Genoeſe* gallies to *Rome*. About the same

^a SIGON.

^b Idem ibid. MATH. PARIS.

time he made himself master of *Faenza*, and likewise reduced *Benevento*, the fortifications of which he ordered to be entirely destroyed. Not contented with taxing the ecclesiastics, he seized on the treasure of all the churches of his kingdom, expelled all foreign monks, and ordered those that should be found carrying letters from the pope into his dominions to be put to death. After taking *Faenza*, he ravaged the territories of *Fano*, *Affisi*, and *Pesaro*, took possession of *Spoletto* and *Narni*, and at the desire of cardinal *Colonna*, who had revolted from the pope, he again advanced towards *Rome*, putting a garrison in *Tivoli*, and seizing several castles in the neighbourhood of the city.

His enemy *Gregory* in the mean time was so affected with the captivity of the prelates, and the bad success of the war, that he died at *Rome* on the twenty-first of *August*, being near an hundred years of age. His successor *Celestin IV.* survived his election only eighteen days. A few weeks after his death, the empress *Isabel* died at *Foggia*; and about two months after, *Frederic* lost his eldest son *Henry*, who, according to *Richard of S. Germano*, died in prison; but according to *Boccace*, he threw himself over a bridge, while he was on his journey to see his father, not knowing that he had sent for him with the intention of being reconciled to him. The cardinals at *Rome*, in the mean time, from mutual ambition, delayed the election of a pope, throwing the blame on *Frederic*, who still detained two legates prisoners. The emperor would not allow the justness of their excuse; and being in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, pressed them earnestly, by several letters, to proceed to the election, and as they assumed the supreme administration of ecclesiastical affairs, sent the master of the teutonic order, and another ambassador, to them, to treat of peace. The cardinals paying no regard to his proposals, he ravaged the territory of *Rome*, while his army in the march of *Ancona* took *Ascoli*, and the army from *Naples* ravaged the territory of *Rieti*. At last he consented to set the legates at liberty; but the cardinals still delaying the election, he assembled an army the following spring, and in the month of *May* invested the city of *Rome*, ravaged its territory, and destroyed the country seats and estates belonging to the cardinals, who, alarmed with their particular losses, intreated him to withdraw his army, and promised to proceed immediately to the election. They accordingly on the twenty-fourth of *June* chose *Innocent IV.* a *Genoese*, who immediately after his election received an embassy from the emperor to treat of peace.

By the pope's answer to *Frederic's* ambassadors it was generally expected, that a peace would soon be concluded; however, after *Innocent* had published his preliminary articles, the hopes of a negotiation vanished, as the emperor refused absolutely to agree to them. By this behaviour, having lost a great many of his friends, and disgusted several cities, which deserted his party, and declared for the church, the following year he again renewed his proposals for peace; and on *Holy Thursday* his ambassadors swore in his name, that he would refer himself entirely to the judgment of the pope, as to all the injuries that he had done to the church and the clergy. Reflecting, however, soon after, upon the extensiveness of this concession, and that he thereby put himself wholly under the power of the pope, he refused to be bound by the oath of his plenipotentiaries, and endeavoured to surprise and seize *Innocent*, who being informed of his design, left *Rome*, and went by sea to *Genoa*, from whence, in the end of the year, he went through *Savoy* to *Lyons*, where he appointed a general council to be held the following year, at *Julijunmerc*. The council was very numerous, and *Thaddeus de Sessa*, one of the emperor's deputies, justified his master with great spirit and resolution (C). Nevertheless, *Innocent*, in the end of the third session, with great formality denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against *Frederic*, and ordered the electors of the empire to proceed to a new election, declaring that he reserved to himself the disposal of the kingdom of *Sicily*. *Thaddeus* appealed from this sentence to a future council and future pope; and *Frederic*, who was then at *Turin*, immediately wrote to the kings of *England* and *France*, proving the injustice of the sentence, offering at the same time to refer his dispute with the pope to the arbitration of *St. Lewis* and the peers of *France*.

who ex-
communicates and
disposes the
emperor;
A. D.
1245.

c Idem ibid.

(C) The other deputy was the famous *Peter de Vincis*, who by his silence in the council lost the emperor's affections; and being soon after accused of a plot against him, had his eyes put out, and was deprived of all his wealth and honours. *Peter*, not able to support this misfortune,

put himself to a violent death. Some write that he died innocent, and that the courtiers envying his greatness, made the emperor believe, that at the instigation of the pope he had formed a conspiracy against him (1).

(1) *Matth Paris. Sigon. Giannone, ut supra.*

THO' the pope, by his letters, had published the sentence to all the world, *Frederic*, nevertheless, was still acknowledged as emperor by the Christian princes. A small party in *Germany*, indeed, the following year elected the landgrave of *Thuringia* as emperor, who was killed the year after; and, by the intrigues of two cardinals, whom the pope sent into *Puglia*, several barons had revolted, and taken possession of *Capaccio*, and other castles in that kingdom. *Frederic*, on that account, left his son *Hentius* in *Lombardy*, and marched into *Puglia*. The barons, who had conspired against him, had formerly been his most intimate friends; but being corrupted, as it was alleged by the pope, they had formed a conspiracy in the spring of assassinating him at *Grosseto*, on the coast of *Tuscany*. Their plot, however, being discovered, many of them were immediately seized, and others of them fled to their associates in *Puglia*. Though they made a vigorous defence against the emperor's forces, yet about the end of *July* they were forced to submit; when many of them were put to most cruel deaths, and even their relations, within the fourth or fifth degree, were punished as traitors^d. *Frederic* immediately published an account of the conspiracy, which he attributed to the intrigues of the pope^e; and in return, according to *Matthew Paris*, hired two assassins to murder *Innocent*.

and encourages a conspiracy against his life.

A. D.

1246.

HAVING quieted the insurrection in *Puglia*, he returned the following year to *Pisa*, and went afterwards to *Turin*, with the design of proceeding to *Lyons*, to be reconciled to the pope, according to *Sigonius* and *Collenutius*^f. But according to *Matthew Paris*, *Blondus*, *Nauclerus*, and other *Italian* and *German* authors, he intended to attack the pope, as the duke of *Burgundy*, and many *French* nobles, had then entered into an association in defence of their privileges, against the pope and clergy^g. He had hardly arrived at the foot of the *Alps*, when being informed that the *Guelph* exiles had recovered *Parma*, he immediately returned to besiege that important place. Before his arrival, the confederates, sensible of its importance, had repaired its fortifications, and strengthened it with a numerous garrison. The emperor invested the place about the middle of *August*, with an army of upwards of 60,000 men, and being fully bent

Parma is surprised by the Guelphs.

^d MATH. PARIS. hoc. an. COLLENT. Hist. Neap. l. iv.

^e PETR. DE VIN. l. ii. epist. 10, 20, 51, 52. l. iii. 18, 62, &c.

^f SIGON. ut supra. COLLENT. ibid. PETR. DE VIN. l. ii. epist. 49.

^g MATH. PARIS, hoc an. BLOND. dec. 2. l. vii. NAÜCLER. Gener. 42. FAZEL. dec. 2. l. viii.

upon ruining the besieged, he fortified his camp like a city, and gave it the name of *Victoria*. The following year, however, on the eighteenth of *February*, his new city was surprized and taken by the besieged, who having killed or taken prisoners the greatest part of his army, enriched themselves with the immense booty.

*The affairs
of the em-
peror de-
cline.*

THE affairs of *Frederic* after this defeat quickly declined, for the papists and confederates were every day strengthened by new allies; his competitor in *Germany*, *William* count of *Holland*, took *Aix la Chapelle* from his son *Conrad*, where, on the first of *November*, he received the imperial crown; and the following year, in the month of *May*, his son *Henrius* was entirely defeated and taken prisoner by the *Bolognese*, who after the victory reduced several cities and castles of *Lombardy* and *Romagna*, particularly the city of *Modena*. In order to repair these losses, *Frederic* the following year made great preparations for attacking the *Bolognese*. He called over a large body of *Saracens* from *Barbary*, and laid a heavy poll-tax upon his subjects, which they were obliged to pay under pain of being sent to the galleys. He was prevented, however, from executing his intended expedition by death, which happened to him on the thirteenth of *December*, at *Florentino*, a castle near *Lucera*^b. According to *Cuspinianus* and others it was supposed that he was poisoned by his natural son *Manfred*; who being afraid lest he should recover, smothered him with a bolster in the night time^c. Upon his death he professed his sorrow for his breach with the church, and the injuries he had done to the ecclesiastics; having made a penitential confession to the archbishop of *Palermo*, he received from him absolution and the viaticum^k; and, according to *Matthew Paris*, before his death assumed the habit of a Cistercian monk^l.

*He dies in
Puglia.
A. D.
1250.*

*Conrad
succeeds as
sovereign
to all his
dominions.*

FREDERIC by his last will left his eldest son *Conrad* heir of the empire, and of all his other dominions, particularly of the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*. If he should die without issue, *Henry* his other son was to succeed; in case of whose death, *Manfred* his bastard son was declared heir; who in the mean time was to enjoy the principality of *Taranto*, with the counties of *Montescaglioso*, *Trecarico*, *Gravina*, and *Monte St. Angelo*, with all the cities, towns, castles, &c. belonging to them. The duchies of *Austria* and

^a SPINELL. *Ephemerid.* Neap. apud MURATOR. t. vii. p. 1068. ^c CUSPINIAN. de Cæsar. VILLANI. RICARD. &c.

^k ALBERT. *Studenf.* ^l MATH. PARIS, ut supra. See the history of the German empire.

Stiria, with 10,000 ounces of gold, were given to *Frederic* his grandson, by his deceased son *Henry*. During the absence of *Conrad* from the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, *Manfred* was declared bailie or regent, with supreme power, and till the succession should be open for *Henry*, he was to enjoy the kingdom of *Jerusalem*^m.

UPON the death of *Frederic*, *Conrad* being absent in *Germany*, *Manfred* immediately assumed the administration of the government. Being informed that the pope had sent emissaries into the kingdom, desiring all the cities and barons to give their allegiance to the holy see, he sent his brother *Henry* to govern *Calabria* and *Sicily*, and going himself towards *Naples*, desired them to acknowledge *Conrad*ⁿ. The *Neapolitans* expressly declared, that they were tired of the war, and would acknowledge no king that did not come with the papal benediction and investiture. They were followed by the *Capuans*, some other cities, and many barons of the kingdom; so that immediately several parties appeared in arms for the pope, under the banner of the church. *Manfred*, however, making a progress through the kingdom, with a large body of *Saracens*, confirmed many cities in their allegiance to *Conrad*, took *Nola* and *Aversa*, ravaged the territories of *Capua*, and left *Saracen* garrisons in the cities of the *Principitato* and *Basilicata*.

A great party in Puglia declare for the pope. A. D. 1251.

A FEW months after, the emperor *Conrad* arrived with a powerful army at *Verona*. Having continued some time in *Lombardy*, and held a diet of the cities in his interest in the neighbourhood of *Mantua*, he embarked with his army on board a *Venetian* fleet at *Friuli*, and in the end of the year arrived at the ancient city of *Siponto* in *Puglia*, where he was met by his brother *Manfred*, whom he received in the most affectionate manner^o. Soon after, however, he began to be jealous of his great abilities and authority; and in order to lessen his power he published an edict, revoking all the grants made by the last will of his father, or since his death, and persuaded *Manfred*, as an example to other barons, to resign the city of *Brindisi*, and the counties of *Monte St. Angelo*, *Gravina*, *Tricarico*, and *Montescaglioso*. He likewise impoverished the principality of *Taranto* by a heavy tax, turned out the justiciary appointed by *Manfred*, and allowed the prince the supreme jurisdiction in the principality only in civil cases. *Manfred*, pretending not to perceive his design,

Conrad arrives with a German army in Puglia;

^m Testam. FRED. apud GIANNONE.

silla. Chron. apud MURATOR. t. viii

Veron. ib d. SPINELL. Ephemer. ut supra

ⁿ NICOLAI de Jam-

^o Idem ibid. Chron.

and makes
himself
master of
Naples.
A. D.
1252.

submitted to these edicts without opposition, and with the same zeal as formerly assisted his brother in reducing the counts of *Aquino*, who had declared for the pope. The *Germans* and *Saracens* acting in conjunction, quickly reduced the rebels in those parts; and having taken and burnt *Aquino*, *Sessa*, *St. Germano*, and several other castles in the neighbourhood, they proceeded to *Capua*, which immediately surrendered without resistance. After the submission of *Capua*, *Conrad* marched against *Naples*, and according to *Spinello*, a cotemporary writer, invested the city on the first of *December*. As the pope a few weeks after sent a nuncio to him, to intercede for the *Neapolitans*, *Conrad*, in contempt, desired him to concern himself with those who wore shaven crowns; and to encourage the *Germans* and *Saracens* to act with vigour, he promised three months pay extraordinary to that nation that should first enter the city. His army being reinforced by a great many *Puglian* barons, and the *Neapolitans* being disappointed of assistance from the pope, he at last made himself master of the city, in the end of *September*; and contrary to the capitulation, allowed it to be plundered by his soldiers, and ordered the fortifications to be entirely destroyed. After he had continued two months in the city, punishing the rebellious citizens with great severity, he appointed a parliament to be held the following year at *Melfis*, and went to *Burletta*, where he received the submission of the barons of *Terra di Bari*.

The pope
offers the
kingdom to
the earl of
Cornwall.

MEAN while *Innocent*, who upon the death of *Frederic* had immediately returned to *Italy*, used his utmost endeavours to suppress the *Gibelline* faction, and oppose the pretensions of *Conrad*, both in *Germany* and *Italy*. He again excommunicated him and his adherents, ordered a crusade to be preached against him, in favour of *William* count of *Holland*, with greater indulgences than that for the *Holy Land*; and, persuaded that it would be impossible to unite the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies* to the possessions of the church, he resolved to oppose a powerful prince to him, and offered the investiture of the kingdom to *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, brother to the king of *England*. His offer being rejected, he entered into a negotiation with the count of *Anjou*, brother of *St. Lewis*, who was then in the *Holy Land*; but though the count had ambitiously offered his service to the pope, he was prevented by his relations from concluding the treaty.

DURING these intrigues of the pope, *Conrad*, in the month of *February*, held a parliament at *Melfhis*, when an edict was published for raising 30,000 ounces of gold, which the subjects submitted to pay rather than be oppressed with quartering the *Germans* and *Saracens* *. Whilst he continued at *Melfhis*, he was visited by his brother *Henry*, then about twelve years of age, who died soon after, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his means †. Upon the death of *Henry*, who was the son of the empress *Isabel*, sister of the king of *England*, his uncle *Henry III.* entered into a negotiation with the pope, that if he would absolve him from his vow of a crusade, and confer *Sicily* on his son *Edmund*, he would employ all the forces of *England* against *Conrad*, whom he looked upon as the murderer of his nephew ‡. This second negotiation, however, had no effect; and *Conrad* in the mean time took and destroyed *Avoli*, *Garegnone*, *Celenza*, *Conrad* and *Bitunto*; and if the prince of *Taranto* had not inter- reduces posed, would have ravaged all *Calabria*, *Basilicata*, and *Puglia*. *Principato* §. Having forced the *Puglians* to submit by his severity and cruelty, in the end of the year he sent ambassadors to *Rome*, with a proposal for an accommodation with the pope; which was rejected by *Innocent*, who soon after renewed the sentence of excommunication against him. *Conrad* survived this fulmination but a few months, and died of His death. a fever near *Lavello*, on the 21st of *May*, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. *Villani*, and several other historians say, that he was poisoned by his brother *Manfred*; but *Spinello* and *Nicolas de Jamsilla*, cotemporary writers, are entirely silent as to that particular.

CONRAD by his last will left his infant son *Conradin* or *Conrad*, then in *Germany*, his heir; and during his minority appointed *Berthold de Honebruch* regent of the kingdom, desiring him to use all possible means to procure for the young prince the favour of the apostolic see. *Manfred*, before the emperor's death, declined the office of regent, which he observed was coveted by *Berthold*, who, though a man of small abilities, was supported by the interest of all the *Germans*. The new regent immediately sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring the protection of the apostolic see for the young prince. *Innocent* imagining this embassy was owing rather to the weakness of the party than to the will of the deceased king, answered peremptorily that he would be master of the king- The pope claims the dom, which by the sentence of deposition pronounced against

* SPINELL. ut supra.
† SPINELL. ut supra.

‡ MATH. PARIS.
§ SPINELL. ut supra.

* Vita In-

kingdom as Frederic at the council of Lyons had devolved to the church; *a chief de-* but that *Conradin* nevertheless, when he came of age, should *volved to* be heard as to his pretensions to that *the church.* *As Innocent* at the same time made great preparations for invading the kingdom, to which he was encouraged by many exiled barons, and other male-contents, *Berthold* in great terror resigned the regency to *Manfred*, who at first made great difficulty of accepting of it; but being much intreated, and *Berthold*, with the *Germans*, and all the loyal party, taking the oath of fidelity to *Conrad*, and to him as regent, with this express clause, that if *Conrad* were dead, or should die without children, they would acknowledge him as king, he consented to assume the administration, and immediately prepared to oppose *Innocent*. But as he received little or no assistance from *Berthold*, was excommunicated by the pope, and a general spirit prevailed both among *Sicilians* and *Puglians* of becoming subjects to the church, he thought it most prudent to make no opposition to the pope's army, and even invited *Innocent* to assume the guardianship of the young prince, and to enter the kingdom, without, however, doing prejudice to the rights of *Conrad* or of himself.

INNOCENT, upon his arrival at *Naples*, paid no regard to this stipulation, but immediately published briefs, ordering all the barons and deputies of the cities in the kingdom to come to him, and take the oath of allegiance to the church *w*. *Manfred*, however, still continued with him for some time; but at last, under pretence of going to meet the marquis of *Honebruch*, who was coming with some *Germans* from *Puglia*, he left the pope, and having on his journey killed *Bunello di Anglone*, who was way-laying him, and had obtained the investiture of part of his principality from *Innocent*, he fled to *Lucera*, where, on the second of *November*, he was received with great honour by the *Saracens*. He immediately began to assemble some troops; and great numbers of *Germans* flocking to him from all parts of *Puglia*, and even from the marquis *Berthold*, and from the army of the pope's legate, in a few weeks he found himself at the head of a small army, with which he attacked and defeated the papal forces in *Foggia*, and struck such a terror into the legate, who was then at *Troja*, that he abandoned that city in great confusion. *Innocent* dying at *Naples* a few days after, on the eighth of *December*, the papal party was thereby thrown into great confusion; which *Manfred* taking the advantage of,

Manfred
attacks
and dis-
perses part
of his ar-
my.

^u NICOLAI DE JANSILL. Chron. ubi supra.
ut supra.

^w SPINELL.

reduced *Rapallo*, *Bari*, *Trani*, *Melphis*, and all *Puglia*, excepting some cities of *Terra d'Otranto*, which still held out for the church.

At the intreaty of his friends he consented, in the beginning of the following year, to send ambassadors to *Alexander IV.* the successor of *Innocent*, to treat of peace. The conferences, however, had no effect; and *Alexander* giving the command of his army to cardinal *Ottavian*,* who had distinguished himself as a general in the wars in *Lombardy*, and retiring to *Anagni*, denounced a sentence of excommunication against *Manfred*, who, in the mean time, was reducing the cities on the coast of *Otranto*, and endeavouring to quell a revolt in *Calabria*, occasioned by *Peter Rosso*, who had been governor of *Calabria* and *Sicily* several years, but had lately been expelled by the *Sicilians*, on account of his insolence and oppression. *Peter*, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge *Manfred* as regent, now intirely abandoned the king's party: and in order to recover his former power, began to treat with the pope about putting *Calabria* into his hands. *Manfred* being informed of his design, sent some troops to secure *Calabria*, and marched with his army from the siege of *Oria* towards *Melphis*, to oppose *Ottavian*, before whose army he continued encamped several weeks, endeavouring in vain to draw him to a general engagement. Though his army was greatly inferior to that of the pope, yet he prevented the legate from advancing in the kingdom; but at length agreeing to a truce for a short time, *Ottavian*, while the prince had withdrawn his army, surprized *Foggia*. *Manfred* immediately returned and invested the city, which was quickly reduced to so great distress, that *Ottavian* consented to a peace, which was accordingly concluded on these conditions; that *Manfred* should possess the kingdom for himself and his nephew *Conradin*, except *Terra di Lavoro*, which was to be yielded to the pope; but if *Alexander* rejected the treaty, it should be lawful for *Manfred* still to claim that province *.

AFTER the conclusion of this treaty, *Manfred*, at the desire of the legate, allowed all the banished barons to return to the kingdom and enjoy their estates. *Alexander*, however, refused to ratify the treaty of his legate, and sent the bishop of *Bologna* to *England*, who upon large promises of assistance from *Henry*, gave the investiture of the kingdom to his son *Edmund*†. *Manfred* in the mean time, having obtained the quiet possession of the kingdom, held a parliament the fol-

A. D.
1255.

He is ex-
communi-
cated by
Alexander
IV.

1256

* NICOL. DE JAWBILL. ut supra.

† MAT. PARIS.

lowing *February* at *Barletta*, when he conferred the principality of *Salerno* on his uncle *Gualvano Lancia*, gave the county of *Squillace* to another uncle, and condemned the marquis of *Berthold*, and his brothers, to perpetual imprisonment, on account of a conspiracy they had formed against him, after they had been restored to their estates. The parliament being dissolved, *Manfred* marched towards *Naples*, to recover *Terra di Lavoro*. The *Neapolitans* hearing of his approach, sent messengers to him, inviting him to their city, and upon his arrival received him with great pomp and acclamations. The prince behaved to them with great generosity, pardoned all those who for several years past had been enemies to the house of *Suabia*, repaired the public edifices at his own expence, and conferred honours and places on many of the chief men of the city. He immediately, after made himself master of all *Terra di Lavoro*, from whence he marched to *Capitanata*, and then to *Brindisi*. Having quelled a sedition in this city, he took and destroyed *Ariano*, and then passed over to *Sicily*, which island, by means of one of his uncles, had been prevailed upon to declare for *Conrad*.

Manfred
passes over
to Paler-
mo, where
he is
crowned;
A. D.
1258.

AFTER *Manfred* had continued several months at *Palermo*, a report was published, that *Conradin* was dead in *Germany*. This report, though false, prevailing over all the kingdom, the *Puglian* barons and prelates immediately repaired to *Palermo*, and unanimously elected *Manfred* king, who was accordingly crowned on the 11th of *August*, in the cathedral church of that city. This is the account of *Nicholas de Jamfilla*, a cotemporary writer; but *Villani*, and the authors of the *Guelf* faction, say, that *Manfred*, having failed in several attempts to cause his nephew to be poisoned, employed pretended messengers to bring the false news of his death. However this be, immediately after his coronation he conferred offices and presents on the barons, and advanced many of them to the honour of knighthood. Upon his return to *Puglia*, finding all the provinces in perfect tranquillity, he held a parliament in *Barletta*, where he created several knights, and gave the investiture to some counts. Soon after he held another parliament at *Foggia*, when he promoted many others to honours, and released himself from the fatigues of war by magnificent feasts, games, and illuminations.

As he had now repulsed the papal army, and intirely quieted the kingdom, which seemed to acquiesce with pleasure under his government, as he had distinguished himself by his clemency, generosity, and love of justice, he resolved

to

to turn the seat of war into the territories of his enemy; and *sends* for that purpose, the following year, sent a great part of his *troops to* army to *Lombardy* and the march of *Ancona*, to support the *Gibelline* faction, of which he openly declared himself the protector, appointing the marquis *Pallavicini* his vicar in *Lombardy*, *Jordanus di Anglono*, count of *S. Severino*, in *Tuscany*, and *Percival d'Oria* in *Ancona*. *Alexander*, in the mean time, incessantly urged the king of *England* to send an army into *Italy*; but finding it impossible to engage *England* to espouse his quarrel, and being greatly galled with the prosperity of *Manfred*, he again excommunicated him, declared him a sacrilegious usurper of the rights of the church, and deposed him from all his honours. He interdicted all the cities and castles that should receive him, or acknowledge him as king, and excommunicated and deposed all those prelates that had assisted at his coronation. These thunderbolts, however, were not in the least regarded, either by *Manfred* or his subjects. *Manfred* now lived at ease, and in great splendor, applying himself to embellish his kingdom, and diverting himself in the maritime cities of *Puglia*, particularly at *Barletta*, where he received an embassy from the duke of *Bavaria*, and *Margaret*, the mother of *Conradin*. The *German* ambassadors informed him that *Conradin* was still alive, desired him to lay aside the title of king and to punish those who invented the news of the young prince's death. *Manfred* received the ambassadors with great honour, and told them, that he himself had made a conquest of the kingdom from two popes, after it had been intirely lost as to *Conrad*; that to resign the title of king would be only strengthening the pope's party, as the *Puglians* had an aversion to the government of the *Germans*; that the queen ought to send young *Conrad* to be educated in *Italy*, and that upon his death he would leave the kingdom to him. *Manfred* dismissed the ambassadors with rich presents for *Conradin* and the duke of *Bavaria*; and soon after he received a visit from his relation the despota of *Morea*, who in the beginning of the following year went to *Rome*, to offer his meditation for a peace betwixt the pope and *Manfred*. *Alexander*, finding the power and authority of *Manfred* daily increasing, offered a peace, on condition that he would restore the exiles to their estates, and dismiss the *Saracens*; which terms were rejected with disdain by the king, who even brought over other *Saracens* from *Barbary*, whom, in the month of *July*, he sent to ravage the *Campania di Roma* *. He began not only to be respected in *Italy*, but by

* Idem ibid.

foreign princes. *James*, king of *Arragon*, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, entered into an alliance with him, and concluded a marriage betwixt his son *Peter* and *Constantia* his eldest daughter. *Manfred* married another of his daughters to the marquis of *Monferrat*, and, as a perpetual memorial of his name, founded a new city at the foot of *Monte Gargano*, on the *Adriatic* coast, which he called *Manfredonia*, ordering *Siponto*, on account of its unhealthy situation, to be destroyed, and its inhabitants to repair thither. About the same time his authority in *Italy* was more fully established, by a most complete victory which his forces in *Tuscany* gained over the *Florentine Guelphs*, in consequence of which the city of *Florence*, then remarkably rich and affluent, took the oath of allegiance to him.

who gains
a signal
victory in
Tuscany.

THE continual prosperity of *Manfred* greatly chagrined *Alexander*, who died the following year, in the month of *May*, at *Viterbo*. His successor *Urban IV.* was a native of *France*, a man of great abilities, and a zealous promoter of the pretensions of the court of *Rome*, consequently a bitter enemy to *Manfred* and the *Gibellines*. Soon after his promotion, he solicited the king of *Arragon* to break off the match already concluded betwixt his son and *Manfred's* eldest daughter. His endeavours, however, were fruitless; for as *Manfred* had no male issue, the king of *Arragon* hoped by the marriage to unite *Sicily* to his dominions; and sending his galleys to *Naples*, he conducted the bride to *Montpellier*, where, about the middle of *May*, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. *Urban*, in the mean time, was exerting himself to ruin *Manfred*. He summoned him to appear at the court of *Rome*, to answer for his many crimes. Though this citation was not notified to him, but only affixed to the doors of the churches of *Civita Vecchia*, where the pope then was, *Manfred*, nevertheless, sent ambassadors to the pope to justify his conduct, and to ask a safe-conduct for himself. *Urban*, without granting the demand of his ambassadors, or paying any regard to what they alleged in his vindication, solemnly excommunicated him, and published a general crusade against him; in consequence of which, a large body of *French* crusards entered *Italy*, and joining the *Guelphs*, defeated the marquis *Pallavicini* in *Lombardy*. *Manfred*, to oppose their entering into the kingdom, advanced with his army to *Campania di Roma*, from whence, however, he soon retreated beyond the *Garigliano*, to shun an engagement with the *French*, who were prevented from advancing by an insurrection at *Rome*, which they were recalled by the pope. Upon their retreating,

Urban
IV. pub-
lishes a
crusade
against
Manfred;
A. D.
. 262.

Man-

Manfred repassed the *Garigliano* with the *Saracens*, to the assistance of the rebellious *Romans*, which obliged the pope to fly to *Civita Vecchia*, and the crusads not receiving their pay, returned discontented to *France* *.

URBAN, in the mean time, had made an offer of the crown of *Sicily* to *St. Lewis* for one of his sons; but that conscientious prince refused to invade the right of another. Upon this refusal, the pope ordered his legate to enter into a negociation with *St. Lewis's* brother, *Charles*, count of *Anjou*, who in right of his wife was in possession of *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and great part of *Piedmont*. This ambitious prince even prevailed with *St. Lewis* at last to countenance his expedition. This remarkable treaty was immediately published in *Italy*, and greatly alarmed *Manfred* and the *Gibelline* party. Though it afterwards proved the ruin of the house of *Suabia*, yet it may likewise be affirmed, that it was the source of infinite miseries to *France*, which was thereby involved for several centuries in expensive and unsuccessful wars, their expedition being all blasted by the intrigues of the *Italians* and the popes, who, to suppress the power of the *Neapolitan* kings, invited one family to drive out the princes of another. Though *Charles*, with great ardour, prepared every thing for his *Italian* expedition, yet his march was delayed for some time by the death of *Urban*, which happened the following year, in the beginning of *October*. *Clement IV.* the successor of *Urban*, was born in the territories of the count of *Anjou*, and, before he had entered into sacred orders, had been privy counsellor to *St. Lewis*. He was therefore attached with great zeal to the *French* new treaty with 4 the count, 1265. *Clement IV. concludes a new treaty with the count, 1265.*

* SUMMONT. Hist. Neapol. l. ii. RAINALD. ad an. 1262. COSTANZO Hist. Neap.

(D) The chief of these articles, according to *Summontes*, *Rainaldus*, and *Imvoges*, are the following: that *Charles* should do homage to the church of *Rome* for the kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, which on no account should be divided; that during the minority of a prince, the pope should be regent and guardian; that the kingdom should never be united to the empire, nor governed by a prince that was emperor; that the king should

*apud ar-
rivus at
Rome ;*

celebrated his *Easter* with his brother St. *Lewis*, left *Paris*, and set off for *Marseilles*, where he embarked with 1000 *French* and *Provençal* cavaliers, having ordered his wife and his army to proceed by land into *Italy*. Though *Manfred* had fitted out a fleet of 80 galleys to intercept him, he was so fortunate as to pass unobserved, and in the month of *May* arrived at *Rome*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and continued several months waiting for the arrival of his army.

MANFRED, in the mean time, was preparing, with the utmost diligence, to oppose the invaders. He called his troops from *Lombardy*, made new levies in *Puglia*, sent immediately for 2000 horse from *Germany*, to whom he promised double pay for six months; and to secure the fidelity of the barons, assembled them at *Benevento*, where he represented to them that the *French* came not to save the nation, but to rob them of their properties^b. The barons promised to assist him to the utmost of their power; but upon the dismissing of the parliament, they entered into secret correspondence with count *Charles*, who had assumed the supreme authority at *Rome* in quality of senator, to which dignity he had been promoted the year before by the *Romans*, who at this time governed their state independently of the pope.

ABOUT the end of *December*, the *French* army arriving at *Rome* in a most miserable plight, to the number of 60,000 men^c, *Charles* borrowed large sums from the *Roman* merchants for the relief of his troops, and likewise solicited the pope for further subsidies, though *Urban* had already granted him considerable sums, which he had borrowed from the *Florentine* merchants, and raised by mortgaging the revenues and wealth of almost all the churches in *Rome* for three years. As his troops were eager to meet the enemy, in hopes of obtaining a victory or ending their miseries, *Charles*,

^b NICOL. DE JANSIL. ut supra. SABA MALASPIN. apud MURATOR. t. viii. p. 818. ^c SABA MALASPIN. ut supra. Chron. Parmens. ap. MURATOR. t. ix. p. 780.

should pay yearly a quit-rent of 8000 ounces of gold, and a white horse, besides 5000 marks sterling every six months to the church of *Rome*; that all statutes enacted against ecclesiastical immunity should be repealed; and that the king should enter into no alliance against the church (1).

(1) Summonte Hist. Neap. Inverges Annal. Palerm. Rainald. ad ann. 1265.

after

after being solemnly crowned with his wife on the feast of *and Epiphany*, in St. Peter's church, began his march for *Na-* *is crowned* *ples*. The count of *Caserto*, through treachery, abandoning the bridge of *Ceperano*, *Charles* entered the kingdom without opposition, and advancing to *St. Germano*, took the city by storm, and put the greatest part of the garrison to the sword. From thence he proceeded to *Benevento*, and on the 26th of *February*, in the neighbourhood of the city, engaged *Manfred*, who, after a bloody and obstinate dispute, was *defeated* intirely defeated and slain, the greatest part of the *Puglian* *and slain* barons having treacherously deserted him during the action. As he died excommunicated, his body was thrown into a ditch and covered with a great heap of stones; however, pope *Clement*, at the persuation of the archbishop of *Cusenza*, ordered the corpse to be dug up, and to be carried with extinguished torches out of the kingdom, to the banks of the *Marino*, where it was left exposed to the wind and rain ^d. *Manfred* for his liberality, gracefulness, and courtesy, has been compared to *Titus*, the son of *Vespasian* ^e. Tho' he raised himself to the throne by the most wicked and unjustifiable means, yet afterwards, by his affability, generosity, mildness, prudence, and courage, he acquired the love and esteem of his subjects. He was a patron of the sciences and arts, which he studied himself with great assiduity, and is said to have been skilled in philosophy and mathematics. By his beneficence and love of justice, he became extremely popular; so that he was able to struggle against the resentment and power of four successive popes, who, piqued at the opposition he made to their usurpations, endeavoured to represent him as the blackest monster.

THE death of *Manfred* was no sooner published, than al- *The Pu-* most all the cities of both kingdoms declared for the con- *glians sub-* queror, the people vainly imagining, that, under the *French* *mit to* government, they would enjoy freedom and peace, and be *Charles* exempted from all taxes, both ordinary and extraordinary. Immediately after the battle *Charles* entered *Benevento*, where for several days the *French* army committed all manner of excesses and cruelties, pillaging the churches, and filling the whole city with blood. *Charles* afterwards entered *Naples*, where he published a general pardon to all those who would submit, and sent *Philip de Montfort* with part of his army to *Sicily*, to awe that island. After *Easter* he sent new justiciaries, and other officers, through all the

^d BOCCACCIO, Dante Canto 3. del Purgat. MALASPIN. VILLANI, &c. ^e RICCIOMBALD. ap. SUMMONT.

who op-
presses his
new sub-
jects.

Conradin
assumes the
title of
king of Si-
cily.

provinces, who grievously oppressed the subjects with the rigorous exaction of a new tax, while the *French* soldiers, who were dispersed through the whole kingdom, robbed and plundered the inhabitants with great insolence. The poor people were so terrified with their new masters, that at first they expressed their miseries only by their groans. At length they began to complain and murmur, which encouraged several counts and barons to concert measures with the *Gibelines* in *Lombardy* for a revolution in favour of *Conradin*, the only surviving branch of *Frederic's* posterity. Many counts accordingly repairing to *Germany*, with the deputies of the *Gibellines* and imperial cities in *Italy*, prevailed upon *Conrad* to undertake an expedition against king *Charles*; which negotiation the pope was no sooner informed of, than he published a mandate about the middle of *April*, prohibiting every one to acknowledge *Conradin* as king of *Sicily*, or to disturb *Charles* in the possession of that kingdom.

CHARLES, in the mean time, contracted alliances with *Balduin*, the late emperor of *Constantinople*, now only in possession of *Eubea*, and with *Willarduin*, prince of *Achaia*. The emperor *Balduin*, only son to *Philip*, who had the title of king of *Thessaly*, married the daughter of *Charles*, and the only daughter of *Willarduin* was married to *Philip*, *Charles's* second son. The king, about the same time, gave the title of prince of *Salerno* to his eldest son *Charles*, who had married *Mary*, the only daughter of the king of *Hungary*; and having established his authority in *Puglia*, went to *Tuscany* to assist the *Florentine Guelphs* ¹. *Clement*, to strengthen his authority in that part of *Italy*, created him vicar of the empire, which was then without a head: but in *Rome*, the senatorial dignity had been assumed by *Henry*, brother of the king of *Castile*, who had entered into a secret correspondence with *Conradin*. This *Henry*, with his brother *Frederic*, having been expelled *Castile* by their brother the king, on account of their frequent insurrections against him, retired with a few *Spaniards* to *Barbary*, where they continued several years in the service of the king of *Tunis*, and acquired great wealth. *Henry* assisted king *Charles*, who was his cousin, with large sums of money; but being disappointed in the rewards he expected for his services, he went to *Rome*, where he soothed the pope and the consistory by the schemes he proposed to them, that they even thought of creating him king of *Sardinia*. But being disappointed in this ambitious

A. D.
1267.

¹ SPINEL. ut supra. VILLANI. SPOND. Annal.

view, he left the court of *Rome*, which was then at *Viterbo*, and prevailed on the *Romans* to elect him senator ‡.

CONRADIN being pressed by *Henry* to hasten his march into *Italy*, in the month of *October* arrived at *Verona* with 10,000 horse, in contempt of the monitories and fulminations of the pope. Upon the news of his arrival in *Italy*, *Capece*, a *Puglian* baron, with *Frederic* of *Castile*, immediately sailed over from *Tunis* with 800 men to *Sicily*, where they were joyfully received, and prevailed on almost the whole island, except *Messina*, *Palermo*, and *Syracuse*, to declare for *Conrad*. About the same time the *Pisan* fleet gained a victory over the gallies of *Messina* and those of *Provençe*, off the coast of *Sicily*; the *Saracens* of *Lucera*, and a great many cities in *Puglia*, *Terra d'Otranto*, *Capitanata*, and *Basilicata*, declared for *Conrad*, and his standard was erected at *Rome* by *Henry* of *Castile* and the *Gibelline* faction. *Charles* being informed of the revolt in *Puglia* and *Sicily*, immediately returned to *Naples*, and calling a parliament of the barons, ordered them to raise their forces and to join his army.

CLEMENT, in the mean time, on *Holy Thursday*, denounced a sentence of excommunication against *Conrad*, who having spent the winter at *Verona*, had now advanced to *Pavia*, and began hostilities against the *Guelphs*. From *Pavia* he marched to the coast of *Genoa*, from whence he was conducted by sea to *Pisa*, where he arrived in the month of *May*, and was received by the *Pisans* and *Gibellines* with the honours usually paid to an emperor. Having reinforced his army, and received large subsidies from the *Pisans* and *Siennese*, he proceeded to *Rome*, and on the 25th of *June* gained a victory near *Arezzo* over the *Guelphs*, who endeavoured to oppose his march. *Don Henry* and the *Romans* received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy; however, during his residence at *Rome*, *Henry*, according to *Malaspini*, formed a conspiracy against him with some barons, and proposed, that after king *Charles* should be defeated, *Conrad* and his *German* friends should be cut off, and the kingdom of *Sicily* conferred upon him. The army being reinforced with a considerable body of *Romans*, *Conrad* left *Rome* on the 10th of *August*, and advanced towards *Naples* in great confidence of success, as his army was greatly superior to that of king *Charles*. On the 23d of the same month a general engagement ensued, in the plains of *Tagliacozzo*, by the advice of *Alard de S. Valtri*, who had served twenty years in the *Holy Land*, and was then returning to

arrives
with an
army in
Italy,

is excom-
municated
by the
pope.
A. D.
1268.

He is in-
tensely de-
feated by
king
Charles,

‡ SABA MALASPIN. ut supra.

France, divided his small army into three bodies, in consequence of which he gained a complete victory; for *Conrad's* troops, after defeating the two first bodies, imagining they had intirely dispersed the enemy, laid aside their helmets, and employed themselves in collecting the booty, when they were unexpectedly attacked by king *Charles*, at the head of the third body, and wholly routed. Don *Henry* was taken prisoner at a monastery near *Rieti*, and delivered to the pope; and young *Conrad*, with *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, were discovered and seized at *Astura* in *Campania* by the *Frangipani*, who sold them to king *Charles*^h (E).

and taken
prisoner.

THE king having now his competitor in his power, fatigued his cruel and revengeful disposition with the barbarous execution of his prisoners and rebellious subjects. Those cities which favoured *Conrad* were exposed without mercy to the insolence of the conquerors, who burned and destroyed *Aversa*, *Potenza*, *Corneto*, and almost all the villages of *Puglia* and *Basilicata*ⁱ. Many of the *Sicilians* were likewise put to death, and the whole inhabitants of the island were reduced in a manner to slavery, by new and oppressive taxes. The *Saracens* of *Lucera* were at last obliged to surrender, and the widow of the late king *Manfred*, with her young son, being taken prisoners in that city, were sent to a castle near *Naples*, and put to death. *Charles*, however, not thinking himself yet secure in his throne, resolved to dispatch his competitor. As his ambition prompted him to think of making conquests in *Africa* and *Greece*, he was apprehensive lest, during his absence, his subjects, particularly the *Saracens* of *Lucera*, should make an insurrection in favour of *Conrad*: he therefore resolved upon his death; but as he was not his subject, but a prisoner of war, he cloaked his inhumanity by the formality of a trial; sent for two syndics from each of the chief cities of *Terra di Lavoro* and *Principato*, and desired them, with the *French* lords and barons of the kingdom, to give their opinion concerning the *German* prisoners. The count of *Flanders*, the king's son-in-law, with several other lords, advised to detain them in prison; but the majority,

A. D.
1269.

^h Idem. t. viii. p. 850, 851.

ⁱ SPOND. ANNAL. GIAN.

(E) The *Germans* who survived the battle continued in a body, and transferring the command on one *Sticho*, a blacksmith, of *Wurtzburg*, made

good their retreat to *Germany*, when *Sticho*, withdrawing himself privately from the army, returned to his forge (1).

(1) *Aventin. Annal. Boiss. l. vii. p. 566.*

consulting their own security, and the inclination of the king and the bishops, counselled their death. Accordingly, on the 26th of *October*, the young prince, who was then but seventeen years of age, was conducted, with the duke of *Austria*, *Girando da Pisa*, and some others, to a scaffold, in the market-place of *Naples*, where they were publicly beheaded, to the eternal infamy of king *Charles*, and the general regret of the spectators ^k. *Conrad*, from the scaffold, justified his proceeding to the people, and before he submitted to the fatal stroke, threw among them a glove, or, according to some, a ring, in token of investiture, which pledge, according to *Aeneas Sylvius*, was taken up and carried to *Peter*, the son of the king of *Arragon*¹, though some allege, that *Conrad* intended *Don Frederic* of *Castile* for his heir (F). He is publicly beheaded at Naples.

AFTER this barbarous execution, *Charles* endeavoured to gain the affections of the *Puglian* barons by profuse donations, and bestowed several fiefs on some *French* lords, whom he had prevailed upon to remain in *Puglia*. As he had intirely quieted his new dominions, he made preparations for joining his brother *St. Lewis* in an expedition to *Africa*. He accordingly the following summer sailed with a fleet to *Tunis*, which was then invested with an army of *French* crusards. An epidemical distemper having seized the Christian

^k SABA MALASPIN. & VILLANI, ut supra. BARTH. de Neocastr. Hist. Sicul. ap. MURATOR. t. xiii. p. 1024. COSTANZO Hist. Neap. l. i. &c. ¹ AENEAS SYLV. Europ.

(F) The dead bodies were not allowed to be buried in sacred ground, as the prisoners had died excommunicated. But soon after the mother of *Conrad*, who arrived at *Naples* with a large sum of money and many jewels for redeeming her son, finding him dead, caused his corpse to be raised, and removed to a church of the *Carmelites* in *Naples*, to which she left all the treasure she had brought with her (1).

Struvius and some other authors allege, that *Clement* ad-

vised king *Charles* to put *Conrad* to death (2); but this circumstance is not mentioned by *Malaspini*, *Bartholomew de Neocastro*, and many others. It appears opposite to the character of that pope; and *Charles* is said by *Villani* and *Malaspini*, to have been reproved by the cardinals for his severity. The same authors relate, that the judge had no sooner read the sentence against *Conrad*, than he was stabbed by the count of *Flanders* in the king's presence (3).

(1) Giannone Hist. Neap. 492.

(3) Villani, ut supra. t. viii. p. 1014, 1015.

(2) Struv. Hist. German. sect. vii. p. Ricordan. Malaspini. apud Murator.

troops,

*The king
of Tunis
becomes
tributary
to king
Charles,
A. D.
1270.*

troops, and cut off the king of *France*, *Charles*, with the other generals, thought proper to conclude a peace with the king of *Tunis*, without making himself master of the city. By this treaty the *Moorish* prince agreed to pay an annual tribute to king *Charles*, equal to the quit-rent required by the holy see for the kingdom of *Sicily*, on condition that the *Tunifians* should enjoy the freedom of navigation in the *Sicilian* seas, and be allowed to trade to *Sicily*. After the conclusion of the treaty the crusaders left *Africa*, some of them proceeding, under the command of the son of the king of *England*, to *Palestine*, while *Charles* with his nephew *Philip*, the new king of *France*, set sail for *Sicily*. A few months after their arrival they went to *Viterbo*, to urge the cardinals to proceed to the election of a pope. *Gregory X.* was accordingly elected on the first of *September*, after a vacancy of thirty-three months; and arriving the following summer at *Puglia* from the *Holy Land*, he was received with great honour by *Charles*, who conducted him through *Capitanata* and *Abruzzo*, as far as *Campania di Roma*. *Charles* about the same time, having been a widower three years, married the daughter, according to *Costanzo*, of *Baldwin*, the titular emperor of *Constantinople*, but according to *Malaspini* and *Sigonius*, of the duke of *Burgundy*, which duke, *Malaspini* relates, raised a considerable body of horse, and conducted them himself into *Puglia*.

*who suppresses the
Gibel-
lines of
Rome and
Tuscany.*

CHARLES the year after went to *Rome*, where he destroyed several castles belonging to the *Gibellines*. He afterwards proceeded with some troops, under the banner of the church, to *Tuscany*, and reducing almost all the *Gibelline* cities, he went and waited upon the pope at *Florence*, who being bent upon relieving the Christians in *Syria*, endeavoured to reconcile the two factions in *Italy*, and had appointed a general council to be held the following year at *Lyons*. *Charles* hoped to prevail with the pope to favour his pretended expedition against *Constantinople*; but the pope's views being wholly upon a crusade, and *Palaologus* offering to unite the *Greek* church to the *Roman*, *Charles* was disappointed in his expectations, and returned dissatisfied to *Naples*, which city, from his arrival in *Puglia*, he resolved to make the capital of his dominions. The foundation of its present magnificence and grandeur, as we have observed, was first laid by *Frederic II.* by the university which he erected in it. He besides frequently made it the place of his residence; and

^m SPOND. Annal.
in regn. Ital.

ⁿ SAB. MALASPIN. ut supra. SIGON.

the two popes, *Innocent IV.* and *Alexander IV* continuing in it with their court a considerable time during their contest with *Manfred*, *Charles* upon his arrival found the city in a most flourishing state. Being pleased with its situation, he immediately caused *Castel Nuovo* to be rebuilt after the *French* fashion, and adorned the city with several new churches and monasteries. He repaired and strengthened the fortifications, caused the streets of the city to be finely paved with square stones, taken out of the *Via Appia*, and, to encourage traffick, made a new market-place, much larger than the former. He particularly enlarged the university, and bestowed upon it many new prerogatives and privileges, promising his royal protection to the youth of all nations who should come thither to study. To render the city more illustrious, he honoured many of the citizens with the order of knighthood, invited the barons, lords, and great officers of the kingdom, to make it the chief place of their abode, resolved to make it the seat of his parliaments, and repaired and beautified the *Seggi* or tribunal of the nobles, to whom he confirmed their antient prerogatives (G).

WHILE *Charles* was thus engaged in embellishing *Naples*, *Com-plaints* the rest of the kingdom groaned under oppression; so that the archbishop of *Capua*, in hopes of interesting the pope against the king in the favour of the *Puglians* and *Sicilians*, made a public rec-king in the capitulation of their grievances in the general council of council of Lyons. *Gregory*, who before he had left *Tuscany* had ad-1.) ons.

(G) These *Seggi* or *Piazzæ*, formerly called *Phratriæ*, are very antient in *Naples*, and some other cities on the *Italian* coast, which owed their original to the *Greeks*. They were nothing else but some particular places of the city, for the most part near the gates, where the noble families of the ward met for the sake of conversation, to discourse of the public affairs. In process of time they assumed a kind of rank and jurisdiction, scrupling to admit the commons into their society, and taxing themselves separately from them. In the time of *Charles*, there

were twenty-nine *Seggi* in the city, but at present they are reduced to five, and on that account are become more illustrious and considerable. These five enjoy many prerogatives: they create the syndic, who in general parliaments, and in other public functions, in the presence of the viceroy, represents not only the city but the whole kingdom: they chuse the deputies, who with the deputy of the people govern the city; and exercise many jurisdictions, particularly that of naturalizing strangers, and declaring plebeians to be noble *Napolitani* (1).

(1) *Tutin dell' Orig. de Seggi*, c. 13. *Coffano. Surmonte. Giannone*, at f. pra.

A. D. 1274. monished the king, ordered two prelates, after dismissing of the council, again to repeat the admonition; and being offended with *Charles*, for requiring duties from some ships belonging to the templars and hospitallers, that had been loaded with corn in *Sicily* for the *Holy Land*, he threatened to proceed against him in a judicial manner ^o. The council being dissolved, *Gregory* returned in the end of the following year to *Italy*, but survived only a few months, and died in the beginning of *January*. Ten days after his death *Innocent V.* a native of *Tarantaise* in *France*, was elected, to the great satisfaction of king *Charles*, who expected to find him more favourable to his ambitious views than his predecessor. He accordingly exercised his senatorial authority in *Rome* in a more absolute manner, and received many favours from the pope, who died, however, before he had enjoyed his new dignity six months. During his pontificate, according *Saba Malaspini*, *Charles*, by the cession of *Mary*, daughter of the prince of *Antioch*, became king of *Jerusalem* ^p. Several others disputed that title with her; but she not being able to make good her right by arms, was easily persuaded by the ambitious king to resign her title to him.

Charles
a quires
the title of
king of
Jerusalem.

1276.

CHARLES, in the mean time, a few days after the death of *Innocent*, shut up the cardinals in the *Lateran* palace, according to a canon made in the council of *Lyons*, to oblige them to hasten the election. Being desirous to procure a pope in his own interest, he sent in bread and water for the members of the conclave, but privately supplied the *French* cardinals with plenty of victuals, that they might be able to weary out the opposite party. His design, however, proved ineffectual, for *Adrian V.* a *Genoesse*, was elected, who died thirty-eight days after; yet, during his short reign, is said to have invited the emperor *Rodolphus* to come into *Italy* against *Charles* ^q. To avoid the insolence of the king, he removed his court to *Viterbo*, where, upon his death, *John XXI.* or *XXII.* was elected, and was crowned on the 20th of *September*. During his pontificate, which continued only about eight months, the princess *Mary* made a formal renunciation of her rights to the kingdom of *Jerusalem* and the principality of *Antioch*, in favour of *Charles*, who was with great solemnity crowned by the pope ^r. Upon the death of *John* the *Roman* see was vacant six months, during which time king *Charles* used his utmost endeavours to procure the

^o MALASPIN. ut supra.

^p Idem ibid.

^q FLOND.

Dec. ii. l. viii. TRITHEM. in Chron

^r GIANNONE, ut

supra. RAINALD. ad an. 1277. NANGIUS in Chron.

election

election of a *French* pope; but as there were only three *French* cardinals and four *Italian*, cardinal *Cajetan*, of the family of *Orsini*, a man of abilities and of an aspiring temper, was elected pope, and took the name of *Nicholas III*.

THE king, about the same time, sent *Roger Sanseverino* *Malespina* to take possession of the territories subject to the princeps of *Antioch*, and made great preparations both by sea and land for an expedition against *Jerusalem*, and likewise against *Paleologus* the *Greek* emperor, in favour of *Philip*, emperor of *Constantinople*, who was in possession only of *Negroponte*, and some maritime places of *Greece*. *Charles* at this time, according to *Villani*, was the most powerful prince in Christendom. Besides his kingdom of the *Two Sicilies*, and his dominions of *Provence* and *Anjou*, he had the kingdom of *Tunis* and the city of *Florence* tributary, was despotic governor of *Rome*, had great influence in the *Guelph* cities of *Italy*, was acknowledged king of *Jerusalem*, was in possession of the island of *Corfu*, and was most formidable by his numerous forces by sea and land. At the same time he had intirely lost the affections of the *Sicilians*, by his most arbitrary and oppressive government (H), and had disobliged the pope, by disdainfully refusing to give his daughter, or, according to some, his grand-daughter, in marriage to one of the *Orsini*. *Nicholas*, piqued at his refusal, or, according to some, irritated against him, because he had put one of his relations to death for favouring *Conradin*, resolved to humble his pride; and the following year obliged him to resign the vicariate of the empire, and the dignity of senator of *Rome*.

A. D.
1277.

* RICARD. MALASPIN. SPOND. ANNAL.

(H) *Malaspini* relates, that he divided the oxen, cows, swine, sheep, horses, &c. that used to feed in his parks and forests, among the wealthy husbandmen of *Sicily*, to be kept by them for his use and profit, upon the most unjust conditions. A sow was supposed to litter twice in a year, and to bring each time five pigs. The pigs of the first litter were supposed likewise to have young in six months; so that at the end of the year the poor farmer was

obliged to give account to the king's officers of twenty pigs, and at the end of the second, and every year following, for thirty. For every hundred ewes, the king expected ninety lambs, besides a quantity of wool and cheese; and for every yoke of oxen a certain quantity of corn, &c. so that it is not to be wondered the *Sicilians* embraced the first opportunity of delivering themselves from such cruel and inhuman masters (1).

(1) *Malaspina*, ut supra. See also *Bartholomæo de Neocastro*.

A. D.
1278.

who was wholly intent upon his expedition against *Constantinople*, was easily persuaded to resign these offices; and having received the promise of assistance from the pope, and from *France*, the following year had prepared an immense armament against *Greece*. His fleet consisted of upwards of 100 galleys, 30 large ships, 200 transports, besides many other smaller vessels, on board of which he intended to embark 10,000 horse, and a numerous army of foot¹.

THE rumour of this vast preparation greatly alarmed *Palæologus*, who used his utmost endeavours to render the expedition ineffectual. What chiefly contributed to his security was his negotiation with *John di Procida*, a noble *Salernitan*, lord of the isle of *Procida*, in the bay of *Naples*, who had formed a scheme for a general revolt in *Sicily*. *John*, though a nobleman, was likewise a physician, and had been counsellor to *Frederic II.* and *Manfred*, and even to king *Charles* *. Being stript, however, of his estate by the king, on pretence of treason, and his wife being debauched by the *French*, he retired to *Constantia* in *Arragon*, where he was created a baron of the kingdom of *Valentia* by her husband king *Peter*, and lord of *Luxen*, *Benizzano*, and *Palma*. As he was greatly exasperated against the *French*, he employed many spies both in *Puglia* and *Sicily*, where he had many friends; and being informed of the disaffection of the *Sicilians* to the *French*, he came to the island in disguise, and concerted a plan with the most powerful of the malecontents for a revolution in favour of *Constantia*. From thence he went to *Constantinople*; and having some secret conference with *Palæologus*, persuaded him, as the most probable means to defeat the expedition of *Charles*, to assist the king of *Arragon* and the *Sicilian* malcontents. *Palæologus* accordingly granted him a large sum of money, and upon his departure sent one of his secretaries along with him, who, landing in *Sicily*, had a conference with the chief conspirator. *John*, having received letters from them to the king of *Arragon*, disguised himself in the habit of a *Franciscan*, and went to *Suriano*, in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; and knowing the declared enmity of the pope to *Charles*, he disclosed his design to his holiness, who readily entered into his measures, wrote to *Peter* to hasten his armament, promising him the investiture of the island, as soon as he should take possession of it; and by refusing his promised succours to *Charles*, obliged him to delay his expedition. In the beginning of the

and enters
into a con-
spiracy
with John
di Procida
against
him.

* Vide auct. sup. citat. VILLANI.
SUMMONT. Hist. Neap.

* COLLENOT &

following year *John* returned to *Arragon*; and by shewing the letters from the pope and the *Sicilian* barons, prevailed on *Peter* to embark in his design, by assuring him of the assistance of *Palæologus*. The king of *Arragon* accordingly prepared a formidable fleet, under pretence of invading *Africa*, and, according to *Costanzo*, even received 20,000 ducats from king *Charles*, who perhaps wanted to have the merit of assisting in a war against the infidels ^w. *John* immediately returned with the *Greek* ambassador to *Italy* to have further conferences with the pope, when his enterprize was unexpectedly disturbed by the death of *Nicholas*, which happened in the month of *August*.

A. D.
1280.

THE succeeding pope, *Martin IV.* was a *Frenchman*, and *Martin* intirely in the interest of king *Charles*, on whom, the follow-^{IV. ef-}ing year, he conferred the senatorial dignity of *Rome*. *Procida*, however, still resolved to persecute his scheme; and leav-^{ing Italy,} ing *Italy*, had another conference with the conspirators in *Sicily*, from whence he again went to *Constantinople* in disguise, and obtained from *Palæologus* 30,000 ounces of gold, with which he directly returned to *Arragon*. The death of *Nicholas* had damped the ardour of *Peter*; but being urged with great earnestness by *John*, he again renewed his preparations, which began to alarm the pope and the king of *France*, who sent to him, desiring to know against what *Saracens* he intended his expedition. *Peter* refusing to satisfy them, they earnestly counselled *Charles* to guard against an invasion; but the king, in great security, neglected their advice, and was wholly intent upon forwarding his expedition against *Constantinople*, being encouraged by a revolt which had happened in *Greece*; and to facilitate his enterprize, he prevailed with *Martin* to denounce a sentence of excommunication against the *Greeks*, under pretence that they had broken the articles of union concluded a few years before in the council of *Lyons*.

A. D.
1281.

PETER, in the mean time, continued his preparations with great diligence, intending to put to sea the following summer. *Procida* had then returned to *Palermo*, to wait for a favourable opportunity of putting his design in execution, which was quickly afforded him by the *French*. On *Easter The Monday*, which happened on the 30th of *March*, the chief *French* conspirators had assembled at *Palermo*; and, after dinner, both the *Palermitans* and the *French* went in a grand procession to the church of *Monreale*, about three miles without the city. While they were sporting in the fields, a bride

are massacred by the
Sicilians;
A. D.
1282.

^w *COSTANZO*, ut supra.

happened to pass by with her train, who being observed by one *Drochettus*, a *Frenchman*, he ran to her, and began to use her in a rude manner, under pretence of searching for concealed arms. A young *Sicilian*, flamed with resentment, stabbed him with his own sword, and, a tumult ensuing, 200 *French* were immediately murdered. The enraged populace then ran to the city, calling out, *Let the French die, let the French die*; and, without any distinction of age or sex, massacred all those of that nation, even in the churches. The conspirators then left *Palermo*, and excited the inhabitants to murder the *French* all over the island, excepting in *Messina*, which city at first refused to be concerned in the revolt. But being invited by the *Palermitans* to throw off the *French* yoke, a few weeks after the citizens, in a tumultuous manner, murdered some of the *French*; and pulling down the arms of king *Charles*, and erecting those of the city, chose one *Balduin* for their governor, who saved the remaining *French* from the fury of the populace, and allowed them to transport themselves, with their wives and children, to *Italy** (I). Eight thousand persons were said to have been murdered.

THE

* BARTHOL. de Neocastr. ut supra. GIACHET. MALASPIN. ap. MURATOR. t. viii. Memoriale Potestatum Regiensium, ap. eund. t. viii. p. 1151. NICOL. SPECIAL. Hist. Sicul. ap. eund. t. x. p. 924 & 925.

(I) This is the account given us by *Giachetto*, *Malaspini*, *Nicholas Specialis*, *Bartholomew de Neocastro*, and the anonymous writer of the *Chronicon of Reggio*, all four authors cotemporary to the transaction they relate, and the two last of them only lately published in the collection of *Murator*. They vary in some rising particulars; but *Faxellus*, *Spondanus*, *Giannone*, and several others, relate, that on the same day, and the same hour of the day, at the ringing of the bell for vespers, or evening prayers, the *French* all over the island were massacred, without distinction of age, sex, or rank, not only by laymen, but also by the *Dominicans*, *Franiscians*, and

other monks; and that the rage of the murderers was so furious, that they did not even spare their own relations, but ript up those *Sicilian* women who were with child by *Frenchmen*, and dashed their infants against the walls; the whole massacre being over in two hours. We have preferred the other relation, being persuaded, that though the conspiracy had been concerted for near three years with an amazing secrecy, yet its being put in execution on *Easter Monday* was accidental, as it is plain the conspirators acted precipitately, and, instead of being dispersed through the island, were assembled in *Palermo*; that the city of *Messina*, which was one
of

THE archbishop of *Monreale*, upon the first tumult in *Palermo*, immediately sent an account of it to the pope, who was then in *Tuscan*y, attended by *Charles*. The king was greatly alarmed with the news, and in a rage threatened to make the rebels feel his severest resentment. Having asked the assistance of the pope and *Florentines*, and sent for succours from his nephew the king of *France*, he returned to *Naples*, and sent four gallies to join seven of *Messina*, which were blocking up *Palermo*. They had hardly sailed when he was shocked with the news that *Messina* had revolted, and that their gallies had taken those he had sent from *Naples*. The *Palermians*, in the mean time, before they knew that the *Messinians* had joined in the revolt, on the 27th of April sent an ambassador to *Barcelona* with an offer of their allegiance to *Peter* of *Arragon*, having despaired of pardon from king *Charles*, and the pope having rejected their offer of subjection to the apostolic see. The ambassador, after he had proceeded as far as *Minorca*, was driven by a north wind to the coast of *Africa*, where he found king *Peter*, who at first seemed to condemn the proceedings of the *Sicilians*; but scrupled not, however, to accept of the offered allegiance. His first difficulty was to prevail with his army of crusaders to engage in his design. Several of them, awed by the dread of the pope's resentment, and the formidable power of *Charles*, absolutely refused to invade *Sicily*, and returned to *Spain*;

who make
their alle-
giance to
Peter king
of Arra-
gon.

of the chief quarters of the *French*, at first afforded them protection, and disapproved of the proceedings of the *Palermians*, which were indeed furious and execrable; that it was almost a month before the revolt became general, and even then the *Sicilian* cities chose particular governors, and formed a kind of association, like a republic, without acknowledging any king; so that, it would appear, they were not all privy to the designs of the conspirators in favour of *Peter*, as is generally imagined. *Bartholomew de Neocastro* likewise informs us, that *Peter* did not sail from *Spain* before the 16th of *May*; and that then he

employed his forces in besieging a city of *Africa*, designing perhaps to sail in the end of summer to *Sicily*, when *Charles* should be absent with his fleet in *Greece*. Whereas, if the conspiracy had been general, and the day of its execution fixed for *Easter*, in all probability his fleet would have been then off the coasts of *Sicily* to have seconded the attempts of his friends.

Notwithstanding the exasperated rage of the murderers, they spared one *William Porcellus*, a noble *Provençal*, on account of his distinguished worth and probity (1).

(1) See the authors above-mentioned.

but the rest were easily persuaded to assert the rights of *Constantia* and her children.

Charles
besieges
Messina.

MEAN while *Charles*, whose resentment was now chiefly directed against the *Messinians*, having received 600 horse from *Florence*, and succours from *France*, and many cities in *Lombardy*, on the 10th of *June* arrived at *Catena*, on the coast of *Calubria*, with an army of 90,000 foot and 24,000 horse, besides his forces by sea, consisting of upwards of 200 vessels great and small. On the 25th of *July* he transported the greatest part of his army over the *Straits*, and invested *Messina* both by sea and land, which, though badly fortified, made a most vigorous defence. As the pope had sent a cardinal legate to *Sicily* to act as mediator, they solicited him to prevail with the king to pardon them; but *Charles* rejected their conditions, and insisted upon their surrendering at discretion, though he is said by *Malaspini* and *Villani* to have founded a retreat when some of his men had entered the city, and might have taken it by assault. *Bartholomeo de Neocastro*, on the contrary, gives a true account of the fruitless attacks of the *French*, and the unwearied ardour even of the ladies of the city in assisting in its defence. According to him, *Charles*, after he had continued six weeks before the place, and lost a great many of his men, about the middle of *September* sent a *carte blanche* to the governor, on condition he would deliver up the city.

Peter is
crowned at
Palermo.

HE now began to find the rebellion more formidable than he expected; for, about a fortnight before, his competitor had landed with his forces at *Trapani*; and, being immediately joined by the *Sicilian* barons, was conducted to *Palermo*, where he was crowned king of *Sicily* with great solemnity.

Charles
evacuates
Sicily.

Charles, upon hearing this news, soon hearkened to humble counsels; and being apprehensive lest his retreat to *Italy* should be cut off, as great part of his sailors had died, he pillaged and destroyed the churches about *Messina*, and on the 27th of *September* raised the siege, and with great precipitation transported his army to *Calabria*. He had been struck with a panic upon being informed that the *Arragonian* fleet was advancing to the *Straits* under the command of *Roger de Loria*, a refugee *Calabrian*, who actually arrived the day after he had transported his army, and took twenty-nine of his gallees; and then, proceeding to *Catena* and *Reggio*, burnt eighty of his transports in presence of his army, *Charles* for anguish biting the rod he held in his hand, and praying to God not to heap adversities upon him so fast.

† MALASPINI, VILLANI, ut supra.

MESSINA,

MESSINA, being thus unexpectedly relieved, when it had only three days provisions remaining, *Peter*, who at first hesitated whether he should venture with his small force to continue in the island, advanced towards the city, and entered it in triumph in the beginning of *October*. A few weeks after a *Dominican* friar came to him as ambassador from *Charles*, accusing him of perfidy in invading his dominions in time of peace, and, according to *Bartholomew*, challenged him to decide the dispute by single combat. Other authors say, that *Peter*, in his answer to this embassy, challenged *Charles*. However it be, both the kings agreed to meet the following year, on the 1st of *June*, at *Bourdeaux*, then subject to the king of *England*, attended each by 100 knights, and to decide their quarrel by an engagement. In consequence of this agreement, the articles of which are published in *Rymer's Fœdera* ², the king of *Naples* appointed his son prince *Charles* as lieutenant of *Puglia* during his absence, and the following spring sailed from *Lucca* to *Marseilles* to fulfil his engagement. *Peter*, in the mean time sent for his queen *Constantia* to *Sicily*, with his two sons *James* and *Don Frederic*, and one of his daughters *Martha*; and proposing soon to go to *France*, he caused the *Sicilians* to swear allegiance to *Don James*, as his lawful successor and heir. Thus *Charles*, having neglected to use vigour in crushing his rival, and imprudently agreeing to a duel, the two kingdoms were formally disjoined; *Naples* becoming the royal seat of the *French*, and *Palermo* of the *Arragonians*.

PETER, not having the duel so much at heart as *Charles*, *Peter* employed the following spring in making conquests in *Calabria*. At length, being urged by his brother, he left *Italy*; and having settled the affairs of *Sicily*, on the 11th of *May* he set sail for *Valentia*, where he arrived on the 19th of the same month. As he had only a few days to perform the rest of the journey, he immediately ordered his knights to assemble, and, in the mean time, endeavoured to inform himself of the proceedings of his competitor. The pope had prohibited the duel under pain of excommunication, and in the end of *March* this year deposed *Peter* from all his dominions. *Edward* king of *England* had peremptorily refused to secure

The two kings agree to decide their quarrel by a duel.

A. D. 1283.

with 20,000 horse and 50,000 foot. *Peter* resolving to save his honour, and at the same time to elude the designs of his

² Fœdera, Conventiones, &c. t. i. p. 226.

enemies, disguised himself in the habit of a squire, and accompanied three of his knights, likewise disguised, to *Boudeaux*, where, on the morning of the day appointed for the action, he presented himself before the marshal of the king of *England*, as a messenger from *Peter*, to excuse his non-appearance, because *Charles* had broken the articles by filling the place with his enemies. At the end of his harangue he discovered himself; and leaving his armour, sword, and lance, with the marshal, and a writing, with his seal affixed, to testify that he had appeared on the day appointed, he immediately mounted his horse, and returned with all speed to *Aragon*. The *French* authors allege, that *Peter* never appeared; and others, that he presented himself to the marshal in the evening, after *Charles* and his knights had rode all day in the field waiting for him. *Peter* thus eluded his enemy; and by making him lose a campaign, established his own authority in *Sicily* without opposition. *Charles*, and his nephew king *Philip*, returned vexed and disappointed to *Paris*. The pope, likewise enraged that his favourite had been thus baffled, again denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against *Peter*, ordering a crusade to be preached against him, and conferring his hereditary kingdom of *Aragon* upon *Charles Valois*, the second son of the king of *France*, on condition of his becoming a vassal of the holy see, and paying the yearly quit-rent of 500 livres^b. *Peter* treated this sentence of *Martin* with great contempt, appealed to a future pope, and threatened to transport an army of *Moors* into *France* and *Italy*.

The Neapolitan fleet defeated, and prince Charles taken prisoner.

A D.
1284.

DON James, in the mean time, quelled an insurrection of some barons in *Sicily*, and the famous *Roger di Loria* gained several advantages over the fleets of the enemy. The following year he surprized twenty *Provençal* galleys in the harbour of *Malta*, and, after a desperate engagement, took ten of them; in consequence of which victory the castle surrendered, and the whole island acknowledged *Peter*. From thence he immediately sailed to the coast of *Naples*, being informed that prince *Charles* had given orders to equip a considerable fleet in different places of *Puglia*. Having intercepted a small vessel from king *Charles*, by which he found that he had put to sea with a fleet from *Provence*, he immediately sailed to the harbour of *Naples*, and by his bravadoes tempted the prince and the *Neapolitans* to come to fight him. As *Loria* had done a good deal of damage on the coast, and his fleet

^a *Fœdera*, &c. BARTHOL. de Neocastr.
an. 1283, sect. 25.

^b RAINALD: ad

was not numerous, *Charles*, contrary to his father's orders, put to sea with a considerable number of galleys, attended by a great many of the *French* and *Neapolitan* nobility, who, confident of victory, ordered a grand entertainment to be provided for the evening. *Loria*, pretending to fly, drew them a good way from the shore, then attacked them with great resolution, and soon gained a complete victory. Many of the galleys flying, and others coming over to him, he surrounded the prince's galley, and took him and his retinue prisoners. Two days after this action, which happened on the 23d of *June*, king *Charles* arrived with fifty-five armed galleys, and many other vessels, at *Gaeta*. Being informed of his son's captivity, and that, after the engagement, the mob in *Naples* had run through the streets, calling out, *Down with king Charles, and up with Roger di Loria*, he immediately hastened thither with the intention of burning the city; but at the intercession of the cardinal legate and the nobles, he landed; and causing about 150 of the chief rioters to be hanged, he pardoned the rest^d. The prince of *Salerno*, in the mean time, was condemned to be beheaded by a general assembly of the *Sicilian* deputies, by way of reprisal for the execution of *Conradin*; but *Constantia*, with great generosity and magnanimity, saved his life; making the cruelty of *Charles* thereby appear more detestable.

KING *Charles*, as a condition of his pardon to the *Neapo-* *Charles*
litans, obliged them to fit out a considerable number of gal- *fits out an-*
lies, and having reinforced his fleet, he sailed in the month *other ar-*
of *July* with 158 vessels towards *Messina*, with the design of *mament a-*
making another descent upon the island: but the *Sicilians* gainst *Si-*
declaring, if he landed any men, they would immediately *cily*.
put the prince of *Salerno* to death, he steered his course to
Calabria, and besieged *Reggio*, which in the beginning of the
former year had been taken by *Peter*. Though he invested
the place by sea and land with a powerful army, yet by the
vigour of the besieged his attempt proved fruitless, and he
was obliged to retire with his forces to *Catena*, where a few
weeks after his whole fleet was almost destroyed by a storm.
Loria, in the mean time, took and plundered several places
on the coast of *Calabria*; and after *Charles* had retired with
his forces towards *Naples*, he passed over to *Africa*, and
gained several advantages over the *Moors*, many thousands of
whom he carried slaves to *Sicily*.

^c BARTHOL. de Neocastr. ut supra MAUSOLEO NICOL.
SPECIAL. MALASPIN. ^d MALASPIN, NICOL. SPECIAL.
^e Idem ibid. BARTHOL. de Neocastr.

His death. DURING his expedition in *Africa*, *Charles* was making great preparations against the *Sicilians*; but falling sick at *Foggia*, on his way to *Brindisi*, after a short illness he died in that city on the 7th of *January*. According to a certain author, he was so oppressed with melancholy and despair, that he strangled himself with a halter^f; but, according to *Villani*, he died with great penitence, and received the viaticum. As his son and heir was then a prisoner, *Charles*, by his last will, left his cousin the count of *Artois*, who had come with a reinforcement of troops from *France*, as regent of the kingdom. Pope *Martin*, however, made pretence, that the king, when passing to *Bourdeaux*, had left the administration of the kingdom to him, immediately appointed the cardinal legate as governor^h, who, of his own authority, called a parliament of the barons and prelates at *Melphis*, *Mary* the wife of the captive prince, and the regent, being obliged to wink at his usurpationsⁱ.

ROGER de Loria, in the mean time, harassed the *Neapolitan* coasts with continual descents. He took *Cotrone*, *Catanzaro*, *Cullipolis*, *Taranto*, and several other places; but the king of *France* having invaded *Catalonia* with an army of near 100,000 men, he left the coasts of *Italy*, and, at the desire of *Peter*, sailed with his fleet for *Spain*, where he arrived on the 26th of *September*. The king of *France*, by this time, had taken *Perpignan*, and, after a long siege, had made himself master of *Girona*; but an epidemical distemper carrying off great part of his army, and likewise raging on board his fleet, so that he could now only man fifty-five galleys, though he had sailed thither with 210 vessels, he resolved to march back with all haste to *France*^k. *Roger*, after having a conference with *Peter* in *Barcelona*, sailed from thence with forty-eight galleys, and on the 1st of *October* at night attacked the *French* fleet in the harbour of *Roses*, and took and burnt upwards of forty vessels. Three days after, meeting with a rich galleon and twelve galleys, coming with money and provisions to the *French* army, he shewed *French* colours; and going on board them with his men as friends, immediately made prize of them. These losses so affected the king of *France*, that he secretly repassed the *Pyrænees*, and died a few days after at *Perpignan*. *Peter* survived him only a few weeks; and dying on the 11th of *November* at *Arragon*.

^f *THEOD. de Pifmes de Privileg. & Jur. imper. p. 282.* ^g *NICOL. SPECIAL, ut supra.* ^h *RAINALD. ad an. 1285.* ⁱ *COLLENOT. l. v. ENAIL. in Phil. iii.* ^j *GIANNONE, ut supra.* ^k *BARTHOL. de Neocastr.*

Villa Franca, he left the kingdom of *Arragon* to his eldest son *Alphonfus*, and *Sicily* to Don *James*, who, in case *Alphonfus* should die without male issue, was to enjoy both kingdoms.

THE news of *Peter's* death being brought to *Sicily* by Don *James Roger di Loria* (K), Don *James* was crowned at *Palermo* on crowned the 2d of *February* with great solemnity, when he created king of *Sicily* 400 knights. Soon after he sent two ambassadors to pope *cily*. *Honorius*, who a few months before had succeeded *Martin*, to desire his holiness to pardon the *Sicilians*, and to accept of his obedience. *Honorius*, however, refused to grant the request of the ambassadors, and excommunicated both king *James* and his brother *Alphonfus*. Mean while *Charles* prince of *Salerno*, who was now a prisoner in *Arragon*, being desirous of regaining his liberty, prevailed with *Edward* king of *England* to treat with *Alphonfus* for that purpose. The two kings accordingly had a conference at *Oleron* in *Bearn*, where a treaty was drawn up for the prince's liberty; but the articles of it displeasing the pope, at the beginning of *March* he wrote to *Charles*, severely blaming him for treating without the consent of the apostolic see. *Honorius* died a few weeks after at *Rome*, having, during his short pontificate, governed the kingdom of *Naples* as sovereign, and made many statutes for the immunity and benefit of the ecclesiastical state; for levying taxes and subsidies concerning murder, theft, the alteration of coin; and many other cases in which the prerogative of the king was greatly retrenched (L). The *Roman* see continued vacant near eleven months.

A. D.
1287.

IN the mean time, while *Roger di Loria* was absent with a few galleys ravaging the coasts of *Provence*, the cardinal legate, at the persuasion of two friars, who, some time before, had been spies in *Sicily*, caused to embark 500 horse and 150 foot, who landing on the island surprized the city of *Agosta*. The *Sicilians* were greatly alarmed; and *Loria* arriving at *Messina*, they murmured loudly against him for neglecting the defence of the coasts; but the admiral, by working night

(K) *Loria*, in his passage, met with a violent storm in the gulph of *Lions*, in which he lost five of his galleys. By the following instructions of the admiral to the fleet, it appears that the mariner's compass was then discovered: *Magistri tantum desuper sunt, qui vigilantes in puppis et*

proris galearum, ex industria ipsorum, et callidis doctrina, galeas ducant (2).

(L) These statutes, according to some authors, were long preserved in the royal archives, and quoted as established laws of the kingdom (3).

(2) *Vid. Murator, t. xiii. p. 1116.*

(3) *See Giannone, l. xii. c. 1.*

and day in the dock, and even persuading the women and children to give their assistance, in six days repaired and refitted 40 galleys, and on the 13th of May surprised *Agosta*, after a most obstinate dispute, in which he was twice driven to his ships. Having left king *James* besieging the castle, he went in quest of the enemy's fleet; and, arriving at *Sorrento*, went into the harbour in the disguise of a fisherman; where he found upwards of 80 galleys, and a formidable army encamped on the shore, with the intention of embarking for *Sicily*. Returning to his fleet, he sent a challenge to the *Neapolitan* admiral to come out to fight him. The *Neapolitans*, trusting to their numbers, accordingly put to sea, the cardinal legate encouraging them by indulgences, the galleys also being commanded by counts, and attended each by two smaller vessels with a spare crew. Notwithstanding the manifest superiority of his enemies, *Loria*, after he had drawn them about six miles from shore, made no difficulty of attacking them; and though at first they obtained some advantages, yet in the end he gained a complete victory, and took 42 of their galleys, on board of which were upwards of 5000 men. The cardinal legate, upon this defeat, being afraid of an insurrection of the *Neapolitans*, at their request agreed to a truce betwixt them and the *Sicilians* for two years.

*Loria defeats the
Puglian
fleet.*

King James invades Calabria.
A. D.
1288.

As several cities in *Calabria* were held by the *Sicilians*, *James*, in the beginning of the following year, went over thither with 400 horse and 10,000 foot, and reduced several other places. The city of *Gaeta* in the mean time offering to submit to him, he embarked his forces about the end of *June*, and sailed thither. Upon his arrival, however, finding the gates shut, and that his friends durst not discover themselves, he attacked the city, which made a vigorous defence. According to *Bartholæmeo de Neocastro*, an eye-witness, the siege must have continued more than 15

Charles is crowned king of Sicily at Rieti.
1289.

months; for the following year, while king *James* remained with his army before the city, *Charles*, prince of *Salerno*, arrived at *Rieti*, where he was crowned king of *Sicily* by pope *Nicholas*, the successor of *Honorius*.

KING Charles had recovered his liberty the *October* preceding, in consequence of a treaty concluded with *Alphonfus* by the mediation of the king of *England*. *Nicholas IV.* shewing himself somewhat more condescending than *Honorius*, the kings *Edward* and *Alphonfus* had a conference in a village on the top of the *Pyrenees*; and *Charles*, being likewise conducted thither, was set at liberty, on giving his second son, with his two brothers, and 60 *Provencal* knights,

as hostages for the performance of the treaty made at *Oleron*, the principal articles of which were, that he should prevail with *Charles* of *Valois* to renounce his right to *Arragon*, persuade the king of *France* to agree to a peace with *Alphonfus*, solicit his holiness to take off the interdiction from *Arragon*, and, if these articles were not performed, he should return again within three years to his prison. The article concerning the renunciation of *Sicily* in favour of king *James* was omitted¹.

CHARLES, upon recovering his liberty, went directly to *France*, to persuade king *Philip* and his brother *Charles* to a peace with *Alphonfus*. His endeavours, however, being unsuccessful, he proceeded to *Italy*, and used his intercession with the pope in behalf of *Arragon*. But *Nicholas*, seeing the king now at liberty, conceived new hopes of recovering *Sicily*; therefore, instead of hearkening to peace, he absolved him from his agreement with the king of *Arragon*, and, after crowning him king of the *Two Sicilies*, he raised a large body of crusaders and *Guelphs* from *Tuscany* and *Lombardy*, and sent them with a cardinal legate to *Gaeta*, against king *James*. *Bartholomeo* informs us, that there were women, and even dogs, that were crusaders in this expedition, and that he saw the women cut to pieces by the *Messinians*, and dogs licking their blood^m. As king *Charles* likewise arrived at the siege with a reinforcement from *Naples*, *James*, in his turn, began to be hemmed in, and even made proposals for an accommodation. About the same time an ambassador arriving at *Rome* from the king of *England*, accusing the pope of being the incendiary of Christendom, and threatening, that if he did not agree to a peace with *James* and his brother, that his master would espouse their cause, *Nicolas* sent a legate with the *English* ambassador to the siege, who prevailed on both the kings to agree to a truce for two years, to the great discontent of the count *d'Artois*, and the other *French* lords, who, judging that *Charles* had thereby put it out of his power ever to recover *Sicily*, returned in disgust to *France*ⁿ. Charles and king James.

AFTER the departure of the *Sicilians*, *Charles*, in consideration of the vigorous defence made by the *Gaetans*, exempted them from all taxes for five years^o; and upon his return to *Naples*, in the month of *September*, being informed

¹ RYMER's *Fœdera*. ^m BARTHOL. de Neocastr. ap. MURATOR. t. xiii. p. 1153, 1154. ⁿ Idem ibid. NICOL. SPECIAL. ut supra. VILLAN. l. vii. c. 133. GIANNONE, ut supra. ANTON, tit. 20. c. 6. sect. 7. ^o VILLANI, ut supra.

The eldest son of king Charles crowned king of Hungary.

of the death of *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary*, without issue, caused his eldest son *Charles Martel* to be crowned king of that kingdom, in right of his mother queen *Mary*, sister of *Ladislaus*. The king of *Sicily* in the mean time was solicited earnestly by the pope to engage in a crusade for the relief of the *Holy Land*; but his old counsellors, after recapitulating the perfidiousness of the holy see to his great grandfather *Frederic II.* and shewing him that *Nicholas*, during his absence, would probably endeavour to cause a revolution in *Sicily*, *James* sent *John di Procida* to *Rome*, to urge his holiness to be reconciled to the *Sicilians*, and to accept of his obedience. *Nicholas*, however, still remained inflexible, and told *Procida*, that he could determine nothing as to *Sicily*, as he had already commissioned two legates to go to *Aix* in *Provence*, to treat of a peace betwixt the king of *Arragon* and the king of *France* and his brother. Upon the return of *Procida*, *James*, the following year, sent two plenipotentiaries to be present at the congress, ordering them to proceed first to *Arragon*, and to urge his brother *Alphonfus* not to consent to the restitution of *Sicily* to the family of *Anjou*. Though, to forward the peace with *Alphonfus*, king *Charles* left *Naples*, and proceeded to *France*, yet the negotiations for some time proceeded very slowly. At length the pope's legates pressing the king of *France* and his brother to suspend their warlike preparations against *Arragon*, and *Charles* even declaring, that, if the war continued, he would return to his prison, a peace was concluded on the 2d of *February* betwixt *Alphonfus* and the *French*, without including the *Sicilians*, to whom *Alphonfus* promised to give no further assistance.

A peace concluded betwixt the king of France and Alphonfus.
1291.

King James, upon the death of Alphon-

AFTER the conclusion of the treaty, *Charles* went to *Genoa*, where he hired sixty galleys, to be ready the following year for the invasion of *Sicily*, and afterwards went to *Figueres* in *Spain*, where he had a friendly interview with the king of *Arragon*. The *Sicilians* in the mean time were greatly alarmed to find themselves abandoned by the *Catalans*; but an unexpected event in some measure relieved them from their apprehensions, and baffled the designs of their enemies. *Alphonfus*, after he had sent ambassadors to *England*, to conduct his queen, the daughter of king *Edward*, to *Arragon*, died about the middle of *June*, after a short illness. The news of his death soon arriving in *Sicily*, king *James* immediately appointed his brother *Don Frederic* as regent of the island, and embarked for *Spain*, where he landed about the middle of *August*, and, being solemnly crowned at *Barcelona*, immediately entered into an alliance with

with the king of *Castile*, and married his daughter *Elizabeth* *.

A FEW months after, the *Sicilians*, being alarmed with the news of the armament of the *Genoese*, and a rumour prevailing, that the galleys of *Genoa* had begun hostilities against the *Sicilian* vessels, Don *Frederic* sent an ambassador, to represent to the republic the imprudence of contributing to the aggrandizing of the *French*; in consequence of which embassy, the *Genoese* were persuaded to lay aside their armament, and confirmed an ancient law against making war upon the *Sicilians*. Roger di *Loria*, about the same time arriving from *Catalonia*, sailed to the coast of *Calabria*, and, landing with some of his sailors, attacked and defeated a body of *French* that had marched thither against the cities subject to the *Sicilians*. From thence sailing towards *Greece*, he took the islands of *Corfu*, *Malvasia*, and *Chios*, probably because the emperor had allowed some of the maritime places to be garrisoned by *French*. Returning to *Sicily* about the month of *October*, he had a conference with Don *Frederic*, and proposed to attack the coasts of *Naples* the following spring with a powerful fleet †.

KING *James*, in the mean time, having refused to stand to the treaty concluded betwixt his brother and the king of *France*, *Arragon* was again threatened with an invasion. The *French*, however, were prevented from acting by the death of *Nicholas*, and soon after by a difference betwixt king *Philip* and *Edward* of *England*, which quickly broke out into an open war. While the *Roman* see was kept vacant by the dissensions of the cardinals, and the attention of the *French* was engaged upon the dispute with the king of *England*, king *Charles* received secret intelligence of the designs of *Loria* against *Amalfi* and the *Neapolitan* coasts. As his disposition was naturally pacific, and his kingdom had suffered greatly by the continual bad success of the war, he began seriously to think of peace, and accordingly sent the master of the *Teutonic* order to *Arragon*, with preliminary articles of an accommodation, proposing an immediate cessation of arms, which should continue for a year after the election of the pope. The *Sicilian* deputies remonstrated with great warmth against this proposal; but *James*, having then some secret view, accepted of the offer, and in the month of *November* had a conference with king *Charles* at *Juncaria*, near the *Pyrenees* †.

* BARTHOL. de Neocastr. † NICOL. SPECIAL. † Ed. ibid. SURIT. l. ii. MARIAN. l. xiv. c. 16.

A. D.

1294.

THE following year, in the month of *June*, *Celestine V.*, an old monk of great simplicity and austerity, being elected pope, after the *Roman* see had continued vacant 27 months, *Charles* pressed him to accept of the dignity, and received him with great honour at *Naples*, hoping, that as he had been one of his subjects, he would obtain from him whatever he desired. The humility of the pope, however, disappointed his expectations; for *Celestine*, after he had enjoyed the pontificate five months, resigned his dignity; but at the king's desire, before his abdication, he conferred the cardinal's hat upon seven *Frenchmen* and five *Italians*, all devoted to the interest of *Charles*. By the influence of these twelve cardinals king *Charles* procured the election of *Boniface VIII.* who is said to have used some artifices to prompt *Celestine* to resign, and, after his abdication, to have made an offer of his service to the king, on condition of being elected pope¹.

Boniface VIII. mediates a peace between them.

1295.

BONIFACE, who was of a disposition very different from his predecessor, and had distinguished himself by his activity and skill in the management of affairs, to shew his gratitude to *Charles*, in the beginning of the following year ordered king *James* to resign the kingdom of *Sicily*, under pain of being excommunicated, and deposed from his kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*. The king of *France* and *Charles* of *Valois* at the same time making preparations for another expedition into *Arragon*, *James*, by the advice of his nobles, sent four ambassadors to *Rome*, desiring the mediation of the pope. A perpetual peace was accordingly concluded, in the beginning of *June*, on these conditions: That the pope should declare the marriage of *James* with the daughter of the king of *Castile* null and void; that king *James* should marry the daughter of king *Charles*, restore *Sicily*, and all the places he possessed on the other side the *Pharo*, to him; that *Charles* of *Valois* should renounce all pretensions to *Arragon*, in lieu of which he should receive the counties of *Anjou* and *Forcalquier*; that the hostages for king *Charles* should be set at liberty; that the pope should take off the interdiction from *Arragon*; and that *James*, king of the *Balears*, should be restored to his dominions². What were the motives which induced king *James* to desert the *Sicilians*, and to assent to this surprising peace, is uncertain. It is probable he was influenced by the hopes given him by

¹ VILLANI, lib. viii. cap. 6. ANTON. tit. 20. c. 7. sect. 1.

² VILLANI, NICOL. SPECIAL. SURIT. l. ii. MARIAN. l. xiv. FAZEL, Dec. 2. l. ix. c. 2.

the pope, of being put in possession of the islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*.

AFTER the conclusion of the treaty, Don *Frederic*, with *Roger di Loria*, *John di Procida*, and several other *Sicilian* lords, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, where they were earnestly solicited by the pope to agree to the delivering up of the island. The grand-daughter of the emperor *Baldwin*, and heiress of the empire of *Constantinople*, was offered in marriage to Don *Frederic*; and the pope promised to use all his interest and power to put him in possession of *Greece*, on condition he would assent to the peace. *Frederic* refused to give his consent before he should consult the *Sicilians*, whom, upon his return to *Sicily*, he found in the greatest commotion, on account of the news of the peace. By the advice of the queen dowager *Constantia*, deputies were immediately sent to *Aragon*, who having in vain endeavoured to prevail with king *James* not to abandon the *Sicilians*, obtained a formal renunciation of his right in writing, and returned to *Sicily*. They had no sooner published the answer of the king of *Aragon*, than the lords and people, with great unanimity and zeal, declared Don *Frederic* for their king, and appointed the 25th of *March* for his coronation. *Boniface* in the mean time, in hopes of persuading them to submit to king *Charles*, sent a *carte blanche* to them by a legate, sealed with the pontifical seal, desiring them to make their own terms; but one of the nobles, drawing his sword, ordered the legate immediately to quit the kingdom, and declared that they would procure peace by their swords, and not by parchments.

FREDERIC, after the ceremony of his coronation, declared his intention of prosecuting the war with vigour, and received the most affectionate assurances of the assistance of his subjects. Having ordered *Roger di Loria* to equip the fleet, he passed over from *Messina* to *Reggio*, and, assembling an army, advanced into *Calabria*, and took *Squillace*, after which he reduced the city and county of *Catanzara*. Several other places likewise surrendered to him; but being informed that his brother king *James* had arrived at *Rome*, had obtained from the pope the investiture of *Sardinia*, and was appointed standard-bearer of the church, with the design of assisting king *Charles* against the *Sicilians*, he left his army in *Calabria* under the command of *Blasco de Alagona*, and returned to *Sicily*. After his departure, *Roger di Loria* took *Lecce* and *Otranto*, the last of which he fortified, and afterwards made a bold though unsuccessful attempt upon *Brindisi*.

A D. KING *James*, in the mean time, having in vain endeavoured
1297. to draw his brother to a conference in the island of *Ischia*,

Roger di in which city *Procida* spent the rest of his days. But *Roger*,
Loria de- having the year before had several differences with *Frederic*,
serts to which were inflamed by his enemies, now deserted his party,
king and, by the intercession of the pope and *James* of *Arragon*,
Charles. was reconciled to king *Charles*, who, upon his return to
Naples, not only restored him to all his ancient lands in *Calabria*,
Basilicata, and *Principato*, but gave him many others,
and appointed him high admiral of both kingdoms. *Frederic*,
upon being informed that *Roger* had entered into the
service of king *Charles*, immediately proclaimed him a traitor,
and besieged the castles belonging to him in *Sicily*, which
were quickly reduced. *Roger* in the mean time, being highly
exasperated against *Frederic*, proceeded to *Calabria* with a
large body of horse, and besieged *Catanzara*, which willingly
surrendered to him. However, before he could reduce the
castle, *Blasco de Alagona* arrived with some forces to its re-
Is defeated lief. *Roger* immediately attacked him; but was received
in Cala- with such firmness and courage, that his troops were intirely
bria. routed, and he himself, being wounded, and his horse killed,
1298. with great difficulty made his escape¹.

As the king of *Arragon* about the same time had arrived
at *Rome* with a considerable fleet, *Frederic* appointed *Conrad*
Doria, a *Genoise*, as his admiral, and, going on board him-
self, sailed with 74 gallies to the coasts of *Naples*, to inter-
cept his brother. He thought proper, however, not to wait
for him, but returned to *Sicily*, and was immediately fol-
lowed by *James* and *Loria*, who made a descent upon the
island, and reduced *Patti*, *Melazzo*, *Nucera*, *Monteforte*, and
several other castles in that neighbourhood. As that coast
The king of Arragon takes several places in Sicily. was dangerous in winter, they left garrisons in the places
they had taken, and sailed through the *Pharo* to *Syracuse*,
which city they invested by sea and land. The city making
a vigorous defence, they employed their army in reducing
Buacura, *Palacioli*, and several other towns and castles.
Frederic in the mean time arrived with his army at *Catania*,
where he was soon alarmed with the news that three castles
belonging to one *Beresius*, and one of them in the middle of
the island, had revolted to king *James*. *Roger di Loria* like-

¹ NICOL. SPECIAL. ut supra. VILLANI, l. viii. c. 29.

wife ventured to march by land with 300 horse to recover *Patti*, which had expelled the *Catalonian* garrison, while his relation *John di Loria* sailed round from *Syracuse* with 20 gallies. *John*, upon passing by *Messina*, was attacked by the gallies of that city, and, after a sharp engagement, was taken, with 16 of his ships; upon which news the king *Arragon*, as he had already lost 18,000 men before *Syracuse*, thought proper to reimbarc his army, and return to *Naples*. After his departure, *Frederic* quickly reduced almost all the places he had taken; and, being informed that *James* was making preparations for a second invasion, he immediately equipped 40 gallies, and put to sea. The two fleets met off *Capo Orlando* on the 4th of *July*, when *Frederic* with great resolution attacked the enemy, though greatly superior to him in number. The success, however, did not answer his eager hopes, for, after a most bloody engagement, he was intirely defeated, and lost 22 gallies, the officers of which were cruelly put to death by *Roger di Loria*, in revenge for the death of his relation *John*, who had been executed as a rebel. The king of *Arragon*, after this signal victory, returned with the *Catalan* vessels to his own dominions, alleging, that the affairs of the *Sicilians* were now so desperate, that his assistance would be no longer needed, though he is suspected by several authors of never having been really zealous for the success of the war, and to have retired, to prevent his brother from being intirely ruined.

FREDERIC, upon his return, being comforted by the *Messinians*, immediately published an account of the engagement, and ordered the whole island to prepare for the most vigorous defence. The duke of *Calabria* and *Roger di Loria* in the mean time landed their troops; but the first city which they summoned refused to surrender to them. The duke, by the advice of *Loria*, retired from thence, and marched to *Adernia* and *Paternio*, both which places, though inaccessible and strongly fortified, surrendered to him without opposition; by which means his army, which began to be in great want, was furnished with plenty of provisions. Several other places imitated the example of these cities. At length *Catania* revolted, and was followed by *Ragusa*, and many other cities; so that a report prevailling, that more than one half of the island had declared for king *Charles*, *Boniface* sent the cardinal *Gerard of Parma* thither as his legate, to persuade the *Sicilians* to surrender without opposition. *Roger di Loria* assured the duke, that the *Sicilians* were not to be subdued by excommunications and the tinkling of a mass bell; he therefore sent for fresh succours from *Naples*. His brother, the

A. D.
1299.

Gains a
signal vic-
tory over
the Sici-
lians.

prince of *Tarento*, accordingly embarked with 600 horse and 1000 foot, and landed in that part of *Sicily* called the *Valley of Mazara*; but a few days after, on the 1st of *December*, he was attacked at *Falconara* by *Frederic*, and intirely routed, he himself being taken prisoner, with the greatest part of his men.

His brother is de-
feated, and
taken pri-
soner.

A. D.
1300.

UPON the news of this defeat, *Boniface* wrote to king *Charles*, reproving him severely for having committed the care of the war to the young princes who had no experience, and at the same time he sent for *Charles of Valois* from *France*, allowing him the tythes of the ecclesiastical revenues of that kingdom to support his expedition, expressly prohibiting king *Charles* to make any convention with the *Sicilians*, till the arrival of his cousin. *Charles*, to appease the pope, the following year published an edict, ordering all the *Saracens* of *Luccera* to embrace Christianity, or leave his dominions. *Loria* in the mean time had returned to *Naples*, to hasten more succours, charging the duke not to venture an engagement with the *Sicilians* during his absence. *Frederic*, however, found means of drawing a large party of the *French* and *Neapolitans* into an ambuscade, and intirely cut them off; which victory gave fresh spirits to the *Sicilians*, who again put a fleet to sea, consisting of thirty-two galleys, under the command of *Doria*. The admiral, after ravaging the *Neapolitan* coasts, imprudently ventured an engagement with *Roger di Loria*, who sailed from *Naples* with forty-eight galleys, and, after a short dispute, he was obliged to surrender to *Roger*, and lost twenty of his galleys. Soon after, duke *Robert*, being informed that the *Messinians* were distressed for want of provisions, sailed with his army from *Catania*, and encamped before their city, while his general in *Calabria* invested *Reggio*, and his fleet lay before both cities. *Messina* was quickly reduced to great distress; but being relieved by *Frederic*, and the army of duke *Robert* beginning in its turn to want provisions, the siege was raised, and, by the intercession of *Violante*, *Robert's* wife, and sister to *Frederic*, the two princes had a conference at *Syracuse*, and agreed to a truce for six months. *Robert*, leaving his wife with her infant son in *Sicily*, immediately sailed with *Roger di Loria* to *Naples*, promising quickly to return with a strong army. He was detained, however, longer on the continent than he expected; and the truce expiring in the beginning of the following year, *Frederic*, without delay, renewed his hostilities.

He besieges
Messina
without
success.

1301.

CHARLES of *Valois* in the mean time, arriving in *Italy*, had a conference with the pope at *Anagni*. As he had lately

lately married the only daughter of *Philip*, the titular emperor of *Constantinople*, *Boniface* gave him hopes of succeeding to that empire; in order to which succession, he shewed him the necessity of first reducing *Sicily*, that his cousin king *Charles* might be at leisure to assist him: great preparations were accordingly made for invading the island with a formidable armament in the spring. *Boniface* is even said to have proposed *Charles* of *Valois* as emperor of *Germany*, from his hatred to *Albert* of *Austria*; and, while the preparations were carrying on at *Naples*, he created him *Paciare*, or Pacifier, of *Tuscany*, as though the empire had been vacant^u.

AFTER *Charles* had spent three or four months at *Florence*, where, by the exercise of his new authority, he increased the troubles and confusions, he returned to *Naples* in the spring, and, embarking with a formidable army, attended with the duke of *Calabria* and *Roger di Loria*, landed in *Sicily*, in the *Valley of Mazara*. *Frederic*, not being able to oppose him in the field, kept at a distance with his army, and by frequent skirmishes, and intercepting of convoys, soon reduced his enemy to great distress. *Charles*, finding it impossible to execute any enterprize of importance, as he had lost almost all his horses; and considering that, if he could put an end to the war, he would be assisted in his expedition against *Constantinople*, both by *Frederic* and king *Charles*, he therefore persuaded the duke of *Calabria* to propose an accommodation, and afterwards had a personal conference with *Frederic*. A congress being agreed to, the peace was at length concluded on the 31st of *August*, on these conditions: That *Frederic* should marry *Eleonora*, the daughter of king *Charles*, and should keep possession of the kingdom of *Sicily*, under the name of *Trinacria*; that he should restore all the places he held in *Calabria* to king *Charles*, who should immediately evacuate *Sicily*; that all prisoners should be set at liberty, and those who had changed sides during the war should be reciprocally deprived of their estates in each kingdom, excepting *Roger di Loria*, who should be allowed to hold the castle of *Jacia* in *Sicily*, and *Vinciguerra*, who should still retain three castles on the coast of *Calabria*; that king *Charles* should prevail with the pope to ratify the peace, and to grant *Frederic* the investiture of *Sardinia* or *Cyprus*, who, upon obtaining possession of either of these two islands, should deliver up *Sicily* to king *Charles*, who on that account

Charles of Valois sails with a formidable army to Sicily.
A. D.
1302.

Concludes a peace with Frederic.

^u VILLANI, l. viii. c. 48. BLOND. Dec. 2. l. 9. NICOL. SPECIAL.

should pay him 100,000 ounces of gold ^{w.} *Violante*, who is said to have been instrumental in procuring this accommodation, died before the conclusion of the treaty, when her husband had become heir apparent to the kingdom of *Naples* by the death of his eldest brother *Charles Martel* king of *Hungary*. Both parties soon after sending ambassadors to the pope, desiring his ratification of the treaty, *Boniface* the following year confirmed the articles, on condition that *Frederic* should pay 15,000 florins yearly to the holy see for the island of *Sicily*, take the oath of allegiance to the pope both in temporal and spirituals, and leave to him the supreme power in all spiritual and ecclesiastical matters within his dominions

THUS ended the war in *Sicily*, which had been maintained with great spirit by the *Sicilians* for 20 years, against the most powerful enemies. The peace was allowed to be very advantageous and honourable for king *Frederic*; but *Charles* of *Valois* greatly hurt his reputation by agreeing to the treaty, and was ridiculed by the *Italians*, who remarked, that he had fomented new quarrels at *Florence*, where he went to make peace, and had concluded a dishonourable peace in *Sicily*, where he went to make war*. Upon his return to *Italy*, he was prevented from prosecuting his expedition against *Constantinople*; but was recalled to *France* by his brother, who had a difference with the pope, whom this year, in the month of *September*, he surprised at *Anagni*, and kept prisoner some days. *Boniface* was so affected with the indignity, that he died a few weeks after. On the day of his death, king *Charles* arrived at *Rome* with 1500 horse and 8000 foot to his assistance. He continued at *Rome* for some time, and protected the cardinals till the election of the following pope, *Benedict XI.* who enjoyed the pontificate only a few months, being poisoned at *Perugia* in the beginning of *July*. His successor *Clement V.* was a *Frenchman*, and transferred the papal court to *Avignon*, where it continued upwards of 70 years, to the great detriment of *Italy*.

CHARLES, upon his return to *Naples*, employed the remaining years of his reign in cultivating the arts of peace. He enlarged and embellished *Naples*, increased the privileges of the university, and invited thither the most famous professors of *Italy*, to whom he gave large salaries. He did not only adorn his capital with useful structures and magnificent

* RAIMOND. Annal. ad an. 1302. fest. 3. NICOL. SPÉCIAL. ap. MURATOR, t. x. VILLANI. * VILLANI. † GIANNONE, ut supra.

edifices, but also built several stately churches and large monasteries in different parts of his kingdom: he published several new and useful laws, and regulated the offices of his court with splendor and magnificence. While he was thus, Cha. II. by his wife administration, promoting the happiness of his kingdom, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off on the 4th of May, in the 61st year of his age, and the 25th of his reign. His body was interred with royal pomp in the Dominican church in Naples; and was soon after transported to Provence, and buried in a monastery of nuns built by himself in the city of Arles, his heart, however, being left behind with the Dominicans in Naples. His death was universally lamented, as he had gained the affections of his subjects by his clemency, courtesy, and liberality, on which account he was distinguished with the name of the second Alexander² (M). A. D. 1309.

UPON the death of Charles II. a dispute immediately arose about the succession, between his grandson Carobert, king of Hungary, and his son Robert, duke of Calabria. The affair was strongly debated in the college of cardinals; and at length, on the 1st of August, the decision was given in favour of Robert, in a public consistory. Robert had then arrived with a splendid retinue at Avignon; and, having taken the oath of fealty and homage to the pope, and received from

² VILLANI, COSTANZO.

(M) Charles married Mary the sister of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, by whom he had nine sons and five daughters. His eldest son Charles Martel died in 1301, and left the crown of Hungary to his infant son Carobert. Lewis, his second son, in consequence of a vow, became a monk. Robert, the third son, succeeded his father in the throne of Naples. Philip, the fourth son, was prince of Taranto and Arberia, and, by the pretensions of his wife, the daughter of the Despot of Greece, emperor of Constantinople. Raimond Berlingier, his fifth son, was count of Andria.. John, the sixth son,

died in holy orders, while a youth. Tristan, the seventh son, was prince of Salerno. John, his eighth son, was duke of Durazzo, on the coast of Morea; and Peter, the youngest son, was count of Gravina. His eldest daughter, Clementia, was married to the count of Valois; Blanch to James, king of Aragon; Leonora to Frederic, king of Sicily; Mary to James, king of Majorca's Beatrice, the youngest, to Anselm de Este, marquis of Ferrara; then to Beltramo di Balzo, count of Andria, and, lastly, to Robert, Dauphin of Vienna (1).

(1) Giannone, Bonfin. Hist. Hungar.

him the investiture both of *Puglia* and *Sicily*, according to the usual form, on the 8th of *September* was crowned king in *Avignon*, with great pomp and solemnity ^a. This sentence of the pope is allowed by many lawyers to be both legal and prudent. It was the desire of his father that *Robert* should be his successor; and if the claim of *Carobert* had been looked upon as valid, *Italy* would thereby have probably been involved in great disorder, as *Naples* in that case would have been governed by *Hungarian* viceroys, whose manners were very different from those of the *Italians* ¹.

A. D. ROBERT, after receiving many marks of favour from the
1310. pope, particularly the remission of an immense debt of 300,000 ounces of gold, contracted by his father and grandfather to the see of *Rome*, on account of their war against *Suily*, left *Avignon*, and returned to *Italy*, where, to shew his gratitude to the pope, he made a progress through several cities, encouraging the *Guelphs*, and declaring that he would be an enemy to all those that should offer to disturb the ecclesiastical state. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he was received with universal joy, not only every province, but all the cities and towns in the kingdom, sending their syndics to compliment him. After he had made a progress through his own dominions, he created his only son *Charles* duke of *Calabria*, and honoured many great barons with the title of count. For the first year of his reign, he employed himself in the arts of peace, at the same time favouring the *Guelphs* over all *Italy*, to the utmost of his power.

He opposes THE following year, being informed that the emperor
the emp^r Henry VII. after receiving the crown of *Italy* in *Milan*, had
for Henry, arrived at *Genoa*, he sent two ambassadors to him, to treat
in his of an alliance by marriage betwixt their two families. *Ro-*
march to bert at the same time, jealous lest the emperor should esta-
Rome. blish his authority in *Italy*, and thereby become a check upon his ambition, privately entered into an alliance with the *Florentines* and *Guelphs* to thwart and oppose him in his expedition to *Rome*. He had sent his marshal to *Florence* with 400 horse, who with great diligence fortified that city, and increased his forces with new levies. His brother *John*, prince of *Morea*, had likewise proceeded to *Rome* with a large body of troops, to raise a party in that city against him. The emperor complained of these proceedings to the *Neapolitan* ambassadors, who, finding their embassy ineffectual, left *Genoa* without taking leave. *Henry* about the same time

^a BAZZUTTI vit Pap. Aven t. i. c. 15. 34. 70. 104. • ^b See GIANNONE, & SPOND. Annal.

sent *Lewis of Savoy* to *Rome*, who, being supported by the *Colonna* family, and having been created senator that same year, counterbalanced the authority of the prince of *Morea* and the family of the *Orsini*. As the attention of *Italy* was chiefly engaged upon the motions of the emperor, *Frederic*, king of *Trinacria*, thought proper to cultivate his friendship, and, after the departure of the *Neapolitan* ambassadors, sent a splendid embassy to *Genoa*, with a massy silver table, and several other rich presents for *Henry*. It was supposed by some, that *Frederic* desired the title of king of *Sicily*; and others alleged, that he proposed an alliance with the emperor against the kings of *France* and *Puglia*; but the conferences of the ambassadors were kept secret, and, after they had continued a few days, and taken leave of the emperor, they embarked for *Sicily*^c.

HENRY, after remaining several months at *Genoa*, proceeded the following spring to *Pisa*, where he received another embassy from *Frederic*. In consequence of this embassy, the purport of which was not discovered, the emperor sent two ambassadors to *Sicily*. King *Robert* about the same time received an embassy from him, to treat of a marriage betwixt his son *Charles*, duke of *Calabria*, and his daughter. This negotiation, however, seems to have had no effect; for *Robert* refused to recall his brother from *Rome*, great part of which, by the assistance of the *Guelphs*, he had fortified against the emperor, and had even built a fortification which commanded *Ponte Molle*, or the *Milvian* bridge, without the city. *Henry*, notwithstanding this fortification, passed the bridge with inconsiderable loss, and was received into *Rome* by *Colonna* and the *Gibelline* faction with great rejoicing. As the other faction were in possession of *St. Peter's* church, and that part of the city on the north side of the *Tiber*, *Henry* again sent several embassies to king *Robert*, desiring that his forces might be ordered to evacuate *Rome*. *Robert* returned a friendly answer to the emperor, and in some measure promised to agree to his just demand; but at the same time he ordered his admiral to attack seven *Pisan* galleys which were transporting 500 bowmen to *Rome* for the emperor's service. He likewise sent a strong reinforcement of horse to the prince of *Morea*; but in their march through *Campania* they were attacked by the imperial party

A. D.
1312.

^c HISTOR. AUGUST. MUSSAT. ap. MURATOR. l. x. Iter Ital. Henr. VII. FERRETI VICENTINI ap. MURAT. l. ix. VIL-
LANI, ut supra.

near *Tipherna*, and intirely routed, 300 of them being taken prisoners, and almost as many killed ^d.

An alliance concluded betwixt the emperor and Frederic, king of Sicily.

A. D.
1313.

HENRY in the mean time, by the permission of the pope, was crowned on the first of *August*, with great solemnity, in the *Lateran* church, and immediately after received another embassy from *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, with a large sum of money. The *Sicilian* ambassadors concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt *Frederic's* son and the emperor's daughter; and as *Henry* was resolved to make war upon *Robert* and the *Tuscan Guelphs*, *Frederic* entered into a strict alliance with him, and promised to give him a yearly subsidy of 50,000 florins during the continuance of the war ^e. *Henry*, upon his return to *Pisa*, summoned king *Robert*, as a vassal of the empire, to make his appearance before him, at the same time citing also all the cities of the *Guelph* association, which had refused to acknowledge his authority ^f. Soon after, in the end of *April*, he published a manifesto, in which, after recapitulating the various hostilities committed against him by king *Robert*, he deposed him from all his dominions, and put him to the ban of the empire as a rebel.

They declare war against king Robert.

THOUGH the legality of this sentence may in some measure be questioned, as the kingdom of *Naples* was never reckoned subject to the empire, yet it appears plainly, that *Henry* had received just provocation for declaring war against king *Robert*. He therefore appointed his ally *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, admiral of the empire; and, while he was making great preparations to invade *Calabria*, he sent to *Germany* and *Lombardy* for a reinforcement of troops, and prevailed on the *Pisans*, *Genoese*, and the *Venetians*, to fit out a formidable fleet. The pope had hitherto seemed to observe a strict neutrality with regard to the differences betwixt the emperor and the king of *Naples*; but, upon receiving a copy of the sentence against *Robert*, he published a bull, prohibiting every one from attacking the kingdom of *Naples* by sea or land, under pain of excommunication. It would appear, however, from the words of a certain bishop, then by the pope's order attending on the emperor, that *Henry* had private encouragements from *Clement* to proceed in his expedition ^g. He accordingly, in the beginning of *August*, began his march from *Pisa* for *Puglia*; but dying at *Benevento*, in the neighbourhood of *Sienna*, on the 24th of the same month, all his preparations were rendered ineffectual. About the time that he left *Pisa*, *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, made a

The emperor dies.

^d FERRER. VICENT. ut supra.
^e Idem ibid.

^f Iter Ital. ut supra.

^g Idem ibid.

descent upon *Calabria*, and took *Reggio*, and several castles in its neighbourhood. From thence, by the emperor's desire, he sailed towards *Gaeta*, to join the united fleets of *Pisa* and *Genoa*; but, upon his arriving at the islands of *Lipari*, he received the melancholy news of the emperor's death. He immediately called a council, and determined to proceed to *Pisa*, where, upon his arrival, he was requested earnestly to accept of the sovereignty of the city; but, finding the *Germans* and *Gibellines* in great confusion, he rejected the offer of the *Pisans*, and returned immediately to *Sicily*, to guard against an invasion from king *Robert*, whose resentment was greatly inflamed against him on account of his alliance with the emperor.

Sicily is invaded by the king of Naples.

ACCORDING to *Ferretus*, *Frederic*, being informed of *Robert*'s great preparations, desired the citizens of *Trapani*, one of the strongest fortified cities in *Sicily*, to make a secret offer of surrendering the place to him; and having induced him, by this stratagem, to direct his armament thither, he put a strong garrison into the city which he furnished with provisions, and other necessaries, for a most vigorous defence. *Robert*, accordingly, having embarked 2000 horse, and an immense number of foot, on board of 120 galleys and about as many transport ships, set sail for *Sicily* in the month of *August*, and landed in the neighbourhood of *Trapani*. He immediately took *Castello a Mare* by storm, and invested *Trapani*, which he expected to be surrendered to him. But the citizens, who had entered into a correspondence with him, kept him in suspense for several weeks, by pretending various delays, till at length an epidemical sickness seized his troops, in consequence of a wet season, and his fleet was greatly shattered by a severe storm. His enemy in the mean time having assembled a considerable fleet and army, and intercepting his convoys, and perceiving at last that it was impossible to take the city, which had no intention of surrendering, he agreed to a truce for three years, and on the 1st of *January* returned to *Naples*.^h *Robert*, during the continuance of this truce, sent assistance to the *Florentines* against the *Pisans*; and, being obliged to visit *Provence* and *Tuscany*, he committed the care of the kingdom of *Naples* to his only son *Charles*, who about this time married the daughter of the archduke of *Austria*.

A. D. 1314.

A truce concluded betwixt him and Frederic for three years.

THE truce being expired, hostilities were immediately renewed in *Sicily*. *Frederic* besieged and made himself master

Hostilities are again renewed.

^h FERRET: VICENT. ut supra. NICOL. SPECIAL. VIL-
LANI.

A. D. 1317. of *Castello a Mare*; but the count of *Squillace* arriving with a formidable fleet and army, *Frederic* was obliged to retire to the middle of the island, while the enemy, without opposition, ravaged the whole kingdom, which is said to have suffered more in this campaign than during the long war with *Charles I.* and *II.* The whole island, it was believed, would soon have been reduced, but by the mediation of two legates from pope *John XXII.* who had been elected in the beginning of the year, a second truce was concluded for five years, or, according to some authors, for three years only. They are suspended by a second truce. Upon the conclusion of this armistice, the *Neapolitan* troops evacuated *Sicily*; and *Frederic* delivered *Reggio*, and the other places he held in *Calabria*, into the hands of the legates, who quickly restored them to king *Robert*, under pretence that he was appointed vicar or lieutenant of the holy see; though others say, that the pope was to hold them only till he had decided which of the two kings had the best right to them, and that he delivered them to *Robert* in consequence of a sentence in his favour¹.

ROBERT was prevailed upon to agree to this truce, that he might be at leisure to attend to the affairs of *Lombardy*, where the *Gibellines* in several cities were again recovering strength and authority. In *Genoa*, however, the *Guelphs* prevailed, and on the 10th of *November* expelled the *Gibellines*, particularly the families of *Doria* and *Spinola*, the two most powerful houses in *Italy* of the imperial faction². A. D. 1318. These two families, who before were at variance, now united; and having entered into an alliance with *Mattheo Visconti* of *Milan*, and all the other *Gibellines* of *Lombardy*, and by their influence and money assembled a powerful army, the following spring they returned, and besieged *Genoa*. The besieged, being quickly reduced to great distress, sent an ambassador to beg the assistance of *Robert*, who had advised and promoted the revolution. *Robert* immediately fitted out 25 gallies, and upwards of fifty transports, on board of which he embarked with 1200 horse, accompanied with two of his brothers, and many barons, and on the 21st of *July* entered *Genoa*. A few days after his arrival, the *Genoese* resigned the sovereignty of their state, on certain conditions, to the pope and him for 10 years; which he very readily accepted, in hopes of being thereby enabled to recover *Sicily*, for which purpose he had formed the design of expelling the imperial party from *Genoa*. By his vigilance and activity he recovered

Robert sails to the relief of Genoa.

¹ VALLANI. NICOL. SPICIAL. ut supra. SPOND. ANNAL. ad an. 1317. ² Idem ibid.

some places in the neighbourhood of the city from the besiegers, who, in the beginning of the following year, withdrew their troops. *Robert* soon after, in the end of *April*, set sail with 40 galleys for *Avignon*, where he had a conference with the pope.

THE *Gibelline* exiles, who had entered into alliance with the emperor of *Constantinople* and *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, hearing of the departure of *Robert*, returned a few months after to the siege, and made themselves masters of several of the suburbs. The attacks continued betwixt the two parties till the following spring, almost without any intermission, during the nights. Soon after a *Sicilian* fleet of 40 galleys, with 11 belonging to the *Gibellines*, arriving at *Genoa*, the city was reduced to great distress; but *Robert*, sending 50 galleys to the relief of the besieged, the *Sicilian* fleet sailed to *Pisa*, and from thence to the bay of *Naples*, and made a descent upon the island of *Ischia*, which they plundered. They returned a second time to *Genoa*, to avoid the *Napoleitan* fleet which followed them. and were soon after recalled by *Frederic* to *Sicily*, without having been able to effect any thing against the besieged. *Frederic*, having exhausted his treasury by the expences of this armament, laid a tax upon the ecclesiastical revenues of *Sicily*; which the pope was no sooner informed of, than he denounced a sentence of excommunication and interdict against him and his dominions¹. The king, to shew his disregard of this sentence, the year after assembled the barons of the island at *Palermo*, and in their presence caused his eldest son *Peter* to be solemnly crowned².

A. D.
1120.

A fleet
first from
Sicily to
the assistance
of the
besiegers.

Frederic
causes his
eldest son
Peter to be
crowned.

1321.

ROBERT in the mean time still continued his assistance to the *Genoese*; and about three years after, returning to their city from *Avignon* with 56 galleys and 300 horse, he received a prolongation of the sovereignty from them for six years³. After continuing a few days at *Genoa*, *Robert* proceeded to *Naples*, where he made great preparations for invading *Sicily*. *Frederic*, according to *Villani*, having information of the great armament that was preparing against him, hired some *Catalans* and *Tuscans* to assassinate *Robert* and the duke of *Calabria*, and to burn the fleet; but before they could put their design in execution, being discovered in *Naples*, they were put to the most cruel deaths. About the same time the prince of *Morea* passed over with 25 armed galleys, and other vessels, to recover some territories in *Greece*. A few months after, in the end of *May*, the duke

¹ NIC. SPEC. ² Idem ibid. ³ VILLANI, l. ix. c. 248.

A D. 1325. of *Calabria* arrived at *Palermo* with 130 galleys, besides a great number of transports, on board of which were 3000 horse, and a very numerous army of foot, being attended likewise by the greatest part of the nobles and barons of *Puglia*. Immediately after he landed, he ravaged the whole country in the neighbourhood of the city, cutting down all the plantations and vines, and setting fire to the corn, which was then beginning to ripen. All his attempts, however, against the city were ineffectual, the garrison, which was very numerous, making a most vigorous defence. That the army might not be destroyed by fruitless attacks, on the 18th of *June*, by his father's orders, he raised the siege, and, dividing his troops into several bodies, marched through the island without opposition, cutting down the trees, destroying the corn, and burning the villages. Having in this manner made a progress through the *Valley of Mazara*, and in the neighbourhood of *Syracuse* and *Catania*, he arrived in the beginning of *August* at *Messina*, and, after destroying all their vineyards, embarked in the end of the same month with his army for *Naples*.

They ravage Sicily.

1326. THE following year, *Lewis of Bavaria*, who, contrary to the pope's inclination, had been elected emperor, being invited by the *Romans* and *Gibellines* to come into *Italy*, *John* again created *Robert* vicar of the empire in *Italy*. The king accordingly sent considerable reinforcements to *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, to the assistance of the *Guelphs*. Being resolved, however, to pursue his plan of reducing the *Sicilians* by famine, in the month of *May* he sent another fleet of upwards of 90 galleys against *Sicily*, under the command of the count of *Novello*, who made several descents upon the coasts of the island, from *Palermo* round to *Syracuse*; and, having ravaged and burnt many towns and villages, returned through the *Pharo*, and in the end of *July* sailed to the assistance of the *Genoese* against *Castruccio Castracani*, tyrant or governor of *Lucca*. The duke of *Calabria*, about the same time arriving at *Sienna*, was complimented with the sovereignty of that city for five years. The year after, *Robert* again sent another fleet against *Sicily*, under the command of the count of *Coriolani*, who acted nothing of consequence, and was soon recalled. The *Genoese* about the same time arrived with 19 galleys, and made a descent in the neighbourhood of *Agosta*, in hopes of surprising the city; but they were themselves intercepted, and the admiral and a great many men

Sicily is again invaded.

1327.

being made prisoners, the rest returned disappointed to Genoa.

MEAN while the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who had been excommunicated and deposed by the pope, had arrived at *Trent*, where he held a diet with the chiefs of the *Gibelines* and the ambassadors of *Frederic* of *Sicily*. From thence he proceeded to *Milan*; and, after receiving the crown of *Italy* in the church of *St. Ambrose*, began his march to *Rome*. As his army, after his arrival in *Italy*, was considerably reinforced; *Robert* was apprehensive of his designs against *Naples*. He therefore resolved to oppose him to the utmost of his power, and, if possible, to prevent his entry into *Rome*, for which purpose he sent his brother, the prince of *Morea*, with 1000 horse, to take possession of that city. The *Romans*, however, refused to admit him, and even repulsed him with loss, when he endeavoured to force his passage. As the emperor's party appeared the most powerful in *Rome*, *Robert* recalled his son, the duke of *Calabria*, to defend the frontiers of his kingdom. *Lewis*, in the mean time, being received with great honour by the *Romans*, was solemnly crowned by the deputies of the people on the 17th of *January*. Instead, however, of immediately marching to *Naples*, he trifled away his time at *Rome* in making an antipope, and gave *Robert* an opportunity to take the necessary precautions for the defence of the kingdom. While he continued at *Rome*, *Fredéric* of *Sicily*, though he refused to acknowledge the antipope, fitted out a fleet of 50 gallies, which, being joined by 30 *Genoese* vessels, sailed under the command of king *Peter* towards the *Tiber*, to assist in the invasion of *Naples*. While they rowed by the coast of *Gaeta*, they made a descent, and ravaged its territories. They likewise landed at *Astura*, and, in resentment of the treachery of the Castellan to *Conradin*, they pillaged and burnt the castle. By delaying, however, to join the emperor, who was in great want of the money they were carrying to him, they obliged him to abandon his design against *Naples*. He therefore, about the end of *July*, returned with his army from *Campania* to *Rome*, and, leaving the city about three weeks after, marched to *Pisa*, and from thence in the following year proceeded to *Germany*. *Peter*, after having a conference with *Lewis*, set sail for *Sicily* with his fleet, which suffered greatly in a severe storm ^P.

^P SUMMONT. Hist. Neapol. VILLANI.

By the departure of the emperor towards *Tuscany*, *Robert* was freed from his apprehensions of a war in *Naples*. He therefore resolved to prosecute the war against the *Sicilians* with great vigour; but his design was unexpectedly interrupted by the death of his only son the duke of *Calabria*, which happened on the 2d of *November*, in the 31st year of his age. As the duke left no male issue, his death was a great affliction to the whole kingdom, as well as to his father, who foreseeing the calamities that the nation would be involved in, called out, "The crown is fallen from my head (N)." This accident was a fatal interruption to the prosperity of *Robert*, who, by his interest with the *Guelfs* in *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, had become very powerful.

Robert
again in-
vades
Sicily.
A. D.
1333.

ABOUT five years after he renewed his hostilities against the *Sicilians*, but with little or no advantage. As he now began to feel the infirmities of old age, and had no male issue, he was anxious to settle the succession of his kingdom. Reflecting, perhaps, that the king of *Hungary*, the son of his elder brother, had a claim to the kingdom by hereditary right, or being influenced by some other motive, he resolved to restore the crown to that branch, by contracting a marriage betwixt one of the king of *Hungary's* sons, and *Joan*, or *Jane*, the eldest daughter of the late duke of

The second
son of the
king of
Hungary
appointed
his succe-
sor.

Calabria. The king of *Hungary* joyfully accepted of the proposal, and arriving at *Naples* with his second son *Andrew*, according to the *Italians* *Andreaffo*, the ceremony of betrothing was performed on the 26th of *September*, *Andrew* being at that time only seven years of age and *Jane* five¹. *Robert* being disgusted with temporal grandeur, proposed then to resign the crown, and to spend the remaining years of his life in the habit of a *Franciscan*; but at the intreaty of his nobles he was prevailed upon still to retain the administration of the kingdom². In the end of the following year he

¹ BONFIN. & THUROZ. Hist. Hung. VILLANI, l. x. c. 224.
² SPOND. Annal.

(N) The following year, on the 28th of *June* and the 15th of *July*, there were two remarkable eruptions of mount *Ætna*, which are particularly described by *Nicholas Specialis*, whose curiosity tempted him to

approach the volcano. During the day the air was rendered as dark as at midnight, by the immense quantity of ashes and cinders, some of which were carried by the wind as far as the island of *Malta* (1).

(1) Vide *Murat. t. v. col. 1077, 1078, 1079.*

lost his great patron pope *John*, who had held the pontifical chair eighteen years. His successor *Benedict XII.* having seemed to favour the king of *Sicily* while he was cardinal, *Frederic* immediately sent three ambassadors, one of whom was *Nicholas Specialis*, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and to desire his mediation for a peace. *Benedict* received the ambassadors with great kindness and familiarity; but declaring his intentions to proceed in the steps of his predecessors, they returned disappointed to *Sicily*. *Frederic*, however, still hoping to procure the pope's favour, sent two other embassies to *Avignon*; but the pope still persisted in the answer he had given to the first ambassadors *.

A. D.
1355.

WHILE *Frederic* was thus endeavouring to gain the friendship of *Benedict*, a *Neapolitan* fleet of sixty galleys arrived at *Sicily*, under the command of the count of *Coriolano* and the count of *Claramonte*, which last, upon a disgust, had deserted from *Frederic*, and as he had many friends in the island, expected that they would join him and declare for king *Robert*. His hopes were however frustrated; and tho' the *Neapolitans* landed in several parts of the island, they were joined by none of the *Sicilians*; and not being able to make themselves masters of any fortified place, they ravaged the open country, and in the end of *August* returned to *Naples* †. The war on both sides was now carried on in a very languid manner, owing to the age and infirmities of both princes. *Frederic*, who had long been grievously afflicted with the gout, about two years after this invasion died in the neighbourhood of *Catania*, on the 24th of *June*, in the 65th year of his age, and the 42d of his reign. Upon his death, which was universally lamented by the *Sicilians*, great troubles immediately ensued. His successor *Peter*, on account of his imprudent conduct, was believed by many to be seized with madness, which encouraged the count of *Ventimiglia* to revolt. He was a relation of the count of *Claramonte*; and having received an injury from *Frederic*, immediately upon his death he declared for king *Robert*, and sent one of his sons to *Naples*. Having acted, however, with too great precipitation, before he could receive assistance from the continent all his castles were reduced, two of his sons were taken prisoners, and he himself with another son were killed ‡.

Another
invasion of
Sicily.

Frederic
dies, and
the is succed-
ed by Pe-
ter.
1337.

ROBERT, in the mean time, had solicited his sister *Eleanora* to prevail with her son *Peter* to quit his pretensions to

* NICOL. SPECIAL. † Idem ibid. VILLANI. FAZEL.
Dec. 2. l. ix. c. 3. ‡ VILLANI.

A. D.
1338.
Sicily
again in-
vaded.

Sicily, promising to assist him in the conquest of *Sardinia*. He had likewise requested *Benedict* to send an apostolic legate to *Sicily*, for the same purpose. The pope accordingly sent two legates to *Sicily*; but the *Messinians* not allowing them to land, and shooting arrows into their galleys, they threw the pope's bull on shore, and renewing the sentence of excommunication and interdict against the island, immediately departed. *Ekonora* also, in her answer to her brother, begged of him to look upon *Peter* as his own son, and to appoint him his successor in *Puglia*. *Robert* being thus disappointed renewed his armaments, and in the beginning of *May* fitted out a fleet of sixty galleys and transports, which he sent, with 1200 horse, to harass *Sicily*. After these troops had landed, he sent a second and more numerous embarkation, under the command of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, his brother's son, who joined the former troops at the siege of *Tremole*, which city, with great difficulty, he made himself master of. Though the count of *Lentini*, one of the first barons in the kingdom, revolted to them with all his castles, yet they were not able to make any other conquest; and after pillaging some of the open country, they returned in autumn to *Naples*. *Robert* at the same time was not a little disturbed, with considerable insurrections that happened in his own kingdom, where opposite factions were formed in several cities, and being headed by counts, openly commenced hostilities against each other.

The Neapolitans
take Lipari and
Melazzo.

1340.

THE year following *Robert* sent another fleet against the island of *Lipari*, under the command of the count of *Squillaci*, who defeated the *Messinian* fleet, and made himself master of the island; but upon his return he was driven by a storm into *Corfica*, where he lost four of his galleys. Arriving, however, at *Naples*, in the beginning of the following year, with the news of his victory, *Robert* judged that the possession of *Lipari* would enable him to reduce *Melazzo*, and thereby straiten *Messina*. Having therefore prepared another fleet of forty-five galleys, he sent it the year after, in the month of *June*, against *Sicily*, under the command of *Roger* of *Sanseverino*. The troops having landed at *Melazzo*, immediately threw up an intrenchment across the peninsula, to prevent any succours from entering the city. *Peter*, however, made an attempt to relieve the place; but the besiegers receiving continual reinforcements from *Calabria*, repulsed him with great loss. The city at length sur-

* ENZEL. ut supra.
LANI.

* GIANNONE, ut supra.

* VIL-

rendered upon a capitulation, on the 15th of *September*, to the great joy of *Robert*, who had spent upwards of 50,000 ounces of gold upon the siege^a. *Peter* survived the loss of this place not quite twelve months, but died in the beginning of the following *August*, in the 6th year of his reign, leaving the kingdom to his son *Lewis*, then only five years of age, and appointing the duke of *Randatum*, his uncle, regent during his minority. Peter of Sicily dies. A. D. 1342.

UPON the death of *Peter*, the *Sicilians*, who, with surprising courage and constancy, had maintained almost a continual war for fifty years against the family of *Anjou*, were upon the point of submitting to their old masters. *Robert* held a correspondence with several barons, who were now as much discontented with the government of the *Catalans*, as their predecessors had been with that of the *French*. The chief of these were the family of the *Palizzi*, and the counts of *Antisch*, *Lentino*, and *Pentimiglia*, some of whose ancestors had been concerned in the conspiracy against king *Charles I.* The *Palizzi* by surprize made themselves masters of *Messina*, and immediately sent for assistance from *Robert*, to whom they swore allegiance: but the king from dissimulation, or rather from avarice, delaying to send them succours, lost that opportunity of recovering the island; for the regent in his turn surprized the rebels in *Messina*, and expelled them from the city^c. Others attribute the delay of succours to the king's sickness, who, before the arrival of the messengers from *Messina*, had taken extreme unction, and died on the 19th of *January*^b, in the 64th year of his age, and the 34th of his reign. *Robert*, according to *Villani*, was reckoned the wisest and most learned prince that had reigned in Christendom for 500 years. He was a great philosopher, and deeply skilled in divinity, which a little before his time first began to be formed into a system. He was courageous, just, liberal, eloquent, and modest. Towards the end of his life he was inclined to avarice. He, however, in his old age did not remit his studies, but published a treatise on the moral virtues in *Tuscan* rhimes, often regretting, as *Petrarch* relates, that he had no sooner applied himself to the study of poetry^c (O).

Great part of the island declares for Robert,

who dies before he could succour his friends. 1343.

ROBERT,

^a VILLANI.

^b Idem.

^c GIANNONE, ut supra.

^c VILLANI. BOCCACC. in Geneal. Deor. l. xiv. c. 9—22, & l. xv. c. 13. PETRARCH. rer. Memor. l. i. c. 1—2. l. ii. & l. iii. c. 3, &c.

(O) The same author like- hearing that the king of France
wise mentions, that *Robert* once was offended with his eldest son,

*Queen**Jean suc-
ceeds to
the throne
of Naples.*

ROBERT, before his death, had appointed his grand-daughter *Jean* as his successor in the throne; and as she and her husband *Andrew* were both minors, he nominated some of the chief nobles as administrators of the government, with the approbation of the pope. *Jean* accordingly, after his death, was immediately crowned and proclaimed queen, *Andrew* still retaining only the title of duke of *Calabria*. A few days, however, produced an amazing alteration in the state of public affairs; for the *Hungarians*, particularly friar *Robert*, the preceptor of *Andrew*, directly assumed the whole of the administration, which presumption and insolence disgusting the princes of the blood, they retired from the court. As *Andrew* discovered no princely and noble qualities, but wasted his time in indolence and sloth, the *Neapolitan* gentlemen, instead of prosecuting the war against *Sicily*, went and joined *Robert*, prince of *Taranto*, in an expedition to *Greece*, who, by their assistance, conquered as far as *Thessalonica*. *Robert*, in the mean while, to establish his own authority, sent to *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, pressing him to come to *Naples* to marry *Mary*, the other grand-daughter of king *Robert*, and, according to *Giannone*, to take the possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, as heir to his great grandfather *Charles II.* To prevent this alliance, the duke of *Durazzo*, nephew of the late king, obtained a dispensation from the pope, and in the month of *April* married the princess *Mary* ^d.

ABOUT the same time *Elizabeth*, the queen dowager of *Hungary*, arrived in *Puglia*, to visit her son and her daughter-in-law. As she was eminently pious and devout, after she had continued some time with her son, she went and visited the sacred places at *Rome*, where she made several rich oblations. Upon her return to *Naples*, she was greatly displeased with the immodest and inconsiderate behaviour of her daughter-in-law, who was noted for her indecent levity, intolerable arrogance, and abandoned lewdness. Having re-proved her several times for her licentious manners she left *Naples*, and after visiting *St. Nicholas* of *Bari*,^d the following

^d VILLANI.

for applying himself to learning, exclaimed with a generous disdain and detestation, "How different are the inclinations of mankind. For my part, I swear that learning is much

more dear to me than my kingdom; and if I were to forfeit either of them, I would be much more content to lose my crown than part with my studies."

year

year she returned to *Hungary* *. *Clement VI.* in the mean time had appointed his legate in *Italy*, cardinal *Americus*, as guardian of the kingdom †; but, upon various pretences, he delayed satisfying the *Neapolitan* ambassadors, who pressed him to grant a bull for the coronation of *Andrew* in his own right. *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, according to *Bonfinius*, at last understanding the distemper of the priests, made the pope a present of 44,000 merks; in consequence of which ^{The pope grants the} bribe, the bull, which the ambassadors had been soliciting for two years, was expedited in favour of *Andrew*, and the ^{bull for} bishop of *Chartres* sent to *Naples*, to perform the ceremony ^{the coronation of} of his coronation ‡.

THE princes of the blood had used their utmost endeavours to prevent the granting of the bull; but their hopes being disappointed, they now formed a conspiracy to murder *Andrew*, with the consent even of the queen, who was openly accused of adultery with her cousin *Lewis*, prince of *Tarento*, and several other persons about her court †. She is said, by many authors, to have conceived a disgust for her husband, on account of his barbarous *Hungarian* manners, his insolence, and debility, which last was owing to his excesses after the consummation of the marriage †. Other authors, however, particularly *Boccaccio* and *Petrarch*, who were both alive, and remarkable for their freedom of censure, do not accuse *Jean* as being concerned in the murder, but relate, that the princes and nobles conspired against him, from an apprehension of being punished for their crimes, if he should ever assume the administration of the government *. ^{who is} *Andrew* having gone with his queen to *Aversa*, on the 18th of *September*, about midnight, was called out of his bed-chamber by one of the conspirators, under the pretence of some important news from *Naples*. He had no sooner entered the hall adjoining, than they threw a rope about his neck and strangled him, by hanging him over a balcony into the garden, at the same time torturing him after the most cruel manner, as appears by informations taken concerning the ^{basely} ^{murdered} ^{at Aversa.}

* BONFIN. rer. Hungar. Dec. 2. l. x. † BALUZ. Notæ ad Vit. Pap. Aven. t. i. ‡ SPOND. Annal. † VILLANI.
† BRANTOME Dames Gal. p. 347. SPOND. Annal. BAYLE Dict. Hist. & Crit. Art *Naples*, Rem. B. MONTAIGNE Essais, p. 178. BONFIN. ut supra. * PETRAR. Epist. Famil. BOCACC. de Casibus viror. illust. Prima vita *Clement VI.* ap. BALUZ.

murderers, by the order of *Clement* (P). The conspirators being discovered by a *Hungarian* maid, left the corpse in the garden and fled. *Jean*, according to *Villani*, appeared but slightly concerned at the murder, and next morning returned to *Naples*, from whence she wrote to the pope and *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, giving them an account of the fact, and assuring them of her innocence. As the city of *Naples*, and the whole nation, discovered the utmost abhorrence and detestation of the murder, the count or *Novello* was appointed, with the consent of the whole nobles, to make a strict enquiry after the murderers, with full power to punish the guilty as he thought proper. The count executed his commission with great zeal, and condemned and put to death several murderers. The queen in the mean time, in the month of *December*, was delivered of a son, who was named *Carobert*, after his grandfather, and soon after created duke of *Calabria* ¹.

The murderers excommunicated by the pope. THE pope, upon hearing of the murder, expressed great resentment and grief. He blamed himself in the public confitoy, for having delayed the bull for the king's coronation; and on the 1st of *February*, he excommunicated and deprived of all benefices, both spiritual and temporal, all those who had aided and assisted in the murder, or who had been in the least privy to it, confirming the commission of the count of *Novello* to judge and punish the murderers ^m. The kingdom was now in the utmost confusion, being divided into two parties, one of which still adhered to the queen, who was in possession of the castle of *Naples*, and the treasure of the late king. The duke of *Durazzo*, the greatest part of the barons, and the city of *Naples*, composed the other party; and both factions levied troops against each other, and equally dreaded the arrival of the king of *Hungary*, who was preparing an army to revenge his brother's death. Besides, the roads were filled with banditti, who, in defiance of the government, robbed and plundered the inhabitants, and many of the murderers had retired to their castles, and openly stood upon their defence ⁿ.

A. D.
1346.

¹ VILLANI. ^m Idem. RAINALD. ad an. 1346. sect. 47. ⁿ VILLANI, ut supra. GIANNONE.

(P) Alii vero receperunt eum disse, retulerunt mihi quod transper genitalia, et adeo traxerunt, cenderunt genua (1). quod mulier qui dicebant se vi-

(1) *Bulaz. Nat. ad Vit. Pap. Avin. p. 860. Byle ut supra, Rem. P.*

LEWIS of Hungary not only resolved to punish the murderers of his brother, but likewise intended to take possession of Naples, in right of his grandfather Charles Martel. He therefore entered into an alliance with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, his son the marquis of Brandenburg, the duke of Austria, and many other German nobles, and sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring the investiture of Sicily from his holiness. As he had concluded an alliance with the emperor, who had been deposed several years before by the popes, Clement refused to grant an audience to his ambassadors. Lewis, nevertheless, did not abandon his enterprize, but sent ambassadors to Sicily to treat with the regent of the island, who having then recovered Melazzo, immediately sent thirty galleys into the Adriatic to his assistance, and proposed an alliance betwixt his nephew the young king, and the king of Hungary's sister, and to assist him with forty armed galleys upon his arrival in Puglia.

LEWIS in the mean time, having sent emissaries into Puglia with large sums of money, prevailed on the city of Aquila to declare for him; and his friends in that part of the kingdom raising about 1000 horse, made incursions in the neighbourhood, and besieged Sulmo, the cities of Tieti, Penna, Popoli, Lanciano, and Guardia, and several castles having likewise revolted from Jean. Upon the news of this revolt, the duke of Durazzo, in the beginning of August, marched to the relief of Sulmo, with 2500 horse and a large body of foot; and having raised the siege invested the city of Aquila, whither the rebels had retired: but considerable reinforcements arriving from Hungary, the loyal barons, after they had completed their service of three months, raised the siege and returned home.

QUEEN Jean, in the mean time, under pretence of securing the kingdom against the Hungarian invasion, on the 20th of August married Lewis, the second son of the prince of Tarento, without waiting for the pope's dispensation. By this match, however, she did not augment the number of her friends, but rather increased the discontent among her subjects; for as her husband was her full cousin, the marriage was looked upon with abhorrence as incestuous, and she was besides accused of having had a criminal intimacy with him, during the life of Andrew P. The Hungarians, on these accounts, met with but a faint and spiritless opposition; and in the month of November, having reduced all

* VILLANI. P Idem. BRANTOME, ut supra. MEZERAI Abrege Chron. t. iii. p. 159.

Abruzzo, passed over the mountains into *Terra di Lavoro*, and took *Sarno*, *Venafri*, *Tiano*, and *St. Germano*. The queen, in the mean time, wrote to the *Florentines* for assistance; and the prince of *Tarento*, now duke of *Calabria*, assembled a considerable army at *Capua*, which, if it had continued long united, would have been able to have frustrated the attempts of the *Hungarians*; but the zeal of the barons appeared very languid, and many of them had a private correspondence with the king of *Hungary*.

The king
of Hun-
gary ar-
rives in
Italy.

A. D.
1348.

LEWIS, encouraged by the success of his troops in *Abruzzo*, left *Hungary* with a small army, and in the end of *November* arrived in *Italy*, being received with great respect in the cities through which he passed, particularly in *Bologna*, which gratuitously furnished him and his army with provisions. About *Christmas* he was met on the confines of the kingdom by the pope's legate, who counselled him, as from himself, not to take possession of *Puglia* without the consent of the pope, which advice the king treated with great contempt. Being joined by a great many barons of the kingdom, who took the oath of allegiance to him, he advanced on the 11th of *February* to *Benevento*, where he was joined by many other barons, and received an embassy from the city of *Naples*. Queen *Jean* was greatly alarmed with this successful march of the king of *Hungary*; and seeing the whole country voluntarily submitting to him, she privately embarked on the 15th of *February*, with a few attendants, on board three galleys, and sailed to *Provence*. Her husband *Lewis* hearing of her departure, immediately returned from *Capua* to *Naples*, and embarking with a few friends on board a private galley, followed the queen to *Provence*.

Jean fly-
ing to Pro-
vence.

THE king of *Hungary*, in the mean time, arrived at *Aversa*, where he was met by 1000 *Neapolitan* gentlemen. Several princes of the blood likewise visited him in that city, and took with them his nephew *Carobert*, then about two years of age. *Lewis* received them in a courteous manner; but a few days after he ordered the duke of *Drizzo* to be put to death, and thrown over the balcony, from whence his brother had been hanged. The other princes were also immediately apprehended, and sent afterwards prisoners to

Naples
conquered
by the king
of Hun-
gary.

Hungary. *Lewis* having entered *Naples* with a black standard, on which his brother was represented as strangled, struck a great terror into the inhabitants, who expected to be plundered by his army. Having taken up his residence in *Castel Nuovo*, he ordered the magistrates of the city to be changed, and the new officers who succeeded them to act

by

by the direction of the bishop of *Waradin*. He caused the same regulation to take place in other cities; and *Naples* being then afflicted with a most terrible plague, he left that city, and appointing *Conrad Wolf*, a *German* baron, his lieutenant, with the general command of his troops, he embarked on the 24th of *May* on board a light galley at *Barletta*, and landed at *Sclavonia*, from whence he proceeded to *Hungary* ⁹.

QUEEN *Jean*, in the mean while, was put under confinement by the barons of *Provence*, upon a report that she intended to exchange that county for another in *France*, the *French* king's eldest son being supposed to have come to *Avignon* to transact the affair with the pope. As the *Provençals* detested the *French* government, they threatened to revolt with the dauphin of *Vienne*; but the pope sending back prince *John* to *France*, they again set the queen at liberty. Her husband, in the mean time, hearing of her confinement, was afraid to land at *Nice*, but proceeded to the *Rhone*, and landed at *Avignon*. A few weeks after *Jean* entered the city, where she was received with the greatest respect by the cardinals and the pope, who immediately granted her a dispensation for her marriage with her cousin, for which he was universally blamed. Soon after her cause was tried in a public consistory, in the presence of the *Hungarian* ambassadors, when she defended herself with so much eloquence, that the pope, by an authentic act, declared not only that she was innocent, but that she could not even be suspected of having any knowledge of the murder ^{Queen}. This sentence was supposed by many to be precipitate, and to be owing to the earnest desire the pope had to purchase *Avignon*, which the queen then sold to him, with all its territory, for 80,000 florins ^{declared innocent by the pope.}. Several authors allege, that the sale was only pretended, and the queen made a present of the city to the church, to procure the favour of the pope; but others assert, that she employed the money in fitting out ten galleys, in order to return to *Naples*, whither she was invited by many of her barons, who, after the departure of the king of *Hungary*, abandoned his interest ¹. The pope having honoured her husband with the title of king of *Sicily*, he and she embarked at *Marseilles*, and in the end of *August* returned to *Naples*, where they were received with the most extravagant joy ².

⁹ VILEANI.

¹ MAIMBOURG Hist. du grand Schisme

d'Occident. l. ii. p. 150, 152.

² Vid. BAYLE, ut supra.

³ SPOND. ANNAL. GIANNONE.

⁴ MATTEO VILLANI. ap.

MURATOR. t. xiv. col. 25 & 46.

*A civil
dissension
in Sicily.*

THE regent of *Sicily*, in the mean while, being carried off by a plague, which was then ravaging the southern parts of *Europe*, the whole island was divided into two parties, the chiefs of which each claimed the guardianship of the king and kingdom. At the head of one party were the *Palizzi*, with the counts of *Claramonte* and *Ventimiglia*, and they were supported by the cities of *Messina*, *Syracuse*, *Melazzo*, *Cefalu*, *Palermo*, *Drapani*, *Mazzara*, *Sciacca*, *Gergenti*, *Taormina*, and many others. The cities of *Catania*, *Giati*, *La Licata*, *Cose*, *La Catona*, and *Capo Orlando*, with many other towns and castles, declared for the opposite party, which was headed by *Blasco d'Alagona*, and supported by the *Catalans*. The two parties immediately commenced hostilities against each other with the most bitter animosity. They plundered and burnt each others territories without intermission; and the peasants, distrusting either party, neglected to cultivate their farms, and retired to the mountains; so that the country quickly became desolate, and the following year great numbers of people, to avoid perishing by famine, abandoned the island, and took refuge in *Calabria* and *Sardinia* ^w.

*Hostilities
betwixt
the Hun-
garians
and loyal-
ists.*

DURING these dissensions in *Sicily*, the king of *Naples* had prevailed on *Werner*, a *German* duke, to declare for him. This *Werner* had assisted the king of *Hungary* with 3000 horse, but was discharged by him, on account of some irregularities. Instead however of returning to *Germany*, he entered with his troops into *Campania*, and supported himself by raising contributions. He willingly hearkened to the proposals of the king of *Naples*, who condescended so far as to receive the honour of knighthood from him, which was at the same time likewise conferred on eighty other gentlemen. The king also bestowed titles and honours on many barons of the kingdom, two of whom were created dukes, which title had hitherto been solely appropriated to princes of the royal family ^x. Having recovered three of the castles of *Naples*, he immediately marched against those towns and barons that held for the *Hungarians*; but met with much more opposition than he expected from *Conrad Wolf*, who had been left lieutenant by *Lewis* of *Hungary*.

A. D.
1349.

WHILE each party was endeavouring to harass and distress the other, many cities and provinces suffered all the calamities of war. The king's affairs, however, seeming to decline, *Werner* allowed himself to be surprised in *Corneto*,

^w SURIT. Indic. l. iii. FAZEL. Dec. 2. l. ix. c. 5.
LANI, ut supra. GIANNONE.

^x VIL-

and again entered into the service of the *Hungarians*. Soon after the loyalists suffered a considerable defeat, while *Conrad Wolf* approached with his troops to *Naples*, and raised a contribution from the *Neapolitans* of 20,000 florins. As the pope had appointed a general jubilee to be celebrated the following year in *Rome*, his legate prevailed on both parties to agree to a truce, which was concluded in the month of *January*, when the *Hungarians* received 120,000 florins of gold upon delivering *Capua*, *Aversa*, and all other places they held in *Terra di Lavoro* and *Principato*, into the hands of the legate ¹. The *Germans* then left the kingdom, and retained some of them to *Lombardy* and others to *Germany*, having enriched themselves with the plunder of the churches, and taken along with them several married and unmarried women.

A. D.
1350.

Lewis of *Hungary*, a few months after, passing the *Adriatic* with a considerable reinforcement, hostilities were again renewed; and about the end of *September*, almost all *Terra di Lavoro* was reduced by the *Hungarians*. However, they having suffered greatly at the siege of *Aversa*, which had continued four months, *Lewis* was prevailed upon to agree to a cessation of arms till *April*, on the following conditions, namely, that the cause of queen *Jean* should be again tried by the apostolic see with greater accuracy; that if she should be found guilty of the murder of her husband, she should lose all right to the kingdom of *Naples*, which should be conferred on the king of *Hungary*; but if she should be declared innocent, the king of *Hungary* should evacuate all the places he held in *Naples*, on condition of receiving 300,000 florins of gold ². *Lewis*, upon the conclusion of this treaty, went to the jubilee at *Rome*, and from thence returned to *Hungary*. Mean while his ambassadors, with those of queen *Jean*, had repaired to the pope's court at *Avignon*, to be present at the trial. The cardinals seemed unwilling to enter upon a re-examination, as it would be very difficult to prove the innocence of the queen; but as her character suffered greatly by the suspicion of the crime, they at last accepted of her excuse, namely, that she was under the power of witchcraft or fascination, which hindered her from loving her husband as she ought, from whence others were encouraged to conspire against him. The truth of this allegation being proved by several witnesses, she was declared innocent of all actions subsequent to that fascination ³. The king of *Hun-*

The king
of Hun-
gary re-
turns to
Naples.

Jean de-
clared in-
nocent.
1351.

¹ VILLANI, l. i. c. 48 & 49.
xiv. col. 89.

² Idem ap. MURATOR. t.
SUMMONTE, l. xxxiii.

³ Idem l. ii. c. 24.

She concludes a peace with the king of Hungary.

A. D.
1352.

gary, after some difficulty, declaring himself satisfied with this determination, generously refused to accept of the 300,000 florins for the expences of the war, according to the stipulation, and set at liberty the five princes of the blood, whom he had detained prisoners in the castle of *Wissegrad*. The young prince *Garobert* had died soon after his arrival in *Hungary*.

UPON the conclusion of this peace, which was signed in the beginning of the following year, the disbanded troops assembled, to the number of 400 horse and 500 foot, and ravaged all the province of *Terra di Lavoro*; but the king marching against them at the head of 1000 cavaliers, attacked them in the month of *April*, and quickly dispersed them. A few weeks after, on the feast of *Whitsuntide*, *Lewis* and his queen, by the permission of the pope, were solemnly consecrated and crowned in the city of *Naples* ^b. *Conrad Wolf*, however, still refused to deliver up *Nocera*; but having assembled 700 horse, fortified the city, and raised the imperial standard, as though he had a correspondence with *Charles IV.* who was then expected in *Italy*. *Lewis* being afraid of new troubles, descended to treat with him, and by paying him 30,000 florins, prevailed on him to deliver the city, and depart the kingdom. Soon after the king, by means of his vicar *Malatesta*, surprised *Aversa*, and obliged friar *Moriale* to deliver up the castle and all his treasure.

Sicily still ravaged by two opposite factions.

1353.

DURING these transactions, the two factions in *Sicily* still continued their hostilities against each other; but *Matthew Palizzi* having got possession of the palace, kept the young king as his prisoner, and assumed the administration. He exercised his office with so much rapacity, that he even alienated many of his own friends, and drew upon himself the hatred of the *Messinians*, who the following year, in the month of *August*, assassinated him, with his wife and children, in the palace. The inhabitants of *Sciacca* likewise murdered the officers sent by *Palizzi* to raise the oppressive subsidies, on which account many of that party fled to *Catania*, and joined themselves to the *Catalans*; and the young king likewise, finding their party superior, went and put himself under their protection. The miserable inhabitants, in the mean time, were so distressed by famine, that this year

^b V. HANI, SUMMONT. ut supra. THUROZ. Chron. Hung. l. iii. BONFIN. Dec. 2. l. 10.

upwards of 10,000 families abandoned the island ^c. The ~~The~~ Italian chief of the *Italian* party was now the count of *Claramonte*, an party who had been instrumental in raising the tumult of the *Messinians* against *Palizzi*. To support his party, and protect ^{the king} himself from the resentment of the young king and the *Catalans*, he entered into a correspondence with the king of *Naples*, and offered to deliver to him all that part of the island under his obedience. The *Sicilians*, who were starving, assented to this proposal. *Lewis* accordingly, in the month of *April*, embarked 100 horse and 400 foot on board six galleys, and sent them, with about thirty-five other vessels loaded with provisions, to *Sicily*. The *Neapolitan* troops were immediately put in possession of *Melazzo* and *Palermo*, and all the other cities, towns, and castles, of the *Italian* faction, to the number of 112, declared for the king of *Naples*, who, however, was so destitute both of men and money, as not to be able to send a second embarkation to the island. But so weak was the opposite party of the *Catalans*, that for a considerable time no hostilities were committed on either side. The city of *Messina* refused to acknowledge the king of *Naples*; and a few months after the *Messinian* galleys took seventeen *Neapolitan* vessels, that were sailing with provisions for *Palermo*.

A. D.
1354

THE kingdom of *Naples*, in the mean time, was disturbed by the rebellion of the duke of *Durazzo* and the count *Palatine*, who believing themselves slighted by the king had recourse to arms; and in the beginning of the following year, an army of freebooters, consisting of 6000 men, which had been at first raised by the friar *Morale*, but was now commanded by the count *di Lando*, entered the kingdom by *Abruzzo*, and took possession of *Pescara*, *Villa Franca*, and *San Fabiano*. They alleged, as the reason of this invasion, that the king had refused to pay them 40,000 florins which he had promised, and advancing towards *Foggia*, they encamped in that neighbourhood, and ravaged the country for many miles round, while the king, instead of opposing them, spent his time in dancing with the ladies of his court ^d.

1355.

WHILE the grand company of *Lando* was thus ravaging *Naples*, *Lewis* of *Sicily* assembled some troops at *Catania*, and reduced several towns of the *Italian* party. Encouraged by this success, he armed six galleys, and made an attempt upon *Palermo* both by sea and land: but finding it impossible to recover the city, he plundered the villages in

^c VILLANI, l. iii. c. 97.

^d Idem, l. iv. & v.

Lewis of
Sicily is
succeeded
by his brother
Frederic.

A. D.
1356.

its neighbourhood, and returned to *Catania*, where he died soon after, in the month of *November*, in the seventeenth year of his age. As his brother *John* died about the same time, his younger brother *Frederic*, then only about thirteen years of age, was declared his successor, his sister *Euphemia* being appointed regent ^e. About two months before the death of the king of *Sicily*, *Lewis* entered into a treaty with the *grand Company*, and promised them 105,000 florins of gold, 35,000 to be paid immediately, and the other 70,000 at two payments, on condition they would leave the kingdom. Upon receiving the 35,000, they retired from *Naples* to *Puglia*; but the king not paying the remaining sum so soon as they expected, in the month of *February* they took possession of the city of *Venosa*, and plundered the inhabitants. The citizens of *Naples* in the mean time thinking themselves oppressed by the taxes which were laid upon them to pay the *grand Company*, universally had recourse to arms. *Lewis* with great difficulty quelled the tumult, by taking off the tax upon salt, and a few months after he prevailed with the *grand Company* to quit his dominions.

The king of
Naples is
received
into Messina.

A. D.
1357.

ABOUT the same time *Nicolas di Cesaro*, one of the exiles from *Messina*, being allowed to return to the city privately, introduced 200 horse and 400 foot from *Melazzo*, by whose assistance he expelled those families that favoured the *Catalans*, and usurped the government of the city. *Nicolas*, however, invited the young *Frederic* to come to *Messina*, where the ceremony of his coronation might be performed; but his negotiation with him not taking effect, he entered into a treaty with the king of *Naples*, who immediately proceeded with his queen to *Calabria*, and continued in *Reggio* till the agreement should be concluded. *Nicolas* having at length made himself master of the castles of *San Salvatore*, which commanded the harbour, and *Mattagrifone*, which overlooked the city, introduced the *Neapolitan* galleys, with 50 horse and 300 foot. A few weeks after, on the twenty-fourth of *December*, the king and queen arrived at *Messina*, where they were welcomed with the greatest demonstrations of joy, lodged in the royal palace, and next day received the homage and allegiance of the citizens ^f.

WHILE *Lewis* continued in *Messina* *Simon* count of *Claramonte* came to wait upon him, and was received by him with great respect, on account of the important services he had performed. *Simon*, as a reward of his services, demanded

^e Idem, l. v. c. 87. FAZEL. Dec. 2, l. ix.
pra, SURIT. l. iii. MARIAN. l. xvii.

^f Idem ut supra.

Blanch the sister of *Frédéric*, who was then a prisoner, as a wife : but lest such a match might give him a pretence for claiming *Sicily*, *Lewis* declined satisfying him, and soon after proposed to give him the daughter of the duke of *Durazzo*. *Simon* in the mean time died, about the middle of *March*, after six days illness ; and his death being supposed to be owing to poison, his relations left *Messina* in great discontent &c.

LEWIS endeavoured to procure the affections of the *Sicilians* by promising to continue with his court six years in the island, on condition they would assist him in reducing *Catania*. The barons accordingly assembled 1500 horse, and a large body of foot ; and in the month of *May* invested *Catania*, while four armed galleys and two other vessels blocked up the harbour. Two *Catalan* galleys in the mean time arriving at *Siragossa*, fitted out two vessels they found in that port, chiefly with drummers and trumpeters, and surprized those before *Catania*, two of which they made themselves masters of, which struck the besiegers with such a panic, that next morning they raised the siege, and abandoned their camp. They were attacked on their march by the garrison of the city, who killed many of them, and took a great number of prisoners. The kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time being harassed, not only with large bodies of robbers and banditti, but also with the troops of the duke of *Durazzo*, the count *Palatine*, and the prince of *Tarento*, the king's elder brother, who openly contemned his authority, and ravaged the richest provinces of the kingdom, to maintain their followers. *Lewis* left 300 horse in *Messina*, and in the month of *September* returned to *Naples*. Soon after his return, the prince of *Tarento* surprized the count *Palatine*, and ordered him to be hanged. Many of the count's followers upon his death dispersed, which obliged the duke of *Durazzo* to desire a reconciliation with the king. This was effected the following *April*, when all foreign soldiers were ordered to quit the kingdom.

A FEW months after the *Catalans* in *Sicily* attacked and recovered some places held by the *Neapolitans*. The *Messinians* were likewise tempted to revolt by one of the family of the *Claramonte* ; but *Lewis* kept them in obedience by promising to return quickly to *Sicily*. He was, however, prevented from going to their assistance, by the troubles and confusions in the kingdoms of *Naples*, while they continued to be harassed by the *Catalan* faction, which received some

*Besieges
Catania
without
success.*

*Is obliged
to return
to Naples.*

A. D.
1359.

Frederic
marries
the daughter
of the
king of
Arragon.
A. D.
1360.

Lewis dies.
1372.

reinforcements from *Arragon*. The counsellors of *Frederic*, in hopes of procuring him a powerful auxiliary, concluded an alliance betwixt him and a daughter of the king of *Arragon*; who accordingly arrived at *Catania* in the end of the following year, with fourteen gallies: but after the celebration of the nuptials, instead of assisting his son-in-law, he returned with his fleet to *Spain*. *Frederic*, however, recovered several places from the *Neapolitans*, who were obliged soon after to evacuate almost the whole island, as they could get no assistance from *Lewis*, who was wholly engaged in pursuing his pleasures. *Lewis* at last finding his constitution broke, turned very penitent, and made devout pilgrimages to the relics of the apostles at *Melphis*, *Benevento*, and *Salerno*, and upon his return to *Naples* died on the twenty-sixth of May, in the forty-second year of his age, and the tenth year of his reign^b. The pope, upon being informed of the death of *Lewis*, immediately sent *William Grimoaldi* as his legate to *Naples*, with a subsidy to the queen. The legate, however, was immediately recalled, having been elected pope upon the death of *Innocent*; when he took the name of *Urban V*.

Jean mar-
ries James
of Major-
ca.
1363.

THE new pope, soon after his election, proposed the duke of *Tours*, the *French* king's son, as a third husband for queen *Jean*: but, by the advice of her nobles, she preferred *James* the infant of *Majorca*, who had then escaped from the castle of *Barcelona*, where he had for many years been kept in close confinement. *James*, who had long suffered the miseries of a prison, willingly accepted the offer of a crown; and arriving at *Naples*, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, when the queen conferred upon him the title of duke of *Calabria*. This marriage, however, proved unfortunate to the kingdom of *Naples*; for *James* about three months after went to *Spain* to assist his brother against the king of *Arragon*, in which war he was taken prisoner, but was afterwards ransomed by the queen for 60,000 florins. He died about eleven years after, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the queen, who was accused of having hastened the death of her former husband *Lewis*¹. About the same time *Jean* concluded a peace with *Frederic* of *Sicily*, on these conditions, namely, That he should take the title of king of *Trinacria*, and, as his queen was dead, he should marry *Antonia del Balzo*, the duke of *Andria*'s

A peace
concluded
betwixt
Jean and

^b Idem.

¹ SPOND. Annal. an. 1363. BRANTOME *Dames*, illust. p. 348. ANNAL. BONINCONTII, apud MURATORI. t. xxi. col. 12.

daughter, by the sister of king *Lewis*; that he should hold *Frederic* his kingdom of the queen of *Naples*, and pay to her a yearly of *Sicily*. acknowledgement of 3000 ounces of gold, promising likewise *A. D.* to assist her, when attacked, with 100 ipearmen, and ten *1364.* armed gallies. On the other hand, the *Neapolitans* were to evacuate all the cities, towns, and castles, they held in *Sicily* ^k. These conditions, however, were never entirely fulfilled, the kings of *Sicily* having never taken the title of kings of *Trinacria*, nor ever paid the 3000 ounces of gold according to the stipulation (*Q*).

JEAN a few weeks after went to visit pope *Urban*, who *Jean visits* had at length returned with his court to *Rome*. She *the pope at* was received with great respect by the cardinals, who came *Rome.* out of the city to meet her, and the pope waited for her at *1368.* the steps of *St. Peter's*, and the following *Sunday* presented her with a blessed rose. On the feast of *Easter* he likewise made her a present of a gilded sword, and a hat adorned with pearls ^l. Soon after her return to *Naples*, *Margaret*, the daughter of her late sister *Mary*, married *Charles of Durazzo*, which alliance was very disagreeable to the queen, who dreaded the ambition of *Charles* ^m. About the same time the tranquillity of her kingdom was disturbed by *Ambrosio Viconti*, a bastard son of the lord of *Milan*, who invaded *Abruzzo* with 2000, or, according to others, 12,000 horse ⁿ, and a large body of infantry. He seized some castles in *Abruzzo*, and advancing into *Puglia*, ravaged the whole province for some time, without opposition: but being surprized by *Malatacca*, whom the queen sent against him, his troops were defeated, and he himself taken prisoner ^o.

Nor long after, the kingdom was again embroiled by a dispute betwixt the duke of *Andria* and the family of *Sanseverino*, about the property of the city of *Matera*. The *The duke of Andria revolts.*

^k GIANNONE. SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1365. ^l Bzov. an. 1368. sect. 4. BALUZ. in vit. pap. Aven. ^m Giornali Napolitani apud MURATOR. t. 21. fol. 1035. ⁿ Annal. BONINCONTI ut supra. ^o Idem ibid. Giornal. ut supra.

(*Q*) Not long after, the prince of *Taranto*, with his third brother *Philip*, and *Lewis* of *Durazzo*, and his brother *Robert*, all died; so that of the numerous progeny of king *Charles II.* there remained no other male issue but *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, and *Charles* of *Durazzo*, the son of the above-mentioned *Lewis* of *Durazzo*; who went with some *Neapolitan* gentlemen to the assistance of the king of *Hungary* against the *Venetians* (1).

A. D.
1371.

*He flies to
Avignon.*
1374.

difference was referred to the arbitration of the queen, who decided in favour of the count of *Sanseverino*. The duke, however, thinking himself injured, had recourse to arms, and being joined by one *Mazziotto*, who from a common soldier had made himself a captain of banditti, he quickly became very formidable, and over-run *Puglia*, *Capitanata*, *Contade de Molise*, and the vale of *Benevento*. The queen the year following having summoned him to appear, upon his refusal declared him a rebel; and the year after sent an army of 12,000 horse and foot against him, under the command of *Malatacca*, who on the twenty-third of *September* made himself master of *Teano*, after a long siege. The duke some time before had escaped from the city, and gone to *Lombardy*, where he raised 6000 horse, and a great body of infantry, and in the beginning of the following year entered *Terra di Lavoro*, at the head of 15,000 men. However, after he had advanced as far as *Puglia*, he was prevailed upon by the persuasions of his uncle to desist from his rebellion, and leaving his own camp in the night time, went to the pope, who had returned to *Avignon*, with the intention of residing there till his peace should be made with the queen. The foreign troops, which he had deserted, immediately begun to plunder the country, but upon receiving 10,000 florins from the queen, they marched out of the kingdom.

DURING these transactions the peace with *Frederic* of *Sicily* had been again renewed, upon the same conditions as formerly; when *Gregory XI.* sent a legate into *Sicily* to take off the excommunication and interdict from the island, and to celebrate the marriage betwixt *Frederic* and *Antonia del Balzo*, who were afterwards solemnly crowned at *Palermo*.

SOON after the quieting of the rebellion of the duke of *Andria*, the queen was informed of the death of her third husband, *James* of *Majorca*, of the house of *Arragon*. Tho' she was now forty-six years of age, she resolved to take a fourth husband, whether she expected heirs of her own body, or was jealous of the ambition of *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who, in right of his duchess *Margaret*, was heir apparent to the crown, and was then commanding the army of his kinsman, the king of *Hungary*, against the *Venetians*. Jean chose for her fourth husband *Otho* of the house of *Brunswick*, who was then in *Lombardy*, and had served in the papal

Jean mar-
ries Otho
of Brun-
swic;

^p *Idem* *ibid.*
Annal. an. 1372.

^q *SURT.* *Indic.* *FAZEL.*

^r *SPOND.*

army against the *Viconti* of *Milan* (R). Four galleys were accordingly fitted out, on board of which forty *Neapolitan* counts and gentlemen embarked, to conduct *Otho* to *Naples*. They returned the following year, on the twenty-fifth of *March*, when *Otho* was conducted under a canopy to *Castello Nuovo*, where the marriage was celebrated with great rejoicing *. *Jean*, that she might not seem to deprive the duke of *Durazzo* of his right, would not confer the title of duke of *Calabria* on her husband, but created him duke of *Taranto*, and made him a present of that large principality which had been lately forfeited by the duke of *Andria*. *Charles*, however, from this time conceived a great hatred against the queen, and her niece the duchess *Margaret*, who had returned from *Hungary*, and a few weeks before was delivered of a son named *Ladislaus*, openly expressed her displeasure †.

A. D.
1375.

who arrives at
Naples.
1376.

OTHO a few months after his marriage returned with four galleys, and an immense sum of money, to *Lombardy*, to visit his relations, who resided at *Verdi*; and after continuing there a few weeks, he came back to *Naples*, and brought with him his brother *Balthasar*, who married the daughter and heiress of the count of *Fondi*. The kingdom of *Naples* at this time enjoyed greater tranquility than for many years before. The island of *Sicily*, in the mean time, was again exposed to the confusions and disorders attendant on a minority, by the death of *Frederic II.* which happened the following year in the month of *July*. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign, and left his only daughter *Mary* heiress of his crown †.

THE tranquility of *Naples* was of very short continuance; but was soon disturbed by an accident which likewise affected all other Christian states. Pope *Gregory* dying the

* Giornali, ut supra.

† GIANNONE, Giornali, ut supra.

‡ SURIT. Indic. l. iii. SPOND. Annal. an. 1377.

(R) *Otho* was a descendent of the imperial house of *Saxony*. In his youth he had taken part with *John* king of *Bohemia* against the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and for two campaigns had a chief command in his army in *Lombardy*; where he signalized himself by his valour. He

fought at the battle of *Cressy* against *Edward III.* of *England*, and assisted queen *Jean* against *Lewis* of *Hungary*. He was greatly esteemed for his military accomplishments, was extremely handsome, and much beloved for his mildness, humanity, and other virtues (1).

(1) Throd. Niem. l. i. de Schismate. Hen. Rimer.

Memoirs of the house of Brunswick, by

following year in the end of *March*, the *Romans*, thoroughly sensible of the great loss they had sustained by the residence of the popes at *Avignon*, surrounded the conclave in a tumultuous manner, and threatened to put the cardinals to death, if they did not elect an *Italian* pope. The members of the conclave in great terror nominated one *Prignano*, a *Neapolitan* gentleman, then archbishop of *Bari*, who had some employment about the pope's court, and was noted for his humility and modesty. The cardinals therefore, as was afterwards alleged, expected that he would acknowledge his election to be void, and voluntarily resign; but they were greatly deceived, for he, suspecting they designed his abdication, took the name of *Urban VI.* obliged them to consecrate him, and behaved to them with great moroseness and austerity. The *French* cardinals resolved to take the first opportunity of abandoning him, and accordingly, a few months after, retired to *Anagni*, where they published a sentence against him, as an apostate and antichrist.

QUEEN *Jean*, upon being informed of his election, immediately sent *Nicolas Spinello*, count of *Gioja*, a famous lawyer, and chancellor of the kingdom, to congratulate him, and to do him homage. *Urban* treated his countryman with great rudeness and ill manners. The queen, nevertheless, upon the open revolt of the cardinals, not only sent money and provisions to him, but also ordered a body of her troops to attend him as a guard. Her husband *Otho* likewise waited upon him at *Rome*, according to some authors, to procure the investiture of the kingdom: but though *Urban* had formerly received many favours from him, when *Otho* commanded in *Lombardy*, yet he now treated him with the greatest insolence; for when he presented him at dinner with the cup, kneeling, he suffered him to continue so long in that humble posture, that the cardinals were ashamed, and said to him, *Holy father, 'tis time for you to drink* *. *Urban* is accused by *Summontius* and others of having at the same time entered into a private negotiation with the duke of *Durazzo*, for conferring upon him the kingdom of *Naples*, in hopes of procuring from him large settlements for his two nephews, whom he was very ambitious of promoting. He was prompted to this secret negotiation by the duke of *Andria*, who then resided in *Rome*, in a very low condition †.

* *BALUZ.* in not. ad Vit. P. Aven. t. i. p. 1124. *Giornal Napol.* ut supra. † *THEOD. NISM.* ut supra. *Idem.* *BALUZ.* ut supra.

JEAN being informed of his intrigues, immediately abandoned him, and countenanced the schismatic cardinals, who assembled in *Fondi* under her protection, on the twenty-first of September chose *Clement VII.* who, though he was obliged the following summer to leave *Italy*, and retire to *Avignon*, was acknowledged as true pope, not only by her, but also by *France, Spain, Scotland, Cyprus, and Savoy*. *Urban* was now prompted by revenge to dethrone the queen. He therefore sent the duke of *Andria* to *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who was then in *Friuli*, inviting him to come and receive the investiture of *Naples* at *Rome*; and to strengthen his interest in the kingdom, he created several *Neapolitan* cardinals, upon whom he conferred the principal benefices in *Naples*. He likewise deposed the archbishop of *Naples*, for adhering to the antipope, and conferred that see on one *Bozuto*, a gentleman of great authority in the city, whose adherents raised a furious tumult, which obliged *Clement* to sail for *France*. *Urban* at the same time warmly opposed the pretensions of the king of *Arragon* to *Sicily*, designing, according to the account of his secretary *Theodoric Niem*, to have concluded a marriage betwixt his nephew, and *Mary* heiress of the island, who about the same time was taken, during the night, out of the castle of *Catania*, and carried on board a galley to *Catalonia*.

Urban proposes to dethrone queen Jean.

THE kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time suffered severely by a destructive plague, while the provinces were ravaged by great troops of banditti. The queen likewise was greatly alarmed with the increasing report of the duke's preparations, and endeavoured to seize the new archbishop *Bozuto*, one of his greatest partisans; but failing in her attempt to apprehend him, she ordered all his estates to be plundered, and destroyed his houses in *Naples*. Soon after, however, she imprudently allowed the duchess *Margaret*, with her daughter and infant son, to retire to *Rome*. Being greatly apprehensive of the fidelity of the *Neapolitans*, she retired into the Castle *del Ovo*, likewise ordering all her subjects to abandon the villages, and betake themselves to the fortified towns, while her husband *Otho* with the greatest diligence was assembling an army to defend the frontiers of the kingdom.

URBAN in the mean time having prevailed on *Lewis* of *Hungary* to give assistance to *Charles*, in the beginning of

* See the history of the Popes.

* THEOD. NIEM. ut supra.

Fragment. Siculae Hist. apud MURATORI. t. xxiv. col. 1089.

He excom-
municates
and deposes
her.

A D.
1380.

the following year published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against queen *Jean*. The queen, to protect herself from the designs of the pope, and in resentment for the signal ingratitude of the duke of *Durazzo*, soon after adopted *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, and brother of *Charles V.* of *France*, for her son and heir, and immediately conferred upon him the title of duke of *Calabria*. *Clement VII.* the antipope, a few weeks after confirmed the adoption of *Lewis* at *Avignon* ^b. The death of the king of *France* prevented *Lewis* from proceeding directly to *Naples*, as he was appointed regent during the minority of his nephew *Charles VI.*

THE duke of *Durazzo* in the mean time had entered *Italy*, at the head of an *Hungarian* army, and in his march to *Rome* had ravaged and plundered many towns and villages, and levied heavy contributions upon *Florence* and other cities. In the beginning of the following year he arrived at *Rome*, having considerably increased his army by many *Itali-ans* and *Neapolitans*, who had joined him. *Urban* received him with great honour and distinction; and as he was in

1381.

Receives
the crown
of Naples
from Ur-
ban.

great want of money, he stripped all the churches and monasteries of *Rome* of their plate, crosses, and images, which he either melted down or sold, to supply the expences of the expedition. He refused, however, to give him the investiture of the kingdom, unless he would confer upon his nephew *Buttillo Prignano* the duchies of *Capua* and *Annalfi*, and many other valuable baronies in the kingdom ^c. *Charles*, much against his inclination, having granted the writ of investiture of these lands to *Prignano*, on the first of *June* was solemnly crowned king of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, under the same conditions as *Charles I.* of *Anjou* had stipulated with *Clement IV.* *Urban* then appointed the cardinal *di Sangro* to attend the king as his legate, and hired a large body of troops, commanded by *Alberico Barbiano*, whom he ordered to join *Charles*.

THE king immediately proceeded to *Naples*, and his army, being very numerous, entered the kingdom without opposition. As the queen, by the adoption of the duke of *Anjou*, had increased the disaffection of her subjects, who inclined rather to submit to their countryman the duke of *Durazzo* than to a foreigner, prince *Otho* was followed but by few barons, and therefore prudently declined engaging the enemy, but retired before them to *Naples*. *Charles* followed the prince, and on the sixteenth of *July* encamped on the oppo-

^b SPOND. Annal. an. 1380. RAINALD. eod an.
NREM.

^c THEOD.

site side of the city. Three days after, some of his cavalry, by wading into the sea, surpris'd one of the gates, took possession of the market-place, and admitted his army into the city, which was then in the utmost confusion; one party declaring for him, another for the queen, and a third for pope *Urban*. *Charles* immediately besieged the queen in *Castello Nuovo*, and in a few weeks reduced the garrison to such distress, that the queen promised to capitulate if she was not relieved within four days. Her husband, accordingly, on the fourth day, attacked the intrenchments of *Charles*, with great bravery; but not being seconded by his troops, he was surrounded by the enemy, and taken prisoner, which occasioned the total rout of his army. The queen next day surrendered to *Charles*, and four days after had the mortification to see ten *Provençal* gallies arrive at *Naples*, with succours to her relief. Upon the news of the queen's imprisonment, the whole kingdom submitted to *Charles*, excepting the counties of *Fondi*, *Caserta*, and *Aria-*
no, which never acknowledged his authority. In the end of the year queen *Margaret* returned with her two children to *Naples*, when she was crowned with great solemnity by the pope's legate.

Defeats
Otho of
Brunfwic.

Takes pos-
session of
the king-
dom.

CHARLES having thus taken possession of the kingdom, refused to put *Prignano* in possession of the duchy of *Capua*, which greatly irritated the pope. He likewise alienated the family of the *Sanseverini*, by restoring the duke of *Andria* to the principality of *Taranto*, and allowing the duke's son the following year to marry his relation *Agnes* of *Durazzo*, who took the title of empress of *Constantinople*. About the same time the counts of *Montuora*, *Lecce*, and *Conversano*, openly revolted; and news arrived that the count of *Anjou*, regent of *France*, was making great preparations to invade the kingdom. *Charles*, to secure his conquest, by the advice of the king of *Hungary*, caused queen *Jean* to be put to death. On the twenty-second of *May* she was accordingly strangled, according to *Theodoric Niem*; but according to others, she was smothered with a bolster in the castle of *Nuovo*, from whence her body was brought to *Naples*, where it lay unburied for seven days, exposed to the view of the people^d. *Jean* died in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirty-ninth of her reign. Notwithstanding what several authors, and some of them her cotemporaries, have said, concerning her lewdness and abandoned life, other

A. D.
1382.

Orders
queen Jean
to be put to
death.

^d Idem ibid. Giornal, ut supra. ANNAL. BONINCONTRA. GIAN-
NONE.

writers, likewise her cotemporaries, have been very full and warm in her praise. She is greatly extolled, particularly by the two brothers *Baldo* and *Angelo da Perugia*, famous lawyers of those times, and by *Boccacio*, who enumerates her many excellencies, both of body and mind *.

A FEW weeks after the queen's death, twenty-two *Provençal* galleys arrived before *Naples*, and attacked the suburbs; but being repulsed by the inhabitants, they retired to the island of *Ischia*, which they took possession of. At the same time, the duke of *Anjou* having been crowned king of *Naples* at *Avignon*, by pope *Clement*, received the homage of the *Provençals* as their sovereign, and was preparing to enter *Italy* with an army of 30,000 horse. *Charles* being sensible that he had irritated the pope, and alienated a great many barons, took all precautions for his security. He imprisoned some barons whom he suspected, put others to death, and sent a body of troops to *Tuscany*, to oppose the march of the *French*. *Lewis of Anjou*, however, having forced his way through *Italy*, entered *Abruzzo* about the end of *July*, at the head of 40,000 men. About the beginning of *November* he advanced as far as *Ariano*; but as the season was severe, and his army was in great want of provisions, he separated his troops into winter-quarters, and contented himself with some slight skirmishes with the enemy, till the return of the spring. *Charles* in the mean time fortified those cities he judged most exposed; and having assembled an army of about 14,000 men, used his utmost diligence in cutting off the *French* convoys. As he avoided coming to a decisive engagement, the whole following campaign was spent without any important action, and the *French* having consumed the provisions in *Terra di Lavoro*, in the beginning of autumn marched through *Puglia* into *Taranto*.

WHILE *Charles* was harrassing the *French* in this principality, he was informed that pope *Urban* had left *Rome*, with the intention of coming to *Naples*, to urge the fulfilling of his promise, in favour of his nephew *Butillo*. The king, being apprehensive lest the discontented pope should occasion new disorders in his kingdom, immediately left his army, and arrived at *Aversa*, conducting the pope with great respect into the city. Next day, however, in the evening, he obliged him to come to the castle, and detained him a prisoner five days. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he was like-

* *Boccacio. SUMMONT. COSTANZO. SPOND. ANNAL. GIANNONE.*

wife forced to take up his residence in the castle *Nuovo*; but ^{where he} soon after *Charles*, by the intercession of the cardinals, set ^{is imprisoned.} him at liberty, having entered into new stipulations with him, and again promised the duchy of *Capua* to his nephew ^{f.} *Urban* then went to the archbishop's palace, and disposed of two of his nieces in marriage to two *Neapolitan* counts. *Butillo Prignano* in the mean time thinking himself protected by the authority of his uncle, broke into a nunnery, and ravished one of the most beautiful and noble of the nuns. In consequence of this outrage, which occasioned a great uproar in *Naples*, *Prignano* was capitally condemned. He was, however, pardoned, at the intercession of the pope, who excused him upon account of his youth, though *Theoderic Niem*, then in *Naples*, remarks, that he was upwards of forty years of age. *Urban*, in return, gratified the king, by publishing a crusade against the duke of *Anjou*, on the first of *January*, and appointing him general of the crusards, and standard-bearer of the church. About three months after *Charles* marched to *Barletta*, with 16,000 horse, and a large body of infantry; and having gained some advantages over the *French*, by following the advice of *Otho* of *Brunswic*, he set that unfortunate prince at liberty ^{g.}. Soon after, he was prevented for some months from prosecuting the war, by an epidemical sickness, which seized himself, and carried off a great part of his army.

A. D.
1384-

THE duke of *Anjou* in the mean time had fixed his court at *Bari*, and had appointed justiciaries and officers in the provinces that he had subjected; but having over-fatigued himself, in preventing his men from plundering *Biseglio*, which had surrendered to him, he was seized with an illness, of which he died on the tenth of *October*, leaving behind him two sons, *Lewis* and *Charles* ^{h.}. His troops immediately dispersed, ^{The duke of Anjou dies at Biseglio.} and many of them returned, begging, to *France*. Several of the barons of the kingdom, nevertheless, still continued in arms, and refused to acknowledge king *Charles*; who thinking the war concluded by the death of his rival, returned in a triumphant manner to *Naples*. Immediately after his return the dissensions were again revived betwixt him and the pope, who during his absence in the army had retired to *Nocera*, then in the possession of *Prignano*. *Charles*, being apprehensive of the designs of the pope, who had even proceeded to excommunicate and depose him and his queen, the

1385.

^f THEOD. NIEM. ut supra. Giornali Napol. Metröp. KRANTZIG. l. x. c. 17. SUMMONT. ut supra. ^g Giornali ut supra. ^h Giornali. BONINCONTR. SUMMONT. ut supra.

King
Charles
besieges the
pope in
Nocera.

following spring sent an army to besiege *Nocera*. The pope, after being besieged several months, at last made his escape by the assistance of *Romandello* and *Sanseverino*, two barons of the party of the late duke of *Anjou*. Though these two barons acknowledged *Clement* as true pope, yet, in hope of creating troubles to king *Charles*, they interested themselves in the safety of *Urban*, and conducted him to the sea-coast, where in the month of *July* he embarked for *Genoa*. The pope, out of gratitude, gave to *Romandello* the city of *Benevento*, and confirmed to him the county of *Leice*, and the barony of *Flumare* ⁱ.

KING *Charles* was not greatly displeased at the pope's escape from his dominions, as he was then impatient to pass over to *Hungary*, to take possession of that crown. *Lewis* of *Hungary*, who died a few years before, left only two young daughters, the eldest of whom, *Mary*, who was contracted to *Sigismund*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, was proclaimed, not queen, but king, as a testimony of respect for the memory of her father. Soon after, however, a strong party of malecontents invited king *Charles*, who was well known in *Hungary*, on account of his long residence in that country. *Charles* willingly accepted of the offer of the malecontents, and, contrary to the persuasions of his queen, on the fourth of *September* embarked, with a small retinue, on board four galleys at *Barletta*, and a few days after arrived at *Hungary*. King *Mary* was quickly obliged to abdicate the throne, and on the last of *December* *Charles* was crowned king of *Hungary* with great solemnity. He however enjoyed his usurped dignity but a short time, for on the sixth of *February* his skull was cleft by one of the adherents of *Mary*, and a few days after he died of the wound, in the forty-first year of his age, and the fifth of his reign ^k.

He is
crowned
king of
Hungary;
but soon
after murdered.

A. D.
1386.

DURING the absence of king *Charles* in *Hungary*, queen *Margaret* seized a *Venetian* ship, richly laden, that had put into the harbour of *Naples* in distress. The *Venetians*, in return for this injury, immediately took possession of *Durazzo* and the island of *Corcyra*, which places the *Neapolitans* never afterwards recovered ^l. The news of the king's death arrived at *Naples* in the midst of the rejoicings for his coronation. The queen a few weeks after caused her son *Ladislaus*, or *Lancelot*, then about ten years of age, to be

His son *Ladislaus* is

ⁱ Giornali ut supra.

^k THUROZ. BONFIN. de reb. Hungar. SUPP. MONT. BONINCONT. Giornali ut supra.

crowned; and sent a submissive embassy to the pope, in-
treating him to take the young king under his protection. *king.*

Thomas Sanseverino in the mean time proclaimed *Lewis II.* duke of *Anjou*, who the year before had received the investiture of *Naples* from *Clement* at *Avignon*. A few months after, he advanced with a large body of troops to the neighbourhood of *Naples*, to support the governor of one of the castles, who had declared for *Lewis*. Though the city still continued in obedience to *Ladislaus*, they refused, however, to submit to the administration of the queen; and the *Seggi* chose new magistrates, who were called *the eight lords of good government*, and assumed supreme authority. The city on this account was immediately filled with tumult and disorder; so that the queen finding her interest declining, fled with her son to *Gaeta*, and the two factions giving admittance at the same time to the two opposite armies, *Thomas Sanseverino*, who was now joined by *Otho* of *Brunswic*, and was declared viceroy, repulsed the party of *Ladislaus*, and remained in possession of the city. The faction of *Ladislaus* was thus overpowered, chiefly by the slowness and inactivity of *Urban*, who with great difficulty could be prevailed upon to forgive the injuries he had received from the late king *Charles*.

*He quits
Naples,
and retires
to Gaeta.*

QUEEN *Margaret* the following year endeavoured to recover *Naples*; and in the month of *July* arrived before the harbour with ten vessels; but by the diligence of the viceroy and *Otho* of *Brunswic*, her attempt was frustrated, though the *Neapolitans* were then, and had been for some time before, in great want of provisions. They sent a galley to *Avignon*, intreating the assistance of *Lewis* and of *Clement*. A few months after, five galleys and a galliot arrived, with a supply of provisions and money, and on board of them came lord *Monjoy*, the nephew of *Clement*, in the character of viceroy, and many other nobles and barons. *Thomas Sanseverino*, who expected to have been confirmed viceroy by the king, upon the arrival of *Monjoy* retired in disgust to his estate; and the new viceroy having affronted *Otho* of *Brunswic*, he likewise left *Naples*, and went to *San Agatha de Goiti*. *Monjoy* endeavoured in vain to effect a reconciliation; for *Otho*, being in hopes of marrying the queen dowager *Margaret*, soon after abandoned the *Anjou* faction, and declared for *Ladislaus*.

A. D.
1387.

WHILE *Monjoy* was employing himself the following summer in reducing the castles of *Naples*, *Margaret* soothed *Otho* with the hopes of marrying him, but in reality con-
cluded *He mar-
ries the
daughter*

of a rich
Sicilian
count.

A. D.
1388.

cluded a marriage for her son ^m. *Sicily* at this time was governed by the chiefs of the *Italian* and *Catalan* factions, in the name of the absent princess *Mary*, who about ten years before had been carried to *Catalonia*. *Artalis Alagona*, the chief of the *Catalans*, resided at *Catania*. *Manfred di Claramonte*, count of *Modica*, the chief of the *Italians*, was in possession of *Palermo*, and almost all the chief cities of the island: he was very rich, had conquered the *Moors* in the island of *Gerba*, and the year before had made considerable conquests on the coast of *Africa*, in which expedition the father of the historian *Bonincontrius* assisted ⁿ. Queen *Margaret* being informed of his great power and wealth, proposed an alliance betwixt her son and his daughter *Constantia*, and sent an embassy to *Manfred*, who readily accepted of her offer. The *Neapolitans*, by another embassy, in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from the match; for on the fifth of *September* the bride arrived at *Gaeta* with four gallies, while twelve other *Sicilian* gallies failed to the relief of *Castello Nuovo*, which was then besieged by *Monjoy* ^o.

1389.

POPE *Urban* dying the following year, in the beginning of *October*, *Ladislaus* acquired a zealous friend in his successor *Boniface IX.* who was a *Neapolitan*, and soon after his promotion created seven *Neapolitan* cardinals. *Boniface*, in hopes of procuring settlements for his relations, whom he was fond of promoting, warmly espoused the cause of *Ladislaus*, and soon after receiving an embassy from the queen, who desired to be absolved from the sentence of excommunication and deposition, denounced by *Urban*, he granted the absolution, and sent *Acciajoli* the cardinal of *Florence* to *Gaeta*, who on the eighth of *May* crowned *Ladislaus* and his queen *Constantia P.*

1390.

ABOUT three months after, *Lewis of Anjou*, who the year before had been solemnly crowned king of *Sicily* by pope *Clement* at *Avignon*, and had married the daughter of the king of *Arragon*, arrived with twenty-one vessels, and a considerable body of troops at *Naples*, where he was received with great rejoicing. As his party were in possession of more than a half of the whole kingdom, upon the news of his arrival the barons crowded from all parts to do him homage; and among the rest arrived *Thomas Sanseverino*, with many

Lewis of
Anjou
lands at
Naples.

^m Giornali Napol.

ⁿ Annal. BONINCONTR. apud MURATOR. Fragment. Sicul. Hist. apud MURATOR. t. xxiv. BONINCONTR. ut supra. Giornali Napol.

^o Giornali Napol.

apud MURAT. t. xxi.

others of his family, with a body of 800 horse. The barons of his party then held a parliament at *S. Chiara*, when it was agreed to furnish 1000 lances before *March*, and to maintain ten gallies, during the war, at their own expence⁹. A few months after, a galley arriving with money from *Provence*, *Lewis* made himself master of the three castles *S. Eramo*, *Castel Nuovo*, and *Castel Ovo*; and being of a mild and courteous disposition, had acquired the esteem and affection of the *Neapolitans*. *Ladislaus*, in the mean time, was greatly distressed for want of men and money, while several barons refused to declare for either party; and continuing upon their estates, sent presents to both princes^r.

A. D.
1391.

DURING this interruption of the war in *Naples*, a great revolution happened in *Sicily*. *Manfred di Claramonte* dying at *Palermo*, the princess *Mary*, who had married, in *Aragon*, *Martin* the son of the duke of *Monblanco*, arrived with her husband and a strong army at *Sicily*. She quickly reduced *Palermo*, and recovered all the cities that had been in the possession of *Manfred*; and having got the whole family of the *Claramonte* into her power, she ordered *Andrew*, the governor of *Palermo*, to be put to death. Her father-in-law, *Martin* duke of *Monblanco*, who was brother to *John* king of *Aragon*, and afterwards succeeded him, had attended her in the expedition; and after the reduction of *Palermo*, had contracted an intimacy with the widow of the late *Manfred*. *Mary and her husband Martin of Aragon take possession of Sicily.*

THEIR intrigue, being reported in *Gaeta*, served queen *Margaret* as a pretext for an action of the blackest ingratitude. She alleged, that it was dishonourable for her son to have for a wife the daughter of one who was mistress to a *Catalan*. *Ladislaus* accordingly, by her persuasion, immediately sent *Constantia* to a private house, attended only by an old governante, and two *Sicilian* maids; and in the end of *May* he went with forty gallies to *Rome* to demand a divorce from the pope, which he obtained without any difficulty^s. Queen *Margaret* hoped to procure a second marriage, and a second fortune for her son, though her affairs had been already saved from ruin by the immense portion of *Constantia*. Her conduct, however, so full of baseness, ingratitude, and inhumanity, was censured by her best friends, and the ambition of the pope was universally condemned (S).

Ladislaus divorces his queen Constantia.

A. D.
1392.

LADISLAUS,

⁹ Vide auct. sup. citat. SUMMONT. l. iv. c. 2. ANTON. tit. xlii. c. 3. ^r Giornali, ap. MURATOR, t. xxi. col. 1061. AN. BONINCORRE. ^s Id. ib. Fragment. Siculæ Hist. ut sup.

(S) *Constantia* bore her re- titude. That no prince might verse of fortune with great for- have any objection to contract a second

LADISLAUS, in the beginning of the year, having gained some advantages by the conduct of his viceroy *Cicco del Cozzo*, about two months after his return from *Rome* he resolved to command his troops in person; and having heard mafs in complete armour, he left *Gaeta*, and marched to *Aquila*, which was the only city in *Abruzzo* that held for *Lewis*. The *Aquilans*, after having in vain expected to be relieved, surrendered to *Ladislaus*, and paid 40,000 ducats to save their city from being plundered. *Ladislaus*, in his return, took possession of the county of *Manupello*, and stopt at *Capua*, where, in consequence of poison that he had received, his life was despaired of; and it was reported that he was dead. By the assistance of physicians, however, he was cured; but he continued a stammerer to his death †. The following year, while he resided at *Gaeta*, an ambassador arrived from *France* to treat of an alliance betwixt the *French* king and his sister *Jean*; but the negotiation had no effect. The year after, having assembled a powerful army, by inrolling even the artificers, he left *Gaeta*, and on the 9th of *April* encamped before *Naples*, the harbour being blocked up by three gallies and a galliot. After he had continued thirty-six days before the city, he was obliged to retire, as his gallies were repulsed by four vessels from *Provence*, and the communication with the sea opened. A few months after the *Sanseverini* family, who had come to the relief of the city, persuaded *Lewis* to contract an alliance with the duke of *Sessa*, who was chief admiral, and one of the most powerful adherents of *Ladislaus*. The duke readily agreed to the proposal made by *Lewis*, immediately deserted *Ladislaus*, and joined his new friends with 1000 horse. *Lewis*, in the mean time, sent considerable presents to the duke's daughter *Mary*, and gave her the title of queen: but *Ladislaus* vigorously attacking the duke's territories, after hostilities for several months, the duke, by the mediation of *Boniface*, was again reconciled to him, and the marriage never took effect. While his troops were ravaging the estates of the duke, La-

*He besieges
Naples
without
effect.*

A. D.
1394.

† Vide auct. sup. citat. GIANNONE.
ut supra.

‡ Giornali,

second alliance with *Ladislaus*, about two years after she was given in marriage, with a portion of 30,000 ducats, to *Andrew* the son of the count of *Altavilla*. When he led her home, she

declared before all the courtiers, that he ought to think himself the happiest knight in the kingdom, who had got his sovereign's lawful wife for his concubine (1).

(1) *Giornal. Napol. ap. Murat. t. xxi. col. 1063. Summus. l. iv. c. 2.*

Ladislaus went and visited *Boniface* at *Rome*, from whom and the cardinals he received very large subsidies. *Lewis*, about the same time, received some assistance from pope *Clement*, who died soon after about the middle of *September*. His successor *Benedict XIII.* immediately confirmed the crown of *Naples* to *Lewis*, and declared himself his protector.

LEWIS, however, continuing inactive at *Naples*, while his competitor was continually employed in some expedition, his affairs quickly began to decline, while many of the barons, particularly the *Sanseverini*, resolving to abandon his party, treacherously urged him to leave *Naples*, and to go to the support of his friends in *Tarento*. He was accordingly, some years after, persuaded to go to *Calabria*, when *Naples* immediately admitted the troops of *Ladislaus*, and detained *Charles* his brother prisoner, who had arrived from *Provence* with a small reinforcement soon after his departure. Upon the news of the loss of *Naples*, *Lewis* wholly despaired of being able to recover his affairs; and though he was still in possession of more than one half of the kingdom, and had many barons faithful to his interest, he absolutely determined to return to *Provence*. He accordingly embarked at *Tarento*, and, sailing round to the island of *Caprea*, entered into a negotiation with *Ladislaus*, offering to deliver up the *Castel Nuovo*, on condition that the *French* garrison should be allowed to depart with their bag and baggage, and his brother should be set at liberty. *Ladislaus* willingly agreed to this condition; and *Lewis*, taking his brother and the garrison on board his fleet, sailed directly to *Provence*, to the great grief of all those of his party. About the same time, *Martin* king of *Sicily* had made himself master of *Catania*; and having reduced several factious barons, obliged the whole island to acknowledge his authority.

A. D.
1400.

He returns
to Pro-
vence.

THOSE barons who had treacherously abandoned the duke of *Anjou* were quickly convinced of the imprudence of their conduct; for *Ladislaus* had no sooner driven his rival out of the kingdom, than he resolved intirely to crush and ruin them. In the end of the year he reduced the whole county of *Fondi*, except *Ponteciallo* and *Portella*, on the confines of the kingdom; and the following *April*, after holding a parliament at *Naples*, he marched into *Calabria*, and conquered the whole province, except *Reggio* and *Cotrone*, which last city was garrisoned by some *French* that had come thither after the departure of *Lewis*. He soon obliged the *French* to

1401.

* Vide aut. sup. citat. GIANNONE. Frag. Hist. Sicul. an. 1394 & 1398.

surrender, and in his return seized several of the family of the *Sanseverini*, whom he imprisoned in the castles of *Naples*. He likewise took the duchy of *Sessa* from the family of *Marzano*, and imprisoned the late admiral's son, with his mother and two sisters. Having reduced the whole kingdom to his obedience, by the advice of his great protector *Boniface* he contracted an alliance with *Mary* the sister of the king of *Cyprus*, who landing the following year, on the 12th of *February*, at *Naples*, attended with her uncle, and many *Cypriot* ladies, the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence¹.

A. D.
1402.

ABOUT the same time, he was informed, that the *Hungarians* had imprisoned their king *Sigismund*, and set up his standard all over the kingdom. Receiving repeated invitations from the *Hungarian* nobles, who offered him their crown, the following year he was prevailed upon to depart for that kingdom, under pretence of conducting his sister *Jean* to *Germany*, she having, some time before, been contracted to the duke of *Austria*. Reflecting on the fate of his father, he stopped at *Zara*, or *Jadra*, on the coast of *Dalmatia*, till he should be informed of the true state of affairs in *Hungary*. Many *Hungarian* barons and prelates waited upon him in this city, and according to *Bonincontrius*, and others, he was solemnly crowned king of *Hungary* by the bishop of *Gran*, or *Strigonia*; but, by the account of *Theodoric Niem*, *Boniface* ordered the cardinal of *Florence* to confer upon him the crown, and besides remitted him a debt of 300,000 florins, and granted him the tythe of the ecclesiastical revenues of *Naples* for three years. *Ladislaus*, in the mean time, being informed that *Sigismund*, who had escaped from prison, was returning to *Hungary* with a powerful army of *Bohemians*, did not think proper to dispute the kingdom with him, but immediately left *Jadra*, and came back to *Naples*².

Her death. A FEW months after his return he lost his queen, and soon after his great protector pope *Boniface*, who, in the month of *November*, was succeeded by *Innocent VII.* born at *Sulmo*, in the kingdom of *Naples*. *Ladislaus*, upon hearing of his election, immediately went with a body of troops to *Rome*, upon pretence of congratulating him; but, in reality, with the design of assisting the *Gibelline* faction, who, since the new election, had raised a great sedition in *Rome*, from a desire of wresting from the pope the sovereign authority of the city. *Ladislaus* seemed to favour the pope, but, at the same time,

1404.

¹ Giornal. ut supra.

² BONFIN. dec. iii. lib. ii. BONINCONTR. THEOD. NIEM. SUMMONT.

secretly fomented the dissension, in hopes of usurping the government himself. Being chosen mediator by both parties, he allowed the people to chuse their supreme magistrates; but left the *Leonine* part of the city, and the castle of *St. Angelo*, in the hands of the pope, who granted him *Campania di Roma* for three years ^a. The king then returned to *Naples*, but still secretly solicited the *Gibellines* to continue their opposition to the pope, by promising to protect and assist them. A few weeks after his return, being informed of the death of *Ramondello Ursino*, prince of *Tarento*, who left two sons and a daughter, he resolved to seize that principality; and accordingly, in the month of *March*, he sent nine gallies round by sea, and marched thither with 7000 horse, and a large body of infantry. He quickly made himself master of the whole principality, except *Tarento*, which was defended by a numerous garrison, commanded by the sons of the late prince, and many of the family of *Sanseverini*. Despairing of being able to reduce the city by force, he determined to marry the young princess *Mary*. Her brothers readily agreed to this proposal; and the marriage being celebrated, he was to put in possession of the city; and about a month after conducted his new queen to *Naples* ^b.

A. D.
1405.

DURING these transactions, *Martin* king of *Sicily* had lost his queen, who died a few years before from grief for the death of her only son *Frederic*, who was killed by accident while he was learning the exercise of the spear. *Martin* by the last will of his wife, and the cession of his father, continued in possession of the island, and this year married *Blanch* the daughter of the king of *Navarre* ^c.

IN the mean time, by his intrigues with the *Gibellines* in *Rome*, *Ladislaus* had prevailed on them to expel the pope from the city, and to take possession of his palace. *John Colonna* their chief promising him the sovereignty of the city, he immediately sent the count of *Troja* thither with a body of troops, who were admitted by *Colonna*, and took possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*. The *Romans*, however, quickly obliged them to leave the city, and the following spring recalled the pope, who a few months after denounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against *Ladislaus*. The king, struck with this fulmination, by which he run a risk of losing his kingdom, immediately proposed an accommodation, which was effected by the mediation of the pope's nephew, and *Paul*

1406.

^a NIEM, ut supra. ANTON. tit. 22. c. 4. ^b Giornali Napol. ^c FAZZEL. Dec. ii. l. ix. SURIT. Indic. l. iii. Fragma. Hist. Sicul. ap. MURATOR, t. xxiv.

Urfini the chief of the *Guelfs*, on condition that he should evacuate the castle of *St. Angelo*, and all other places belonging to the church^d. *Innocent* survived this treaty only a few months, and in the beginning of *December* was succeeded by *Gregory XII.* a *Venetian*.

A. D. 1407. *LADISLAUS*, being still earnest to get possession of *Rome*, in the month of *June* advanced with an army, and endeavoured to surprize the city; but his troops, after they had entered the place, were repulsed by *Urfini* the pope's general, while *Gregory* and several of the cardinals saved themselves in the castle of *St. Angelo*^e. The pope, a few months after, leaving *Rome*, with the intention, as he declared, of going to *Savona*, where a congress was appointed with the antipope, in order to terminate the schism, *Paul Urfini* remained in *Rome* with the chief command. Whether he received any indignity from the pope is uncertain; but he is accused by *Bonincentius* of having had an intention of delivering the city to the antipope.

He takes possession of Rome; 1408. NOT long after, according to *Niem* and *Antonin*, he entered into a negotiation with *Ladislaus*, who, the following spring, advancing towards *Rome* with an army of 15,000 horse and a large body of infantry, made his entry into the city, on the 25th of *April*, in a triumphant manner, under a canopy of cloth of gold, when he was proclaimed king of the *Romans* and emperor by the people, who went before him with branches of palms^f. Next day the castle of *St. Angelo* was delivered up to him by the governor, who on that account received the investiture of the county of *Quarata* in *Puglia*, with several thousand florins. *Ladislaus* likewise took possession of *Tivoli*, *Perugia*, and many other cities and castles belonging to the church. He restored the exiles, and changed the magistrates of *Rome*; and ordering the fortifications of the city to be repaired, he went to *Lucca* to *Gregory*, to persuade him not to resign the pontificate, being apprehensive lest, if the grand schism should be terminated, his right to the kingdom of *Naples* would be called in question^g. This probably was the reason why he was so earnest to be in possession of *Rome*, that, in case of the reunion of the cardinals, he might be able to make his own terms with the future pope, though no doubt he was greatly actuated by his vanity and ambition; for he had no sooner made himself master of

^d NIEM, ut supra. RAINALD. Annal.
 SPOND. Annal. an. 1407.
 ANTON. tit. 22. c. 5. sect. 5.

^e NIEM, ut supra.
^f NIEM de Schism. l. iii.
^g NIEM; ut supra. BONINCONTR. Annal.

Rome, than he assumed the pompous title of, *Ladislaus by the grace of God, king of Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Croatia, Rome, Servia, Salicia, Lodomeria, Comania, and Bulgaria, and count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont*^b. The Romans were quickly tired of his government; and he had no sooner returned to *Naples*, than they openly revolted, imprisoned the senator, and expelled his troops from the city. The following year he again made himself master of *Rome*; and *Gregory* delivering to him *Romagna* for a present of 20,000 *and in-* crowns, in the beginning of *April* he marched to *Tuscany*, *vadis Tuscany*. with an army of 18,000 horse, besides infantry, and took possession of *Cortona, Certaldo*, and many other cities and castles. He endeavoured to surprize *Sienna*, and intended to besiege *Florence*, as the *Florentines* had allowed the cardinals, who had deserted from *Gregory* and *Benedict*, to hold a council in *Pisa*. The *Florentines*, in their own defence, entered into an alliance with the *Siennese*, and with *Balthasar Cossa*, legate of *Bologna*^k. A. D. 1409.

THE council of *Pisa*, in the mean time, had deposed both *The council* the contending popes, *Gregory* and *Benedict*; and, on the 26th of *June*, elected a third, who took the name of *Alexander V.* The power and ambition of *Ladislaus*, who still acknowledged *Gregory*, being greatly dreaded in *Italy*, *Alexander*, immediately after his promotion, invited *Lewis* of *Anjou* to renew his pretensions to *Naples*; and a few weeks after, upon his arrival at *Pisa*, he published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against *Ladislaus*, and gave *Lewis* the investiture of the kingdom. *Lewis* immediately entered into the *Florentine* league, and, assembling an army, quickly recovered all the territories of the church in *Tuscany*; and in the end of the year drove the *Neapolitans* from *Rome*, and reduced the castle of *St. Angelo*^l. *Ladislaus*, in the mean time, in hopes of strengthening himself against his competitor, sent for pope *Gregory* to *Gaeta*, and banished a great many nobles, whose fidelity he suspected, from the city of *Naples*. He left the greatest part of his army on the frontiers, as many barons in *Campania*, and the county of *Fondi*, had already openly revolted, and declared for *Lewis*^m. excommunicatus Ladislaus:

DURING these transactions, *Martin* king of *Sicily* died at *Martin Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, whither he had gone the year before to king of *Sicily* reduce the inhabitants, who had revolted from his father's cily dies.

^b Vide auct. sup. citat. ⁱ NIEM. SUMMONT. ibid. ^k Gi-
onna: Napol. Annal. BONICONTA. ^l NIEM & ANTON.
ut supra. ^m Giornal. ut supra.

government. As he died without issue, he left his father, *Martin* king of *Arragon*, heir of *Sicily* by his will, and his wife *Blanch* regent of the islandⁿ. Pope *Alexander* dying a few months after, he was succeeded by the legate of *Bologna*, who took the name of *John XXIII*. As he was a *Neapolitan*, and a declared enemy of *Ladislaus*, he immediately interested himself with great zeal in behalf of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who, with the assistance of the *Florentines*, fitted out thirteen galleys, and nine other vessels, against *Naples*. The ships, being separated from the galleys, were taken by the fleet of *Ladislaus*, who, about the same time, made an unsuccessful attempt to surprize *Rome*. *John*, after he had resided about eight months at *Bologna*, making preparations for the invasion of *Naples*, came in the following spring to *Rome*, where he declared *Lewis* of *Anjou* standard-bearer of the church.

SOON after this ceremony, *Lewis* advanced towards *Naples* with an army of 12,000 horse, besides infantry; and on the 9th^o, or, according to some, the 19th of *May*, in the evening, attacked the camp of *Ladislaus*, whose army consisted

Ladislaus of about 13,000 horse and 4000 foot. After a most obstinate dispute, *Ladislaus* was intirely defeated, and with great difficulty escaped by flying to *Rocca Secca*, and from thence of *Anjou*; to *St. Germano*, where the remains of his army again assembled^p.

A. D. 1411. According to the opinion of *Ladislaus*, if his enemies had pursued their blow, he would have been intirely ruined^q. *Lewis* of *Anjou* was very earnest to advance immediately into the kingdom; but *Paul Urfini* and *Sforza*, two soldiers of fortune, had no desire to finish the war, and wilfully delayed the march of the army; so that the effect of the victory was wholly lost.

THE pope's army mutinied for want of pay, *Lewis* was obliged to return to *Rome*; and being disgusted with the fickleness of the *Sicilians*, soon after went back to *France*, while *John*, who was obliged either to defend himself, or to lose the possession of the pontifical chair, published two bulls of excommunication against *Ladislaus*, and, in the beginning of the following year, ordered a crusade to be preached against him; granting likewise the most scandalous indulgences, in order to raise money for the war. His generals *Urfini* and *Sforza*, however; acting with great lukewarmness, and be-

who returns to France.

1412.

ⁿ Fragment. Sicul. Hist. ap. MURAT. t. xxiv. SPOND. Annal. * Giornal. Napol. ^p POGGII Hist. ap. MURAT. t. xx. ARETIN. Comment. ap. eund. t. xix. Giornal. Napol. ^q Comment. ARETIN, ut supra.

ing suspected even of favouring *Ladislaus*, he was obliged to agree to a dishonourable peace, which was concluded on the 25th of June^r.

LADISLAUS, by the articles of this peace, promised to *abandon Gregory*, on condition of receiving immediately *100,000 ducats from John*, who engaged likewise to acknowledge him as king of *Naples*; to assist him in recovering *Sicily*, and to allow him a yearly pension of 2000 ducats^s. A few months after *Ladislaus* lost his mother, who was buried with great pomp in *Salerno*. Notwithstanding the advantageous peace he had made with the pope, yet having taken *Sforza*, with his band of 2400 horse, and 400 foot, into his pay, he was advised by him to attempt the conquest of all *Italy*^t. The following year he accordingly assembled a numerous army; and though he still kept a good correspondence with the pope, yet it was universally rumoured that he intended to attack *Rome*. *John* encouraged this report, as it served as an excuse for his declining going to *Constance* to a general council; and, by *Poggio*^u, is even said to have invited *Ladislaus* to invade the march of *Ancona*, with the intention of ruining *Urfini*, to whom he had committed the care of that province. *Ladislaus* sent part of his troops to the march of *Ancona* under the command of *Sforza*; but he himself, with the greatest part of his army, on the 8th of June surrounded *Rome*, the pope and the cardinals with great difficulty escaping to *Sutri*, and from thence to *Florence*. The king treated the *Romans* with the greatest barbarity. He seized and plundered the pope's chapel and palaces; stripped all the churches of the city of their treasure; seized the jewels of the holy see, and many rich shrines; massacred several prelates; and seized the possessions of all the *Florentine* merchants, after he had assured them of his protection^w. From *Rome* he marched to *Tuscany*, and quickly reduced the whole ecclesiastical state as far as the territories of *Sienna* and *Florence*, raising immense contributions upon the inhabitants, whom his soldiers treated with great inhumanity.

LEAVING the command of his army to *Sforza* and *Nicholas of Este*, he returned in the end of the year to *Naples*; and soon after prevailing with *Paul Urfini* and his brother *Orso* to desert the pope, and to enter into his service, the following June he again entered *Tuscany* at the head of an army, with

A. D.
1413.

who never-
theless
surprizes
and pil-
lages
Rome.

1414.

^r NIEM. Vit. Joan. XXIII. Bzov. hoc an. ^s Figu. Hist. Princ. Aest. initio, l. vi. ^t POGGII Hist. BONINCONT. Annal. ^u POGG. Hist. ap. MURATOR, t. xx. ^w Idem ut supra, NIEM ut supra. COLLENT. & SUMMONT. Hist. Neap.

the intention of reducing the *Florentines*. He fixed his head quarters at *Perugia*, where he is said to have had an intrigue with a physician's daughter. According to several authors, the physician was bribed by the *Florentines* to poison him, which he effected by administering the poison to his daughter in such a manner that the king could not lye with her without being infected*. *Poggio, Aretin, Niem*, and other authors, make no mention of poison; but some of them attribute his lingering illness to the excess of his debauches. His illness obliged him to lay aside his expedition against *Florence*, and to return to *Rome*, where, finding his distemper increasing, he embarked, and proceeded by sea to *Naples*, taking *Ursini* and his brother with him prisoners, under pretence that they had secretly corresponded with his enemies.

His death. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he was carried on shore in a litter on the 2d of *August*, and died four days after, in thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign. He was a most expert general, and very liberal to his soldiers; but in his transactions, either with his neighbours or his subjects, he had no regard to justice, and even gloried in his fraud and perfidy.

His success and his posterity. LAUDISLAUS leaving no issue by his three wives, he was succeeded by his sister *Jean*, duchess dowager of *Austria*, then in the 44th year of her age. She had long rendered herself infamous by her great number of gallants, many of whom, upon her accession to the throne, she immediately promoted.

She particularly created her favourite *Pandolphello Alopo* great chamberlain of the kingdom, whose office is to have the charge of the king's domains. *Pandolphello* behaved in his new authority with great arrogance, and soon after apprehended *Sforza*, and shut him up in the same prison with the *Ursini*, being suspicious, as was said, lest, with the troops he commanded, he should make himself prince of *Capua*; but, according to some, lest he should become too great a favourite with the queen². The chamberlain likewise used

who mar-
ries the
count de la
Marche.

his utmost endeavour to prevent the marriage of the queen, but without success; for *Jean*, at the urgent intreaties of her counsellors, contracted an alliance with *James* count de la *Marche*, of the house of *Bourbon*, in *France*, who arrived at *Naples* on the 10th of *August*, when the marriage was celebrated; and, with the consent of the queen and nobles, he assumed the title of king. *Jean* herself had been proclaimed

* MONSTRELET. l. i. c. 129. COLLENUT. & SUMMONT. ut supra & alii. y GIANNONE. SPOND. Annal.

² Gi-
ornal. Napol. GIANNONE.

queen without seeking investiture from the pope^a. *Pandolphello*, judging that in case of the queen's marriage he could not long enjoy her favour, resolved to support himself by powerful alliances, and, before the arrival of king *James*, had prevailed with *Sforza* to marry his niece *Catarinella Alopa*, as a condition of his recovering his liberty. *Sforza* and *Pandolphello* after the marriage contracted a great intimacy, on which account the barons had conferred the title of king on the count *de la Marche*, that he might be able to counterbalance their influence and authority. The king resolved to crush them immediately, and the day after his marriage he put *Sforza* in chains, and a few weeks after imprisoned *Pandolphello*, when he ordered both of them to be tortured; and *Pandolphello*, in consequence of his confession, was afterwards put to death.

James likewise took possession of all the fortresses in the kingdom, which he committed to the care of Frenchmen; and conceiving a disgust for his queen, on account of her abandoned life, he deprived her of all share in the government; removed from her all her antient servants, whose places he supplied with French people; and placing a guard over her, would not allow her subjects to speak to her. Being soon after relieved from his apprehensions of a competitor by the news of the death of the duke of *Anjou*, and fearing nothing from the pope, who was too much engaged at the council of *Constance*, he set *Paul Ursini* and his brother *Orso* at liberty, hoping to put an end to the civil dissensions, and to govern the kingdom in a peaceable manner. However, his great partiality to Frenchmen, on whom he bestowed all offices, quickly alienated the affections of the barons from him; and the *Neapolitans*, being deprived of the sight of the queen, were filled with discontent, and began openly to murmur. *Jean*, about a year after she had been confined, obtained liberty to dine in a garden belonging to a *Florentine* merchant, which the *Neapolitans* were no sooner informed of, than they flocked thither in great numbers from a curiosity to see her. Two of the nobles excited the people to take arms in her defence. Accordingly, after she had dined, her guard was compelled to leave her, and she was conducted by the people to the archbishop's palace, and from thence to the *Castello di Capuano*. The king immediately retired to *Castell Nuovo*, where he was besieged by order of the queen; but the *Neapolitans*, rather than trust the whole administration to the queen, resolved again to support *James*, and me-

He usurps the whole administration, and imprisons the queen.

A. D.
1416.

^a Vide auct. sup. citat.

diated a reconciliation betwixt him and *Jean*. He was allowed the title of king, and a yearly pension of 40,000 ducats; but engaged for the future not to assume the supreme administration. *Jean* immediately promoted several of her favourites to the chief offices, set *Sforza* at liberty, and conferred upon him the office of high-constable; and was very liberal in her favours to the *Neapolitans*, in order to alienate them intirely from the king ^b.

Alphonfus of Arragon is declared king of Sicily. DURING these transactions in *Naples*, *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* and *Sicily* died in *Catalonia*. About three years before he had been chosen king of both these kingdoms, as his uncle *Martin* had left no issue. *Alphonfus*, the eldest of his four sons, was now proclaimed king, and *John*, his second son, arrived in *Sicily* as governor of the island ^c.

A. D. 1417. QUEEN *Jean*, in the mean time, resigned herself intirely to the direction of her high-steward *Sergianni Carraccioli*, who was accused of having a criminal intimacy with her. *Sergianni*, in order to secure her favour, dismissed his two greatest rivals, *Sforza* and *Origlia*, from court. *Origlia* was sent ambassador to the council of *Constance*, and *Sforza*, in the end of *January*, marched to the relief of the castle of *St. Angelo*, which was besieged by *Braccio da Montone*, a soldier of fortune, who, during the absence of the pope in *Germany*, had made himself master of *Rome*. *Sergianni* soon after persuaded the queen to imprison her husband, and to banish all the *French* from her dominions. Though he had acquired the hatred of the chief nobles by his arbitrary administration, yet he found means of securing a great party among the *Neapolitans*, by distributing the pensions which the *French* enjoyed among the rich citizens, and furnishing the common people with provisions at a low price. *Sforza*, in the mean time, having recovered *Rome*, returned with his forces towards *Naples*, highly enraged against *Sergianni*, who had neglected to send money to pay his soldiers, in order to oblige them to mutiny, and desert to *Braccio*. *Sergianni* levied troops in order to oppose him; but *Sforza* investing *Naples*, the queen was obliged to banish her favourite to the island of *Procida*.

1418. JEAN was, at the same time, urged by the duke of *Burgundy* and pope *Martin*, who had been elected at the council of *Constance*, to set her husband at liberty. *Martin* soon after sent two legates to her, promising to agree to her coronation; and a few months after his nephew *Antonio Gelsonna* arrived at *Naples* with the form of a defensive alliance betwixt

She enters into a defensive alliance with the pope. *Jean* was, at the same time, urged by the duke of *Burgundy* and pope *Martin*, who had been elected at the council of *Constance*, to set her husband at liberty. *Martin* soon after sent two legates to her, promising to agree to her coronation; and a few months after his nephew *Antonio Gelsonna* arrived at *Naples* with the form of a defensive alliance betwixt

^b Vide ant. citat. ut supra.
ut supra. SUZ. INDIC. l. iii.

^c Fragment. Sicul. Hist.
MARIAN. l. xix.

him and the queen, which was soon after published. *Antonio*, in a great measure, reconciled *Sforza* and *Carraccioli*; but the queen, not thinking it safe immediately to recall *Carraccioli* to *Naples*, sent him as her ambassador to the pope, who in the month of *February* had arrived at *Florence*. *Carraccioli*, by her order, restored *Ostia*, *Castel St. Angelo*, and *Civita Vecchia*, to *Colonna*; and then, proceeding to *Florence*, had several conferences with the pope, to whom he promised the assistance of the queen's troops against *Braccio*, who had usurped the ecclesiastical territories. About the same time the cardinal legate arrived at *Naples* to perform the ceremony of the queen's coronation; but insisting that her husband should first recover his liberty, she at length entered into an agreement with the king, who on the 15th of *February* came out of prison, and went through the city, attended by a great number of gentlemen, to *Castello di Capuano*. He quickly found a great many friends, and many of the nobility of the *Seggi* waited upon the legate, and upon the pope's brother and nephew, proposing that he should be crowned at the same time with the queen. This proposal greatly alarmed *Carraccioli*, who had returned to *Naples*; but by making the queen promise large estates to the *Colonnas*, he prevailed on them and the legate to refuse their assent. James seeing no prospect of recovering any authority, and despairing of having any issue by the queen, who was now fifty years of age, resolved to leave *Italy*; and accordingly, about two months after, secretly hired a *Genoese* galley at *Naples*, and embarking with a few friends, returned to *France*^d (T). The queen, after the departure of her husband, was solemnly crowned by the legate on *Sunday* the 28th of *October*, and the feasting and rejoicings on that occasion were continued to the end of the year^e.

A. D.
1419.

King
James re-
covers his
liberty,
and re-
turns to
France.

THOUGH the queen, by the absence of her husband, was now her own mistress, and was secured on the throne by the sanction of a Catholic pope, yet she was quickly involved in greater troubles than ever. Her favourite *Caraccioli*, puffed

The queen
and her

^d Giornal. Napol. GIANNONE.
supra.

^e Giornal. ut

(T) After his return to *France* and towns thro' which he passed, he entered into the order of yet so great was his humility, *Franciscan* friars at *Besançon*; and that he caused himself to be carried thro' the streets in a handbarrow in the habit of a *Franciscan* (2).

(2) Oliver. Marston, Memor. l. vii. Spond. Annal. Cosmanzo Hist. Neap.

favourite up with his prosperity, greatly exasperated the *Neapolitan*
and the nobles by his insolence and cruelty. As they were not in a
and condition to oppose him, they privately solicited *Sforza* to
Storza; return to *Naples*. This general had been employed the whole
 A. D. summer in opposing the conquests of *Braccio* in the ecclesi-
 1427. astical state; but being disappointed of money and supplies
 by *Carraccioli*, who even privately sent money to *Braccio*, he
 had received a signal defeat, and lost great part of his troops.
 The pope likewise, having in vain solicited succours from
Naples, by the mediation of the *Florentines* concluded a peace
 with *Braccio*, who delivered up all his conquests; but was
 allowed to retain *Perugia*, *Todi*, *Assisi*, *Rocca-Contrada*, *Jesio*,
and Monte Abbate. The pope and *Sforza* being both irri-
ated rated against the queen and *Carraccioli*, they concluded a
Lewis treaty with *Lewis* the son of the late duke of *Anjou*, whose
of Anjou ambassadors were then in *Florence*, soliciting the interest of
to the de the pope in favour of their master, whom they wanted at least
to reg- to be declared heir to the crown, as the queen had no chil-
am. dren. The duke's ambassadors declared *Sforza* high-constable
 and commander in chief; and it was agreed, that if the
 queen, by her bad counsellors, should reject the reasonable
 conditions they would offer her, *Sforza* should invade the
 kingdom by land, and the duke of *Anjou*, in the month of
June, should appear with a fleet off *Naples* &c. *Lewis*, being
 informed by his ambassadors of the treaty concluded with
 the pope, immediately requested the assistance of the king
 of *Aragon*, who, though he was at war with the *Genoese*,
 promised to allow the *Genoese* vessels in his service to pass un-
 molested. *Sforza*, in the mean time, advanced with his
 army towards *Naples*, and appeared before the city on the
 18th of *June*; when the queen refusing to agree to the pro-
 posals offered by him, he sent her the truncheon and other
 ensigns of his office, and immediately displayed the standard
 of *Lewis* III. so he called the duke of *Anjou*. He invested
 the city with his army, in hopes of the appearance of the fleet,
 when the *Anjou* faction would probably have declared them-
 selves: but the duke not arriving with the fleet the 19th of
August, his army, in the mean time, suffered greatly, and he
 lost his eldest son, and several chief officers.

AFTER the arrival of the fleet, the queen still refused to
 surrender, and found means of sending an ambassador to
The queen *Florence* to demand the assistance of the pope. The ambaf-
admits Al- sador receiving only fair words from the pope, immediately,

¶ Annal. BONINCONTR. LEONARD. ARET. Comment. § LE-
 ODORISII CRIBELLI de Vit. Sfortiæ Viccom. ap. MURATOR.
 t. xix.

by the queen's command, proceeded to *Sardinia*, and entered *phonusus of* into a treaty with *Alphonfus*, whom the queen adopted for Arragon her son and heir. *Alphonfus* was then preparing to invade *for her son* *Corsica*; but embracing the offer of queen *Jean*, he directly *and heir.* sent a fleet, with three ambassadors, to *Naples*. In consequence of this reinforcement, *Sforza* was obliged to raise the siege, and on the 16th of *September* retired to *Aversa*, which had declared for king *Lewis*; while the queen publicly ratified the treaty made in *Sardinia*, put the *Arragonian* ambassadors in possession of the duchy of *Calabria*, and the two castles *Nuovo* and *del Ovo*, and ordered the *Seggi* and the people of *Naples* to take the oath of allegiance to *Alphonfus* as heir of the kingdom^a. However, not receiving that assistance from the *Catalonians* which she expected, and the party

of the duke of *Anjou* daily growing more powerful, a few months after she made an offer of adopting *Lewis*; but while she was negotiating that affair with a baron of the *Anjou* faction, four *Arragonian* galleys arrived at *Iscia*, on which account she again attached her self to *Alphonfus*, who was then in *Sicily*, making preparations for his *Neapolitan* expedition, and hired *Braccio* of *Perugia* with 3000 horse. *Braccio* accordingly, having concluded a treaty with the queen, who promised him the principality of *Capua*, and conferred upon him the office of high-constable, on the 7th of *June* entered *Terra di Lavoro*, and soon after arrived at *Naples*^b. About a fortnight after, *Alphonfus* appeared with seven ships, sixteen galleys, and twenty-six smaller vessels, and was received by the queen with the greatest honours.

A. D.
1421.

THE pope, finding the *Durazzo* faction not so easily suppressed as he expected, now openly declared himself, and *openly as-* sent his general, *Tartaglia*, with 500 horse and some infantry *sists Lewis.* to the assistance of *Sforza*. But he, being secretly in the interest of *Braccio*, prevented *Sforza*, during the whole campaign, from effecting any important enterprize, and even formed a design for murdering him. The last action of the campaign was the siege of *Acerra*, which place the inhabitants, though terrified with the battering cannon of *Alphonfus*, defended with the utmost bravery. The besiegers at last, to save their honour, agreed to raise the siege, on condition that the place should be sequestrated into the hands of the pope's legate. *Martin* finding himself unable to support the war, and *Alphonfus* threatening to acknowledge *Benedict*, one of the antipopes, who still resided in *Spain*, he now

A. D.
1422.

^a CRIDELL. ut supra. Giornal. ut supra. GIANNONE.
^b Vit. Sfort ut supra. Vit. Bracchii ap. eundem.

*Sforza
makes his
peace with
the queen.*

endeavoured to reconcile the two parties; and tho' he countenanced *Lewis*, he offered him no longer any assistance. The two legates that he sent into the kingdom proposed a truce for some months, during which all the towns that had been taken by *Lewis* were sequestered into their hands. *Alphonfus* and the queen, in the mean time, proposed, if possible, before the opening of the campaign, to reconcile *Sforza* to their party. He having obtained leave from the pope and *Lewis* to make the best terms for himself that he could, in the beginning of summer he had a conference with *Braccio*, and soon after went to *Gaeta*, where the king and queen then resided, on account of the plague which raged at *Naples*. *Sforza* met with a very gracious reception from the queen, as she and *Carraccioli* began to be very jealous of *Alphonfus*, who had lately reduced *Sorrento*, and detained it in his own name. He received the city of *Mansfredonia*, with all its territories, from the queen, promised to endeavour to reconcile the barons of the *Anjou* faction, and to assist the queen and *Alphonfus* whenever he should be called, or either of them that should desire him first ^k.

A. D.
1423.

*A rupture
betwixt
Alphonfus
and the
queen;*

Not long after the mutual jealousy of the king and queen broke out into an open rupture. In the end of the year, as the plague had ceased in *Naples*, they both returned to that city. The queen, however, being persuaded by *Carraccioli* that *Alphonfus* designed to seize her and send her a prisoner to *Catalonia*, took up her residence in *Castel Capuano*, and declined going to *Castel Nuovo*, where *Alphonfus* kept his court. *Carraccioli* likewise refused to go thither to the council without a safe-conduct from the king, which was granted him. *Alphonfus*, however, persuaded that the queen was alienated from him by the suggestions of *Carraccioli*, on the 22d of *May* apprehended him, when he came to the *Castel Nuovo*, and put him in chains, and immediately went with the *Catalans* and *Spaniards* to the *Castel Capuano*, with the intention, as it was believed, of seizing the queen. *Jean*, suspecting his design, ordered the gate to be shut, and obliged him to retire; and immediately sent messengers to *Sforza*, who was then at *Benevento*, to come to her assistance. The king likewise desired the assistance of *Sforza*, and at the same time assembled his troops to besiege the queen. *Sforza* in a few days arrived at *Naples*, and declaring for the queen attacked the *Spaniards*, and after an obstinate dispute obliged them to retire into *Castel Nuovo*. *Alphonfus*, about ten days

^k Vit. Sfort. ut supra. Giornal. Napol. Annal. BONINCONTI II,

After, was relieved from his distress by the arrival of a considerable fleet from *Arragon*, which, it was alleged, he had sent for to carry off the queen.

As *Sforza* had then gone to take possession of *Aversa*, the *Spaniards* immediately landed; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Neapolitans*, that same day made themselves masters of almost one-third of the city. A few days after they took possession of the whole city, part of which they burnt, and plundered the houses of those whom they suspected to favour the queen. She, in the mean time, with many *Neapolitan* ladies, retired in great terror to *Aversa*, where, by the advice of *Sforza*, *Carraccioli*, and her other counsellors, she declared the adoption of *Alphonfus* null and void, and adopted *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who was then at *Rome*, but who adopts quickly arrived at *Aversa*, where he was received with great honour, and declared duke of *Calabria*. *Lewis* and *Sforza*, *Anjou*. a few weeks after, attacked the *Catalans* and *Sicilians* near *Naples*, and repulsed them into the city. *Alphonfus* was highly provoked against the pope and *Lewis*; and being sensible that it would now require great efforts to maintain himself in *Naples*, he left the command of the garrison to his brother the infant *Peter*, and in the end of *October* sailed to *Spain* to make new preparations. In hopes of obliging *Lewis* to return to *Provence*, upon his return home he landed at *Marseilles*, and having plundered the city, proceeded to *Barcelona*, where he arrived on the 2d of *December*¹.

UPON the rupture betwixt the queen and *Alphonfus*, *Braccio* had declared for the king: however, he gave him very little assistance, but spent the whole summer in the siege of *Aquila*, which city had been granted to him according to the agreement betwixt him and queen; but having declared for *Lewis* of *Anjou*, absolutely refused to submit to him. As *Braccio* was now an enemy, and the interest of the queen and *Lewis* was united, *Sforza* was ordered to the relief of *Aquila*. He accordingly assembled all his forces, and marched to *Abruzzo*; but in passing the river *Pescara*, on the 4th of *January*,² he was unfortunately drowned³. The command of the army was immediately assumed by *Francis* his bastard son, who thought proper to return to *Aversa*, where he was received very graciously by the queen, and ordered to invest *Naples*. The pope, a little before, had prevailed with *Vicenti* duke of *Milan* to send a fleet to the assistance of the queen. *Guido Torello* had accordingly arrived with a power-

¹ Vide auct. sup. citat. Fragment. Hist. Sicul. ornal. Napol. Vit. Sfor. ut supra.

² Gi-

ful fleet, and taken *Gaeta* and the isle of *Procida*, and received the submission of a great many barons in the name of *His son re-* *Lewis*. By the assistance of this fleet, *Sforza*, on the 12th of *covers Na-* *April*, obliged the city of *Naples* to surrender, and took the greatest part of the garrison prisoners, *Don Peter* with a few *the Spani-* *Catalans* saving themselves in *Castel Nuovo*°. The queen, having recovered *Naples*, ordered her generals to march to the relief of *Aquila*. They accordingly, being joined by the pope's troops, marched to *Abruzzo*, and on the 2d of *June* came to a general engagement with *Braccio*, who being killed in the action, his troops were intirely routed and dispersed°. The queen, in the mean time, being informed that *Don Peter* expected to be relieved by an *Arragonian* fleet, immediately assembled her barons for the defence of *Naples*. The city having thus received a powerful garrison, the *Catalans*, who arrived on the 20th of *June*, were prevented from landing; and after continuing some weeks before the city, sailed with *Don Peter* to *Sicily*, leaving the command of the castle to one *Dalmico*.

ALPHONSUS being at this time engaged in a war with the king of *Castile*, almost intirely dropt his pretensions to *Naples*; and the army of *Braccio* being dispersed, the kingdom began again to enjoy tranquillity. *Carraccioli*, however, soon occasioned great murmuring among the people of *Naples*, by neglecting to besiege *Castel Nuovo*, and consenting to several truces with the *Spanish* governor, who was even allowed to buy provisions in the city. He likewise irritated many of the barons, by imprisoning some of them, and stripping others of their estates, which were conferred upon the pope's relations. To secure his own power and grandeur, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to the son of *Cal- dora* the general, and the other to the brother of the prince of *Taranto*, with the county of *Acerra* as her portion. He likewise, by his interest with the queen, prevailed upon her to confer upon him the principality of *Capua*, which had devolved to the crown by the rebellion and death of *Braccio*. In the mean time, being jealous of the harmony betwixt the queen and *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who was likewise greatly beloved by the *Neapolitans*, he would not allow him to continue two nights in *Naples*, but sent him with his own son to *Calabria*, where he was employed two years in reducing the barons of the party of *Alphonfus P.*

POPE *Martin* dying the following year, on the 20th of *February*, he was succeeded by *Eugenius IV.*, a *Venetian*. A

° Vide auct. sup. citat. Fragment. Hist. Sicul. ° Vit. *Bracchii & Sfort.* ut supra. ° *Giornal. Napol.* GIANNONE. rupture

rupture immediately happening betwixt the new pope and the *Colonna*, who were supposed to be in possession of an immense treasure belonging to the church, *Eugenius* asked the assistance of the queen against them, as they had taken arms, and had endeavoured to seize the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Carraccioli* eagerly embraced this opportunity of ruining the *Colonna*, that he might raise himself still higher by their downfall; and prevailing on the queen to divest them of the principality of *Salerno*, and all the counties and estates they held in the kingdom, he sent his brother *Marino* with 1000 horse to the assistance of the pope. In the mean time, though he was in possession of the principality of *Capua*, the duchy of *Venosa*, the county of *Avellino*, and many other lands, he asked the principality of *Salerno*, and the duchy of *Amalfi*, under pretence that *Capua* would probably be taken from him and annexed to the crown by her succession. As the queen was now old and decrepid, the strict connection betwixt her and *Sergianni* had long ceased. She therefore, by the persuasion of her favourites and counsellors, who hated *Carraccioli*, absolutely refused his request, which provoked him to such a degree of insolence, that he broke out into abusive language, and, according to some authors, even gave her a blow. The duchess of *Sessa*, who was the queen's cousin, and now her chief favourite, urged the necessity of curbing his insolence; and having in some measure obtained the consent of the queen, she soon after found an opportunity of putting her design in execution. *Carraccioli* being suspicious of the power of *Caldora*, who lived in *Abruzzo* with 4000 men under his command, resolved to secure his friendship by a second alliance, and accordingly concluded a match betwixt his only son *Trojano* and the daughter of *Caldora*. The duchess of *Sessa* representing to the queen, that *Carraccioli* and *Caldora*, being strictly united by this match, intended to deprive her of the kingdom, she received orders to imprison the high-steward. The conspirators, however, sensible of the queen's sickleness, resolved to put him to death, which resolution they executed on the 18th of *August*, the day of the marriage, which was honoured with the presence of the greatest part of the barons, and celebrated with the utmost magnificence in *Castello di Capuano*. After *Carraccioli* had gone down to bed, one of the conspirators knocked at the door of his chamber, and desired him to come immediately to the queen, who was seized with an apoplexy. The chamberlains opening the door without suspicion, the conspirators entered, and directly stabbed him. Next day, to prevent a tumult, all the relations of *Carraccioli*, under pretence of the

treat the
queen in a
contemptu-
ous man-
ner.

A. D.
1432.

is murder-
ed by means
of the duch-
ess of Sessa.

queen's

queen's death, were called to the palace, and forthwith imprisoned. Tho' the queen was dissatisfied with his death, yet she ordered all his estates to be confiscated, and granted a full pardon to all the conspirators ¹.

LEWIS of *Anjou*, who was then in *Calabria*, and had fixed his residence in *Cosenza*, hearing of the death of *Caraccioli*, expected to be recalled to *Naples*, and made preparations for his return. But the ambitious dukes carved out new business for him in that province, some of which was still possessed by the *Colonna* ¹; and in hopes of ingrossing the whole direction of affairs, she persuaded the queen not to invite him to *Naples* ². *Alphonfus* returning to *Sicily* from an *African* expedition, and hearing of the death of the high steward, and that the dukes of *Seffa*, with whom he had formerly had a great intimacy, was at the head of affairs, he immediately sailed to the island of *Ischia*, and entered into a private correspondence with the dukes, who endeavoured to persuade the queen again to declare him her son and heir. *Alphonfus* likewise prevailed on the duke of *Seffa* to espouse his interest, hoping that his authority would influence other barons; but he was greatly disappointed, for there was none who offered to revolt; and the dukes, who had long been at variance with her husband, no sooner heard of his correspondence with *Alphonfus*, than she accused him of rebellion. The king, finding that his plots had miscarried, made a truce with the queen for ten years, and returned the following summer to *Sicily* ³. A few months after, *Lewis* duke of *Anjou* contracted an alliance with *Margaret* the daughter of the duke of *Savoy*. The queen proposed, that the bride should land at *Naples*, but by the advice of her counsellors, who had no desire to see *Lewis* in the capital, the dukes *Margaret* was desired to land at *Sorrento*, whither she arrived the following year, and proceeded to *Cosenza*, where in the month of *July* the marriage was celebrated, with as much magnificence as the place would allow ⁴.

A. D.
1433.

Lewis
marries
the daughter
of the
duke of
Savoy.
1434.

SOON after, the courtiers, who had the intire management of the queen, desirous to ruin the prince of *Taranto*, prevailed upon her to summon him, under pretence that he had not restored some lands that in the former civil dissensions he had taken from the family of the *Sanseverini*. Without waiting for his appearance, they sent against him the ge-

¹ Giornal. Napol. SUMMONT. l. iv. c. 3. MARIAN. l. xxi. c. 5. ANNAL. BONINCONTR. SPOND. ANNAL. GIANNONE. ² ANNAL. BONINCONTR. ³ Idem ibid. ⁴ Giornal. Napol. Fragment. Hist. Sicul. ⁵ Giornal. Napol.

general *Caldora*, whose troops being joined with those of the queen, and *Lewis* of *Anjou*, composed an army of 9500 horse and 3500 foot. As the prince of *Taranto* had always been loyal to the queen, *Lewis* of *Anjou* engaged in the war out of obedience to her, against his own inclination; and contracting an illness from the fatigues of the campaign, he returned to *Cosenza*, where he died on the fifteenth of *November*, after *His death*. he had spent 100,000 ducats of his wife's portion in the expedition against the prince. His death was greatly lamented by the whole kingdom, but particularly by the queen, who regretted bitterly that she had not honoured and treated him as his great patience and submissive obedience to her had deserved. The queen survived *Lewis* only a few months, and died on the second of *February*, in *Queen* the sixty-fifth year of her age, and the twenty-first of her *Jean dies*. reign, being the last of the first race of the family of *Anjou*. A D. 1435. She left behind her a treasure of 500,000 ducats; and as the wife of the late *Lewis* was not with child, by her last will she appointed his brother *Renatus* as her heir, nominating sixteen barons of her council and court as regents of the kingdom till he should arrive.

Four days after the death of queen *Jean*, the city of *Naples* elected twenty persons out of the nobility and people, who were associated with the regents. They immediately received a nuncio from the pope, who ordered them not to swear allegiance to any prince till he should be confirmed by the holy see, to which the kingdom had devolved by the death of the late queen without issue. The regents paid little regard to this command, but declared that they would have no king but *Renatus* of *Anjou*; whose standard, with that of the pope, they erected in *Naples*. Mean while *Alphonfus*, who for some time past had been sending succours from *Sicily* to the prince of *Taranto*, hearing of the queen's death, immediately came with a fleet to *Ischia*, and entered into a correspondence with several nobles who were not of the regency. By their advice he landed with some troops, and many other barons declaring for him, in the beginning of *May* he found himself at the head of 15,000 men. *Alphonfus* was likewise delivered up to him, and by the advice of many barons he invested *Gaeta*. The regency, in order to oppose him, gave the command of their troops to *Caldora*, *rives in* and hired *Antonia Pontadero* and *Micheletta da Cotignola*, each *Puglia*. of whom commanded 1000 horse. The duke of *Milan*;

* Idem. Annal. BONINCONTI. GIANNONE. SUMMONT. Hist. Neap.

* Idem ibid.

who was at this time in possession of *Genoa*, and had reduced almost all *Lombardy*, declared against *Alphonfus*, and sent assistance to the *Gaetans*, being suspected of having a design to seize the kingdom for himself. The siege still continuing, the *Genoese* a few weeks after fitted out seventeen vessels, with supplies for the place, which *Alphonfus* being informed of, according to common opinion, by the duke of *Milan*, who desired the defeat of the *Genoese*, in order to humble them, he embarked 10,000 men, and sailed to the island of *Poncia*, to intercept the fleet. The *Genoese*, who were only 4000, at first declined any engagement; but being attacked by *Alphonfus*, they fought for ten hours with such despair and fury, that at last they gained a complete victory, took all the enemies galleys except one, and made *Alphonfus* prisoner, with his two brothers, the king of *Navarre* and *Don Henry*, with many other *Neapolitan*, *Sicilian*, and *Catalan* knights and barons, to the number of near 1000. The *Gaetans* hearing of the victory, immediately sallied out upon the besiegers, whom they entirely routed. The *Genoese* fleet, after supplying *Gaeta* with provisions, sailed to *Naples*, with the design of attacking the two castles towards the sea; but the admiral being bribed, as it was believed by *Alphonfus*, abstained from any further hostilities, and returned to *Savona*, where he landed his prisoners, who instead of proceeding to *Genoa*, were conducted to *Milan*. The duke treated *Alphonfus* with great honour and respect, and being soon convinced by him, that it was not his interest to allow the *French* to get footing in *Italy*, he entered into an alliance with him against *Renatus*, and towards the end of the year set all his prisoners at liberty.

He is taken
prisoner by
the Geno-
ese.

Concludes
an alliance
with the
duke of
Milan.

He is set
at liberty,
and re-
turns to
Gaeta.

A. D.
1436.

THE *Genoese* thinking themselves slighted by this alliance, immediately revolted from the duke, and concluded a treaty with *Renatus*, who was at this time a prisoner to the duke of *Burgundy*. A few months before, he had come to *Anjou*, on parole, where he received the deputies from the regency; but resolving to fulfil his engagements to the duke of *Burgundy*, he refused to proceed to *Naples*, but sent his wife *Elizabeth*, with his second son *Lewis* marquis of *Piedmont*, returning himself to prison, where he continued three years. *Elizabeth* embarking at *Provençe* on the first of *October*, arrived at *Gaeta*; and a few weeks after proceeded to *Naples*, where she was received with great honours as queen. She immediately sent *Micheletto* as viceroy to *Calabria*, who being assisted by a fleet under the command of her son, quickly reduced that province. *Caldora* and *Antonio* in the mean time, desirous, for their own advantage, to protract the war, neglected

neglected to take possession of *Capua*, and allowed the *Arragonians* to seize *Gaeta* ⁷.

ALPHONSUS hearing that his brother was in possession of *Gaeta*, on the second of *February* arrived in that city with all those barons that had been prisoners in *Milan*. He continued there several months, and though several barons of the *Anjou* faction revolted to him, he spent the whole year without any enterprize of importance. Being irritated against the pope, who refused to favour his pretensions to *Naples*, he declared for the council of *Basil*, which was then at variance with *Eugenius*, and began hostilities against the ecclesiastical state, under pretence of taking possession of it in behalf of the fathers at *Basil* ². *Alphonfus* by this conduct stirred up a more formidable enemy against him than he expected; for the queen the following year begging assistance of the pope, he sent 4000 horse and 1000 foot to her aid, under the command of cardinal *Vitelleschi*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, who was then greatly distinguished for his military talents. *Vitelleschi* entered the kingdom in the month of *April*, and took *Cepperano*, *Venafro*, and many other places, in his way to *Naples*, where he was received with great honour by the queen, who gave him 26,000 ducats for the payment of his troops. As the cardinal paid his men not only with money but also with indulgences, they fought with great bravery; and in a few months recovered many places from the *Arragonians*. The queen, however, refusing to grant him any settlement in the kingdom, and *Caldora*, instead of co-operating with him, professing open enmity against him, and thwarting him to the utmost of his power, soon after *Christmas* he embarked on board a small vessel, and sailed to *Venice*, and from thence to *Ferrara* to the pope ³.

The pope sends succours to the Anjou faction.
A. D. 1437.

RENATUS about the same time, upon paying an immense ransom to the duke of *Burgundy*, being at last set at liberty, in the month of *April* arrived at *Pisa*, where he received an offer of assistance from *Francis Sforza*, which he accepted. His council, however, assuring him, that if he hired *Sforza*, *Caldora* would immediately revolt to *Alphonfus*, he afterwards desired *Francis* not to enter the kingdom. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, (U) *Renatus* was received with great rejoicings, and

1438.

Renatus arrives at Naples.

⁷ *Iidem* *ibid.* Fragment. *Hist. Sicul.* at *supra.* ^{*} *SURIT.*
Hist. Arag. l. xiv. ^{*} *SUMMONT.* *Giornal.* *Napol.*

(U) *Renatus* brought with the first that had ever been in him sixty musketeers, who were *Naples*. Of these sixty, only two

Offers battle to Alphonsus.

and it was universally concluded, that the war would quickly be at an end ; but it was no sooner known that he came without money, than his reputation funk, and the ardour of the people abated. Soon after his arrival, *Caldora* came to *Naples*, and offered him his service ; and immediately after marched into *Abruzzo*, to defend his own territories from *Alphonsus*, who had reduced great part of the province. *Renatus* quickly followed him with as many men as he could collect ; and at the end of *August* joined him at *Sulmona*, which they besieged. Finding the siege very difficult, and being joined by 7000 *Aquilan* infantry, *Renatus* decamped, and went in quest of *Alphonsus*, to whom he sent a bloody glove, challenging him to an engagement. *Alphonsus* having privately viewed his army, thought proper to decline an engagement, immediately left *Abruzzo*, and marching with all speed to *Naples*, on the twenty-seventh of *September* invested the city by sea and land. Though the city had almost no garrison, yet it made a vigorous opposition, and the infant *Don Peter* being killed by a cannon-ball, *Alphonsus* raised the siege, which had continued thirty-six days, and retired with his army to *Capua*.

Recovers Castello Nuovo.

RENATUS in the mean time had reduced almost all *Abruzzo*, and towards the end of the year returned to *Naples*. Early in the spring he besieged *Castel Nuovo* by sea and land, *Alphonsus* used his utmost endeavours to relieve the place ; and for that purpose marched with 11,000 men to *Naples*. His troops being exposed to the cannon from the castle of *S. Erasmus*, they mutinied, and declared that they would not stand to be shot at like dogs ; which obliged him to send a message to *Renatus*, desiring him to make war according to the usual manner, and not to fire at night. His message being treated with contempt, and the castle being in want of ammunition and provisions, it was at last agreed to deliver it to the *French* ambassadors, who had lately come to *Naples* to propose an accommodation betwixt the two kings. The *Catalans*, who had been in possession of the castle fifteen years, accordingly marched out the twenty-fourth of *August*, with what effects they could carry with them. The *French*

two understood the art of making gunpowder. *Alphonsus* caused them to make a great many muskets ; but as none of his party knew the art of making gunpowder, the guns were for

some time useless, till he happened to seize one of the musketeers of *Renatus*, who knew the receipt for making the powder (1).

(1) *Giornal. Napoli. ap. Murat. t. xxi. col. 1113.*

ambassadors soon after went to wait upon *Alphonfus*, who had given them hopes of agreeing to a truce; but both they and their retinue being intercepted on the road, and beat by the *Catalans*, they returned to *Naples*, and delivered the castle to *Renatus*.

ALPHONSUS in the mean time made himself master of *Saleruo*, which he gave, with the title of prince, to *Ursino* count of *Nola*; and immediately after he besieged the castle of *Aversa*. *Renatus* was very solicitous to relieve the *Aversans*, and for that purpose intreated the assistance of *Antonio Caldora*, confirming to him the duchy of *Bari*, which had been possessed by his father, who had died a few weeks before. *Antonio* returning him an evasive answer, by which he appeared to lean to the party of *Alphonfus*, *Renatus* declared publicly, that seeing his affairs in a desperate situation, he intended to go with his wife and two sons to *Eugenius* at *Florence*; that if the pope would give him assistance, he would return to *Naples*, but if not he would proceed to *France*.

He in vain solicits the assistance of Caldora.

BEING dissuaded from this resolution by the *Neapolitans*, a few weeks after, on the twenty-ninth of *January*, he ventured to leave *Naples*, with some faithful attendants; and though almost all *Terra di Lavoro* was in possession of *Alphonfus*, he proceeded through the snow and over the mountains to *Nocera*. He gained great honour by this journey, and was immediately visited by the barons of *Abruzzo*, and some of the family of *Caldora*. Though he received many presents from the barons, he could not raise so much money as would satisfy the demand of the duke of *Bari*, who held him in suspense for near four months before he would absolutely engage in his service. The duke having at length joined him with his troops, he sent a trumpeter to *Alphonfus*, desiring him not to desolate the kingdom by prolonging the war, but to engage with him in single combat, or with a select troop, or with his army; and that the conqueror should quietly enjoy the crown. *Alphonfus* answering, that it would be imprudent to hazard a battle, as the kingdom was already his own, *Renatus*, on the last of *June*, attacked his camp, which he made himself master of, and would have entirely ruined his army, if *Caldora* had not treacherously refused to join in the pursuit. The king being convinced of his treachery, put him under confinement for some time; but his troops mutinying, he was obliged to set him at liberty, when he, with all his men, went over to *Alphonfus*.

Offers battle a second time to Alphonfus.

Is betrayed by Caldora.

RENATUS being thus destitute of money and troops, sent his wife and two sons to *Provence*, and began to treat with

A. D.
1442.

his competitor, offering to leave him the quiet possession of the kingdom, on condition that he would adopt his eldest son *John* for his heir. The *Neapolitans* being informed of this negotiation, prevailed upon *Renatus* to break it off, by assuring him that the pope, *Francis Sforza*, the *Florentines* and *Genoese*, had concluded a league to drive *Alphonfus* from *Italy*. *Alphonfus* in the mean time allowed the prince of *Taranto* to seize the duchy of *Bari*, and the county of *Conversano*, from *Caldera*, who afterwards lost all his territories, and died a beggar in the march of *Ancona*. He likewise took possession of *Cajazza*, and the island of *Caprea*, where soon after he seized a *French* galley with 80,000 crowns; and though the cardinal of *Taranto*, and the count of *Tagliacozzo*, by the command of the pope, entered the kingdom with 10,000 men, to the assistance of the *Anjou* faction, he found means of prevailing on them to agree to a truce, and to retire to the *Campania di Roma*.

Alphon-
fus takes
Naples by
storm.

Renatus
leaves the
kingdom.

THIS truce proved the intire ruin of the affairs of *Renatus*; for *Alphonfus* having now no enemy to oppose him in the field, marched, and invested the city of *Naples*; which, after a long siege, he at last, on the second of *June*, made himself master of by storm; his soldiers having been conducted into the place through an aqueduct. *Renatus* having used his utmost endeavours to repulse the enemy, retired to *Castello Nuovo*; and two *Genoese* ships arriving next day with provisions, he embarked in one of them, and proceeded to *Florence* to the pope, who received him with great kindness, and granted him the investiture of the kingdom; but could not prevail upon him to continue in *Italy*, in hopes of recovering the kingdom^b.

THE *Arragonians*, who had first broke into *Naples*, pillaged the city for four hours; but *Alphonfus* at length entering, immediately rode through the streets with a detachment of officers and horse, and prohibited any injury or violence to be done to the inhabitants under the pain of death. He treated all the citizens with great clemency, and having in a short time reduced almost the whole kingdom, he assembled a parliament at *Benevento*; and that he might not seem to annex his new conquest to his other hereditary dominions, he caused all the barons to swear homage to his bastard son *Ferdinand*, whom he legitimated, and created duke of *Calabria*. Although *Arragon*, *Valencia*, *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and *Roussillon*, were at this time

^b Giornal. Napol. Annal. BONINCONTR. SUMMONT. COSTANZO. MARIAN. GIANNONE, ut supra,

under the dominion of *Alphonfus*; yet he resolved to fix his royal seat in *Naples*; and the following year, having ordered forty yards of the wall to be levelled, he entered the city through the breach in a triumphal chariot drawn by four *Alphonfus* white horses, and followed by all the nobles of the kingdom enters *Naples* on foot. * The day was concluded with tournaments and feasts, and having granted a pardon to all those of the *Anjou* faction, he was so liberal of honours to his friends, that the author of the *Neapolitan* diary observes, the number of those who enjoyed titles was then doubled ^c.

A. D.
1443.

HAVING thus restored tranquillity to the kingdom, he bent all his thoughts upon a reconciliation with *Eugenius*; but in order to obtain from him the better terms, he at the same time entered into a negotiation with the antipope *Felix*, who had been elected about four years before by a few schismatic members of the council of *Basil*. As the authority of the council was daily declining, he interrupted his negotiation with *Felix* by starting new difficulties, and about the middle of *June* concluded a treaty with *Eugenius*, by which it was stipulated, that the pope should confirm the adoption of *Alphonfus* by *Jean II.* and grant him the kingdom of *Naples* upon the same conditions as it had been granted to others by former popes, with the clause, *notwithstanding he had conquered the kingdom with the sword*; that *Alphonfus* and all his subjects should acknowledge *Eugenius* as true pope; that he should support the ecclesiastical liberties, and re-establish those that had been infringed; that he should restore all the places taken from the church; should furnish six galleys against the *Turks*, and 4000 horse and 1000 foot to recover the march of *Ancona* from *Francis Sforza*, and grant the same privileges to the barons as they enjoyed during the reign of *William II.* The treaty contained some other less material articles, which were all confirmed by *Eugenius*, who on the fifteenth of *July* granted the bull of investiture. Tho' it was mentioned in the bull, that if *Alphonfus* left no lawful issue the kingdom should revert to the church, the pope nevertheless granted another bull of investiture to *Ferdinand*, which it was agreed should not be published during his life ^d.

Receives
the investiture of the
kingdom
from *Eugenius*.

EUGENIUS about the same time published seven or eight bulls, all in favour of *Alphonfus* ^e, who a few months after was seized with a dangerous illness, which occasioned a re-

^c Giornal. Napol. & alli.

^d Giornal. SURIT. Hist.

SUMMONT. ANNAL. BONINCONT. SPOND. ANNAL.

^e GI-

ANNONE.

port to prevail that he was dead. The king by this sickness being convinced how little he could trust to the fidelity of the barons, resolved to secure the interest of the prince of *Taranto*, the most powerful of them, by contracting a marriage betwixt the duke of *Calabria* and his niece *Isabella*, whom the prince had proposed to marry to the brother and heir apparent of the emperor of *Constantinople*. *Isabella* was accordingly conducted to *Naples*, where the marriage with the duke was celebrated without any magnificence, as news arrived of the death of the queens of *Castile* and *Portugal*, the king's two sisters. *Alphonfus* likewise secured the fidelity of the duke of *Sessa*, by marrying his bastard daughter *Leonora* to the duke's only son; and being informed that the troops he had sent into the march of *Ancona*, in consequence of his treaty with the pope, had been defeated by *Sforza*, he ordered another body of men to march thither, under the command of the count of *Ventimiglia*, and sent a powerful fleet into the *Adriatic*, to prevent the *Venetians* from sending supplies to the enemy.

ABOUT three years after *Alphonfus* resolved to march against *Sforza*; but when he had proceeded as far as *Tivoli*, he was informed of the death of *Eugenius*. *Nicolas V.* his successor, being of a peaceable disposition, and having no partiality to the *Venetians*, immediately proposed a general peace, and prevailed on *Alphonfus*, with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, and the duke of *Milan*, to send their plenipotentiaries to a congress at *Ferrara*. The conferences were quickly broke off, and all *Italy* was again thrown into confusion by the death of the duke of *Milan*. As he left no lawful issue, the emperor, the duke of *Orleans*, *Francis Sforza*, and *Alphonfus*, all formed pretensions to his dominions. *Alphonfus* reflecting on the hazard of exciting the emperor and all *Italy* against him, soon dropt his claim, but under pretence of securing the peace of *Italy*, he declared war against the *Florentines*, and entered *Tuscany*, in hopes of soon making a conquest of that province. Having quickly taken some few castles, in the beginning of the following spring he besieged *Piombino*; but the place being vigorously defended, and the plague cutting off a great many of his army, he was obliged to raise the siege several months after, and in September returned with the remains of his army to *Naples*.

A FEW months after his return there happened a rupture betwixt him and the *Venetians*, which almost entirely ruined

* SURIT. Hist. Napoli. An. Europ. Hist. Florent. Poog.
 * ANNAL. BONINCONTI. Giornal. ut supra.

the commerce of his subjects in *Abruzzo*, *Puglia*, and *Terra di Bari*. The war, however, was but of short continuance, for a peace was concluded the year after in the month of *August*^a; when the *Venetians* entered into an alliance with the king against the *Florentines*, the *Genoese*, and *Francis Sforza*, who was now declared duke of *Milan*ⁱ. This war was carried on but in a languid manner by the king, as he now began to be in love with repose, and was at this time enamoured with *Donna Lucretia de Alagno*, a *Neapolitan* lady, of great wit and beauty; who is likewise celebrated by several authors for her chastity, she having declared that the king with her consent should never violate her honour, and that if he offered to use force, she would not imitate the *Roman Lucretia*, but would prevent the dishonour by death. According to *Mariana*, however, and some others, she was the king's concubine.

A. D.
1449.
He forms
an alliance
with that
republic.
1450.

AFTER the war had continued two years, with various success, he sent 6000 horse and 2000 foot into *Tuscany*, under the command of his son *Ferdinand*, who took *Fojano* and two other castles, while the *Neapolitan* fleet infested the coast^k. The *Florentines* immediately sent an ambassador to *France*, desiring the assistance of *Charles VII.* and intreating him to send *Renatus* with a body of troops into *Italy*, promising to assist him to the utmost of their power, in recovering the kingdom of *Naples*. *Renatus* accordingly arriving in *Lombardy* the following year, with a considerable body of troops, gave such a turn to the war, in favour of the duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines*, that the *Venetians* began to make some offers for peace. *Nicolas V.* likewise being earnest to unite the *Christian* princes against *Mahomet II.* who a few months before had made himself master of *Constantinople*, offered his mediation for a treaty, and sent for the ambassadors of all the parties to *Rome*. *Alphonfus*, however, was very desirous to protract the war, and made large promises to the *Venetians* to make them alter their intentions; but the republic, instead of hearkening to his proposals, sent a secret messenger to the duke of *Milan*, to sound his inclinations, and finding him not averse to peace, they a few months after concluded a treaty with him and the *Florentines*. At the desire of the *Florentines*, the three parties likewise entered into a defensive alliance; and, that *Alphonfus* might not be offended, they immediately sent their ambassadors to *Naples*,

^a Idem ut supra. ⁱ Annal. BONINCONTI. POGGI Hist. BARTHOLO. FACIUS de Gest. Alphonf. l. ix. ^k POG. ut supra. Giornal. Napol. FACIUS ut supra.

A general league concluded against the Turks. who, with the pope's legate *Simonetus* the hermit, with great difficulty prevailed upon him to enter into the league. As all *Italy* was alarmed with the loss of *Constantinople*, and expected immediately to be invaded by the *Turks*, a defensive alliance for twenty-five years was accordingly concluded among the *Italian* states, excepting the *Genoese*, *Sigismund Malatesta*, and *Astur* of *Faenza*, who were excluded to gratify *Alphonfus* ¹.

A. D.

1455.

A FEW months after this general peace, *Alphonfus* reflecting that his competitor *Renatus* might be powerfully assisted by the *Italians*, and that his eldest son *John* was still left in *Italy*, and was entertained by the *Florentines*, he resolved to secure the friendship of *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, who was likewise desirous of the king's alliance to defend himself against the pretensions of the duke of *Orleans*. A double marriage was accordingly contracted; *Hippolita Maria*, the duke's daughter, being betrothed to *Alphonfus*, the duke of *Calabria's* eldest son, and *Leonora*, the sister of this *Alphonfus*, to the duke of *Milan's* third son, named *Sforza* ^m.

A rupture betwixt Alphonfus and the pope.

ALPHONSUS, however, about the same time drew upon himself the enmity of the successor of *Nicolas*, *Calixtus* III. who had been born his subject, and promoted to the cardinalate by his interest. The new pope is accused by some authors of ingratitude, and 'tis said, that being intoxicated with his elevation, he behaved with insolence to the king. Others allege, that the king, even after his promotion, looked upon him as his subject, and was piqued that the pope had rejected some arrogant demands made to him in an authoritative manner ⁿ. However it be, the enmity continued during the rest of *Alphonfus's* life; and the following year the king, from his resentment against the pope, assisted *Picininus*, who with a body of troops ravaged the territories of *Siena* ^o. At the same time he continued the war against *Malatesta* and the *Genoese*; and the year after he sent a powerful fleet to besiege *Genoa*. The *Genoese* being likewise attacked by land, were reduced to great distress; but the next year they were happily delivered from their enemy by death. *Alphonfus* in the beginning of *May* was taken ill, and after languishing a few weeks, died on the twenty-seventh of *June*, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He is said to have ex-

1458.
Alphonfus dies.

¹ *Iidem* *ibid.* *Hist. general d'Espagne*, t. iv. *Annal. BONIN-CONTRAMAN.* 1455. ^m *Giornal. ut supra*, *GIANNONE.* *Æn. Europ.* c. 58. *GOBELIN. Comment.* l. ii. *Hist. general d'Espagne*, t. iv. p. 129, 130. *Contin. de FLEURY Hist. Eccles.* t. xxii. ^o *GOBELIN. Comment. Æn. Europ.*

celled all the princes of his time in the knowledge of the art of war, in his generosity, magnificence, love of learning, and regard for learned men, particularly *George of Trebifond*, and *Laurentius Valla*. He is, however, blamed for his immoderate ambition, incontinency, passion, and dissimulation, and the severe exactions with which he oppressed his subjects P. As he had no lawful issue, he left by his last will the kingdom of *Naples* to his bastard son *Ferdinand*, and all his other dominions, particularly the island of *Sicily*, to his brother *John*, king of *Navarre*, and his posterity ¹ (W).

THE same day that *Alphonfus* died, *Ferdinand* sent to the pope, demanding the investiture of the kingdom. *Calixtus*, son *Ferdinand* however, refused his demand, unless he would divide the realm with his nephew *Peter Lewis Borgia*, a man of a most abandoned character, whom he had created duke of *Spoletto*. Otherwise he declared, that he would claim the kingdom as devolved to the church, or give the investiture of it to *John* king of *Arragon* ¹. *Ferdinand* would not hearken to the condition proposed by the pope; but nevertheless endeavoured to mitigate him by respectful and submissive letters and messengers. His endeavours were entirely without effect, for the pope on the twelfth of *July* published a bull, prohibiting *Ferdinand* to take the title of king of *Naples* under pain of excommunication, and likewise, under the same penalty, forbidding any of the *Neapolitans* from swearing allegiance to him, absolving all who had already sworn to him, and affirming that the kingdom had devolved to the church, as *Ferdinand* was not the true son of *Alphonfus*, but supposititious. The king in his defence appealed to a future council, and, as he was informed the pope was endeavouring to excite a rebellion by private emissaries, he assembled an army, and threatened to march to *Rome* ². At the same time he wrote to the cardinals, to endeavour to mitigate the pope,

¹ *Iidem ibid.* COLLENT. FAZEL. COSTANZO. SPOND. ANNAL. BONINCONT. ANNAL. GIORNAL. NAPOL. ² SUMMONT. ANNAL. BONINCONT. ¹ GIORNAL. NAPOL. ut supra. ² SUPRIT. l. xvi. c. 48 & 49. Hist. general d'Espagne. COSTANZO, l. xix. GIORNAL NAPOL.

(W) Some time before his death, *Alphonfus* advised his son *Ferdinand* not to imitate three of his maxims of government, but to pursue a different conduct; namely, to dismiss all the *Arragonians* and *Catalans* from court, and to employ *Italians*; to take off all heavy and oppressive taxes; and to cultivate peace with the church, and other states of *Italy* (1).

(1) *Antonin.* tit. 22, c. 16. sect. 1.

who

who was likewise importuned by the ambassadors of the duke of Milan. *Calixtus*, however, still continued obstinate and implacable; but all his ambitious designs were soon dissipated by death, which happened to him on the sixth of *August*. His successor, the famous *Aneas Sylvius*, who took the name of *Pius II.* immediately declared himself favourable to *Ferdinand*, received the homage of his ambassador, and notwithstanding the opposition of *Renatus* of *Anjou*, and his son *John*, who was then at *Genoa*, granted the bull of investiture, adding, however, the clause, *without prejudice to the rights of another*, and insisting upon the restitution of *Benevento*, and the payment of all arrears of quit-rent¹.

Here receives
the investiture from
Pius II.

BESIDES the opposition of *Calixtus*, *Ferdinand* had to encounter the sickleness and disaffection of many *Neapolitan* barons. When *Alphonfus* died, *Charles* prince of *Viana*, the son of his brother *John*, happened to be then in *Naples*, and privately propagated his claim to the crown, as lawful heir to his uncle. He had several conferences with the malecontents, but fearing his intentions were discovered, and seeing no prospect of success, he embarked with many *Catalans* and *Sicilians*, and went over to *Sicily*. After his departure, the disaffected barons invited his father, *John* king of *Arragon*; but he refusing their invitation, they sent for *John*, the eldest son of *Renatus* of *Anjou*, then governor of *Genoa*, which republic had submitted to the king of *France*, in order to be protected from the late king *Alphonfus*. During their secret intrigues, *Ferdinand* was solemnly crowned at *Barletta*, on the fourth of *February*, by cardinal *Latino Ursino*, when he granted many favours to his subjects, and honoured many of them with knighthood².

Is crowned
at Barletta.

A. D.
1459.

HE appeared now quietly and securely fixed upon the throne, and resolved to prosecute the war against the *Genese* and *Malatesta*. He was, however, prevented by a cruel civil war, which broke out in the kingdom. According to the author of the *Neapolitan* diary, the prince of *Taranto*, who was very powerful by his great number of vassals, and besides, as constable of the kingdom, received from the exchequer yearly 100,000 ducats of gold, for the support of the men at arms, suspecting that the king intended to diminish his grandeur, resolved openly to take up arms, and soon after invested *Venosa*, under pretence of a private quarrel. When the king ordered him to desist, instead of obey-

¹ GIANNONE, COLLENT. l. vi. ² COSTANZO, Giornal. Napol.

ing, he proposed conditions to *Ferdinand*, and desired him to restore some barons who had forfeited their estates during the late reign. According to this author, his request was denied; but others say, that those barons he intreated for were restored to their estates, and that nevertheless the prince and they entered into a correspondence with *John of Anjou*, and even prevailed on the prince of *Rossano*, who had married *Ferdinand's* sister, to join their party.

JOHN of *Anjou*, who for some time had assumed the title of duke of *Calabria*, being encouraged by their pressing intreaties, fitted out a fleet of twenty-three galleys at *Genoa* and *Marseilles*, and hearing that *Ferdinand* had gone to *Calabria*, to prevent a revolt in that province, on the fifth of *October* he arrived before *Naples*, in hopes of being admitted into the city. Queen *Isabel* with great diligence and prudence putting the city in a state of defence, he thought proper to retire, and sailing to the coast of *Sessa*, landed his troops between the mouths of the rivers *Garigliano* and *Volturno*, and was joyfully received by the prince of *Rossano*. Many barons immediately joined him, and *Lucera*, *Troja*, *Foggia*, *Sansevero*, *Manfredonia*, and other cities, declared for him, and set up his standard. A few months after he was joined by the prince of *Taranto* from *Puglia*, with a large body of troops, and *Picininus*, who commanded the troops of the late *Braccio*, and the *Genese* fleet returning to the coast, he encamped at *Sarno*, and received the submission of several cities. *Ferdinand* in the mean time having concluded a peace with *Malatesta*, and received considerable reinforcements from the pope, and artillery from the duke of *Milan*, marched against the enemy, and imprudently attacked their camp, though in a few days he could have forced them to surrender. At first he gained a considerable advantage, but in the end he was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to *Naples*.

John of Anjou is invited by the disaffected barons to seize the crown. He enters the kingdom. A. D. 1460.

Defeats Ferdinand.

DUKE John gained so great a superiority by this victory, that almost all the barons seemed to strive who should first submit to him, and the cities in the most distant parts of the kingdom set up his standard; so that excepting the count of *Fondi*, and a very few barons, and *Naples*, and some other chief cities, he seemed to be in possession of the whole kingdom. If he had marched directly to *Naples*, it was supposed he would quickly have put an end to the war; but the prince of *Taranto* dissuaded him from this design, having,

* *Iidem* *ibid.* *GIANNONE.* * *JOAN. SIMONET. Vita Sforz. Duc. apud MURATOR, t. xxi. p. 700, 701, 711, 712, 730. FONTAN. Hist. Giornal. Napol.*

as was reported, been privately solicited by his niece, queen *Isabella*, who left *Naples* in the disguise of a *Franciscan*, attended by her confessor, and threw herself at his feet, intreating him, that as he had made her a queen, he would make her die a queen¹. Duke *John* being accordingly persuaded by the prince to employ his troops in reducing the towns in *Campania*, *Ferdinand* had leisure to recruit his forces, and to receive new reinforcements from the pope and the duke of *Milan*. Having thus drawn together a considerable body of troops, he left *Naples*, and in the beginning of winter, almost in sight of the enemy, besieged two towns in *Puglia*, which, after a long siege, he obliged to surrender.

Ferdinand THIS success encouraged a great many barons to return
retrieves to their allegiance. The *Anjou* faction, however, still con-
his affairs. tinued very powerful, and in the following campaign be-
 A. D. sieged the king in his camp before *Barletta*. While *Ferdi-*
 1461. *nand* was in this situation, *George Castriot* of *Albania*, sur-

named *Scanderbeg*, at the request of the pope, and in return for the succours he had formerly received from *Alphonfus*, crossed the *Adriatic* to his assistance. The news of his arrival surprized all *Italy*, and increased the credit of *Ferdinand's* party. He immediately obliged the duke to retire from *Barletta*, and with his light horse ravaged the territories of the prince of *Tarento*; but the *Turks* violating the truce they had concluded with him, he was quickly obliged to return to *Albania*². Though *Ferdinand* likewise this year increased his party, by creating one of the most powerful of the *Sanseverini* prince of *Salerno*, yet in the beginning of the next campaign he lost all the towns which he had before taken from the *Anjou* faction. But about the middle of *July*, being joined by *Alexander Sforza*, lord of *Pisaura*, who was sent to his assistance by the duke of *Milan*, a few weeks after he gained a most complete victory over the duke in the neighbourhood of *Troja*, the particulars of which are related by *Pontanus*, who was present in the action. Two days after *Troja* surrendered, and afterwards *Foggia*, *Sansevero*, and *Ascoli*. Many of the barons also immediately abandoned the *Anjou* faction, the duke of *Milan* offering himself as guarantee for the performance of all the promises made to them by the king. The prince of *Tarento* likewise seeing the *Anjou* faction ruined, thought proper to make his peace with the king; but survived not much more than a year, being stran-

Entirely
 defeats
 John at
 Troja.

¹ Idem ut supra.

² GÖBELIN. Comment. l. vi. Vita Sfort. PONTAN. ut supra. Vita Scanderbeg. l. x.

gled by two of his own servants, who were said to have been bribed by *Ferdinand* ^a.

JOHN, with *Picininus*, after the defeat at *Troja*, retired with the remains of their army to *Abruzzo*, and offered to conclude a truce with *Ferdinand*; but their proposal was rejected by the king, who the following spring assembled his army near *Capua*, and marched against the prince of *Rossano*, while *Sforza* proceeded into *Abruzzo*. The duke leaving *Abruzzo*, and coming to *Sessa*, to encourage the prince to continue steadfast, in hopes of succours from *Marseilles* and *Genoa*, *Picininus* during his absence submitted to *Sforza*, and entered into the king's service, being promised a yearly pension of 110,000 ducats. The prince hearing of his submission immediately concluded an accommodation with the king, while duke *John*, being abandoned by all the barons, retired with a few French into the island of *Ischia*. *Ferdinand* returning in the end of autumn with his army to *Puglia*, marched against *Manfredonia*, which still held out for the duke. After he had reduced this city, which was pillaged by his army, he was informed of the death of the prince of *Taranto*, and was invited to take possession of his territories and treasures, as he had left no male issue. The king, overjoyed at the news, immediately left the command of his army to *Sforza*, and proceeded with a few troops to *Taranto*, being honourably received by the cities, towns, and castles, through which he passed, as heir of the late prince. He was joined by all the troops of the deceased, to the number of 4000 men, and received in money, jewels, cattle, and furniture, to the value of a million of crowns ^b. *John* of *Anjou* hearing of the death of the prince, with whom he had concerted to renew the war in the spring, lost all hopes of recovering the kingdom; and though he was reinforced with ten galleys from *Provence*, a few weeks after he left *Ischia*, and returned to *Marseilles* ^c.

A. D.
1463.

The barons
return to
their
allegiance.

John re-
turns to
Mar-
seilles.

1464.

Not many months after, *Ferdinand* lost his great protector *Pius II.* who died at *Ancona*, and in the end of *August* was succeeded by *Paul II.* a *Venetian*. The king at this time had marched with his army into *Abruzzo*, and deprived all the family of *Landola* of their territories. In his way thither, he seized the prince of *Rossano*, and sent him a prisoner to *Naples*. This proceeding being a manifest violation of the treaty concluded with him, *Picininus*, who had been

^a Giornal. Napol.
ut. supra.

^b Vita Sfort. GOBELIN. Comment.
^c PONTAN. l. vi. Giornal. Napol. Vita
Sfort.

A D.
1465.

created prince of *Submo*, to avoid the same treatment, fled to *Milan*, where he was honourably received, and married the duke's bastard daughter. Being, however, persuaded the following summer to return to *Naples*, he was apprehended by the king, with his son, and some few others, after he had been treated at his first arrival with the greatest honours. *Ferdinand* excused his proceeding to the duke of *Milan*, under pretence that *Picininus* was forming a second conspiracy. The duke, however, was so offended with his breach of faith, that he immediately ordered his two sons not to proceed till further orders with their sister *Hippolita*, who had advanced to *Sienna*, on her way to *Naples*, attended by *Frederic*, the king's second son, with 600 horse^d. He likewise sent another of his sons ambassador to the king, to intercede for his son-in-law; but before his arrival *Picininus* was dead, having accidentally killed himself, according to the account published by the king, by falling from a window of the castle. Though the duke did not believe this account of his death, as it was reported he had been strangled by the king's order, yet he allowed his daughter to proceed to *Naples*, where she arrived about the middle of September, when the marriage was celebrated with *Alphonstis* the duke of *Calabria*.

The duke of
Calabria
marries
the daughter
of the
duke of
Milan.

1467.

FERDINAND, by imprisoning the prince of *Rossano*, and destroying *Picininus*, entirely put an end to the troubles of the kingdom, which for several years after enjoyed a perfect tranquillity. As *Alexander Sforza* duke of *Milan* died a few months after the marriage of *Hippolita*, he renewed the league with his son *Galeatius* and the *Florentines*, and the year after sent his son, the duke of *Calabria*, with a considerable body of troops, to *Tuscany*, to the assistance of *Peter Medici*, against some malecontents, who had prevailed on the *Venetians* to support their party^e. As the *Turks* had defeated *Scanderbeg*, and possessed *Albania* and *Epire*, and were making continual conquests in *Greece*, pope *Paul* the following year prevailed on the league to conclude a peace with the *Venetians*, and quieted, in some measure, the civil dissensions in *Florence*. A few months after, *Ferdinand* had a dispute with the pope, about the annual tribute due to the holy see, and the cities in the kingdom possessed by the pope; namely, *Terracina*, *Benevento*, *Civita Ducale*, *Acumoli*, and *Lionessa*. The king threatened to begin hostilities against the ecclesiastical state; and in the beginning of *January* ordered some

A difference
between
Ferdinand and
the pope.
1469.

^d Vita Stor. ut supra. Giornal. Napol.
gub. apud MURATOR, t. xxi. p. 1015.

^e Chron. E.

troops to march towards *Abruzzo*. He likewise sent his son *Alphonfus* to the assistance of *Robert Malatesta*, whom the pope was then besieging in *Rimini*. The papal troops were obliged to raise the siege for want of reinforcements, which they expected from the *Venetians*, who were then chiefly engaged in preparing for the defence of the island *Negropont* or *Eubœa* against the *Turks*. The following year, on the 12th of *July*, *Mahomet II.* made himself master of the city and island, when he wrote a letter to *Ferdinand*, desiring him to rejoice on account of his victory. *Ferdinand*, in his answer, declared, that he could not rejoice at the taking of the city; and all the states of *Italy*, being greatly alarmed with the loss, thought proper to accommodate their differences, and on *Christmas-day* concluded a general peace at *Rome*†.

ABOUT three days after, *Ferdinand* entered into an alliance with *Hercules d'Este*, duke of *Ferrara*, and gave him his daughter *Eleonora* in marriage. He likewise betrothed his other daughter to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, who three years after being crowned queen by cardinal *Caraffa*, embarked in the month of *September*, with the Hungarian ambassador at *Manfredonia*, on board four galleys, with many other ships, and sailed to *Hungary*. Queen *Isabella* dying a few months after, *Ferdinand* contracted an alliance with his cousin *Jean*, the daughter of *John*, king of *Arragon*, and sent the duke of *Calabria*, attended with many nobles, on board ten galleys, and several other ships, to *Catalonia*, to conduct the bride to *Naples*. Upon her arrival, in the month of *September*, she was crowned by cardinal *Borgia* with great pomp and ceremony‡. *Ferdinand* in the mean time, during these years of peace, employed himself in enlarging and embellishing the city of *Naples*, in resettling the provinces, publishing new laws and regulations, reforming the tribunals and the university, encouraging learning and learned men, and introducing new arts, particularly the art of printing, and the silken and woollen manufactories^h.

A FEW months after his marriage, the king concluded an alliance with pope *Sixtus IV.* which in the end proved very fatal to his kingdom. *Sixtus*, the following spring, formed a plot to assassinate *Laurence* and *Julian Medici*, the grandsons of the famous *Cosmo* of *Florence*, in hopes of crushing that commonwealth, and enriching his profligate nephew *Jerohmo Ravere*, and persuaded *Ferdinand* to send some troops

† Chron. EUGEN. ut supra. Papiens. Epist. Napol. • • • • • ‡ Giornal. GIANNONE TOPPI Biblioth. Neap. SUMMONT.

to *Tuscany*; under pretence of assisting the pope against some rebels. *Laurence Medici* was so fortunate as to escape the hands of the assassins; and the *Florentines*, being inflamed with resentment against the pope, and assisted by the *Venetians* and the duke of *Milan*, defended their territories with great vigour against the duke of *Calabria* and the papal troops, with those of *Sienna*. The war continued with various success till the end of the following year, when a truce being concluded for three months, *Laurence Medici* came as ambassador from *Florence* to *Naples*, and was so successful as to prevail with *Ferdinand* to conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with the *Florentines*, which was published a few months after, to the great displeasure of the pope, who had not yet been consulted¹.

The Florentines and Venetians excite the Turks to invade Naples.

THE *Florentines*, during the war, to oblige *Ferdinand* to withdraw his troops, secretly pressed the *Turks* to invade *Naples*^k. The *Venetians* likewise, being jealous of the king's power, and having got intelligence, by intercepted letters, that he was forming pretensions to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, excited the infidels, with whom they had then concluded a peace, to invade his dominions^l. The *Turks*, according to *Giannone*, since their conquest of *Constantinople*, formed pretensions to all the provinces that had formerly belonged to the *Roman empire*^m; and *Mahomet*, being irritated against *Ferdinand* for having sent succours to the relief of *Rhodes*ⁿ, was easily persuaded to invade the kingdom of *Naples*. He accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet at *Valona*, anciently called *Apollonia*, on the coast of *Epire*, where the passage to *Italy* is only about 50 miles, and, embarking with a formidable army, gave the chief command to basha *Achmet*, who landed in *Calabria* about the end of *July*, and immediately besieged *Otranto*. The city had but a small garrison, and was unprepared for a siege. The citizens and soldiers nevertheless defended themselves for near three weeks with great bravery, in hopes of being relieved by the king; but no succours arriving, the *Turks* at length took the place by assault, when they massacred all the aged of both sexes, and all the clergy, ravished the matrons and nuns upon the altars, ripped

Basha Achmet takes Otranto.

¹ *Diar. Roman. Volater. ap. MURATOR. t. 23. DNE SANESI ap. eund. p. 805, &c. MACHIAVEL. Hist. Flor.* ^k *COSTANZO, ut supra.* ^l *Storia Veneziana da ANDREA NAVAGIERO ap. MURATOR. t. 23. col. 1165. KRANTZ Wandal. 19. Saxon. l. xiii. c. 28.* ^m *GIANNONE, ut supra.* ⁿ *CAMILL. PORZIO, l. i. in Princ. Congiur. de BARONI.*

up the women with child, and made captives of all the youth.^o A. D. 1480.

THE news of this invasion astonished and alarmed all Italy. The king declaring to the pope, that, if he would not assist him, he would conclude a peace with the *Turks*, *Sixtus* immediately ordered 24 gallies, which he had destined for the relief of *Rhodes*, to sail to *Naples*. He likewise agreed to an accommodation with the *Florentines*; and on the 16th of *September* concluded an alliance against the *Turks* with *Ferdinand*, the king of *Hungary*, the dukes of *Milan* and *Ferrara*, and the republics of *Genoa* and *Florence*. The *Venetians* excused themselves from being concerned in the alliance, alleging, that they had carried on a war against the infidels for 15 years, without the assistance of the other Christian powers; and having lately concluded a peace with them, they had yet no reason to renew their hostilities^p. The *Turks* in the mean time took some other places in the neighbourhood of *Otranto*, and made incursions along the northern coast of *Italy*, as far as *Loretto*^q.

FERDINAND, having recalled his troops from *Tuscany*, sent the duke *Alphonfus* into *Calabria* to oppose the infidels, and wrote to almost all the princes of *Europe* for assistance. The *Neapolitan* fleet, the following year, being joined by A. D. 22 gallies of the pope, and some vessels from the kings of 1481. *Portugal*, sailed round to *Otranto*, and blocked up the harbour, while *Alphonfus* invested the city by land with a powerful army, being joined by 900 men from *Florence*^r, 3000 *Castilians*^s, and, according to *Bonfinius*, with 2000 *Hungarian* horse, who wanted to attack the enemy the same hour that they arrived at the camp. The *Turks* made a vigorous defence; but in the beginning of *June*, being informed by *Alphonfus* of the death of the emperor *Mahomet*, they sented to evacuate the place, after they had received a confirmation of the news from *Valona*. The city accordingly, on the 10th of *August*, surrendered to *Alphonfus*, who is accused by a certain author of having plundered the garrison, and taken many of the *Turks* prisoners, contrary to the capitulation^t. As he did not share this booty with the pope's legate, he withdrew his gallies from the rest of the fleet, which prevented him from attacking *Valona* as he intended^u.

^p VOLATER. SPOND. Annal.

^q Storia Veneziana, ut

supra. ^r TURSEL. Hist. Lauret. l. ii. c. 4.

^s Storia

Venez. ^t Diar. Parmens. ap. MURATOR. t. 22. p. 363.

^u Storia Veneziana.

^v Idem ibid.

Ferdinand was very desirous of prosecuting the war, and of invading *Greece* during the dissensions betwixt the sons of *Mahomet*, and, by his ambassadors at *Rome*, complained against the proceedings of the legate. The cardinal excused himself, alleging his fleet was very sickly, and it would require 40,000 crowns to repair the galleys; but one of the *Genoese* captains, in a long discourse recorded by *Volaterranus*, publicly accused *Alphonfus* of having disoblged all the sailors by his despotism and avarice. The *Neapolitan* ambassador, nevertheless, still urging the great advantage to the general cause, to prevent the united fleet, consisting of upwards of 130 sail, from being separated, and to attack the infidels during their civil dissensions, the pope advised the legate and the *Genoese* to return to *Naples*; but at the same time declaring, that he had fulfilled his engagements with the king, and accusing the king of not having done the same towards him in the *Florentine* war, the *Genoese* captain and the cardinal absolutely refused to rejoin the fleet.

Ferdinand
assists the
duke of
Ferrara
against the
pope and
the Vene-
tians.

A. D.
1482.

FERDINAND, being thus prevented from carrying his arms into *Greece*, a few months after was obliged to employ them against the pope and the *Venetians*, in defence of his son-in-law the duke of *Ferrara*. The power of the *Venetians* was at this time looked upon with jealousy by all the *Italian* states, who observed that they took every opportunity to extend their dominion on the continent. The republic having entered into a private treaty with *Sixtus*, by which it was agreed to make a partition of the duchy of *Ferrara* betwixt them and the pope's nephew *Jeronimo*, they took an occasion to quarrel with the duke, and on the 2d of *May* declared war against him, and immediately seized the greatest part of his duchy. The pope at the same time made great warlike preparations at *Rome* to act in concert with them, and assembled an army under the command of his nephew, to prevent the *Neapolitans* from marching to *Ferrara*. The *Colonna* and *Savelli*, however, joining the duke of *Calabria*, and admitting his troops into their towns, the duke quickly advanced with his army, in which were about 2000 janisaries, and on the 5th of *June* encamped within view of the city. The pope and the *Romans* were in the utmost consternation, especially as it was reported that the emperor was assembling a general council at *Basil*, and that *Ferdinand* had made himself master of *Benevento* and *Terracina*. As the fields in the neighbourhood of *Rome* were ravaged by both parties for several weeks, the *Romans* openly murmured against the pope; but a considerable reinforcement of *Venetian* troops joining the papal army, *Al-*
phonfus

phonfus on the 21st of *August* was attacked, and intirely defeated.

NOTWITHSTANDING this loss, *Ferdinand* found means ^{The pope} of detaching the pope from the *Venetians*, by promising his ^{agrees to} nephew *Jerónimo* 40,000 crowns for three years. *Sixtus* ^{a peace} likewise joining in the general alliance, *Alphonfus* entered ^{with Fer-} *Rome*, and, after some conferences with his holiness, on the ^{dinand.} last of *December* proceeded to *Ferrara*. He employed the ^{A. D.} whole following campaign in raising contributions in the *Ve- ^{1483.} *netian* territories on the continent, while his brother *Frederic* sailed into the gulph, and seized a great many ships belonging to the republic. The *Venetians*, in resentment, threatened to introduce the *Turks* into *Puglia*, and sent for *Renatus*, duke of *Lorrain*, promising to support him in his pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples*. The duke continued but a short time at *Venice*, and returned to *France*. The ^{The Vene-} republic, being disappointed in their assistance from him, re- ^{tians in-} solved to remove the war, if possible, from their own terri- ^{vade Pu-} ^{glia.} ^{1484.} *tories*, and the following year ordered their admiral to in- ^{vade} *Puglia*. The *Venetian* fleet accordingly arriving on the coast, landed their troops, took *Gallipoli* by storm, and afterwards reduced several castles in that neighbourhood. *Policastro* and *Cero*, upon the same coast, being likewise surprised and plundered by the enemy, *Ferdinand* immediately fitted out 38 galleys, and sent them round to the gulph, under the command of his son *Frederic* and *Bernard Villamarino*. But as all parties began now to be tired of the war, a general congress was agreed to at a village in the neighbourhood of *Brescia*, when the governor of the duke of *Milan* conclud- ^{A peace} ^{concluded.} ing a separate peace with the *Venetians*, the allies were ob- ^{liged} ^{to accede} ^{to the treaty,} though the terms were not so favourable to them as they might have expected. By the treaty, which was concluded on the 7th of *August*, all conquests were to be reciprocally restored, excepting some places that the *Venetians* and *Lewis Sforza* were allowed to retain, and *Ferdinand* promised to grant the *Venetian* merchants in his dominions the same privileges as they had always enjoyed.*

A FEW days after the conclusion of this treaty, *Sixtus IV.* died at *Rome*, and on the 27th of the same month was succeeded by *Innocent VIII.* a *Genoe/e*. Though this pope had been long in the service of *Ferdinand* and of his father *Al-*

* *Storia Veneziana*. *Petr.* *Cyrn. de Bell. Ferrar. ap. Murat.* t. 21. *Volaber. ut supra.* *Diar. Parmens.* *Vite de Duchi de Venet.* *ap. Murat.* t. 22.

Difference betwixt Ferdinand and Innocent. *Alphonfus*, yet soon after his promotion to the pontificate he became the king's bitter enemy, and encouraged another formidable rebellion in the kingdom. A few weeks after the general peace, the *Florentines* having declared war against the *Genoese*, *Ferdinand* granted them some assistance, and sent a considerable fleet against *Genoa*. The pope interceded for

A. D. 1485. his native country, and prevailed with the king to promise to embrace a neutrality; notwithstanding which promise, *Ferdinand* still continuing to send succours to the *Florentines*, *Innocent* resolved to seize the first opportunity of shewing his resentment, and the following year openly espoused the cause of some discontented barons. *Ferdinand* for several years had resigned almost the whole administration of the government to *Alphonfus*, who, being of an arbitrary and cruel disposition, was dissatisfied with the independence which the barons enjoyed, and had formed a design of stripping them of their privileges; which purpose he was imprudent enough to disclose to his confidants and favourites, and in a manner published to the whole kingdom, by wearing, as a device, a bell upon his helmet. The barons, by the alteration of his behaviour since the recovery of *Otranto*, and his retaining a body of *Turks* in his pay, had for some time been suspicious of his designs, and perceiving the bad correspondence betwixt the king and the pope, they judged the opportunity favourable for a revolt, as they would be sure of the protection of his holiness. Mean while *Innocent* was engaged in disputes with *Ferdinand* about the usual tribute for the kingdom, and at the same time held a secret correspondence with the malecontents.

The barons revolt against the king.

ALPHONSUS, having discovered the secret practices of the barons, resolved by his dispatch to break their measures, and in the end of *June* took possession of *Nola*, and seized the count of *Montarisi* and the sons of the duke of *Ascoli* and of the count of *Nola*, who were imprisoned in *Castel Nuovo*. The pope immediately declared himself arbitrator, and cited the king to appear at *Rome*, while the other conspirators appeared in arms in different parts of the kingdom, and the city of *Aquila* raised the standard of the church. *Ferdinand* endeavoured at first to quiet the commotions by a treaty, and sent his son *Frederic* to *Salerno* to conclude a peace, which for a few weeks had been negotiated with the rebels. The prince of *Salerno*, however, and the other malecontents, instead of submitting, offered the crown to *Frederic*, and, upon his refusing to accept of it, made him a prisoner. All hopes

of an accommodation vanishing, hostilities were again renewed. The pope espoused the cause of the barons with great zeal; and resolving, if possible, to dethrone the king, made an offer of the investiture to *Renatus of Lorrain*, who, in right of his mother, sister to the late *John of Anjou*, kept up a claim to the kingdom. *Renatus* neglecting the present offer, *Innocent* earnestly solicited the assistance of the *Venetians*, who, though they were promised a large share of the kingdom, refused to declare openly against *Ferdinand*.

THE king in the mean time concluded a treaty with the *Urfini* family, who had then revolted from the pope, and conferred upon them the counties of *Nola*, *Tripalda*, and *Valentino*, and the city of *Ascoli*. He likewise assembled three armies, one of which, under the command of the duke of *Calabria*, invaded the ecclesiastical state, and made incursions as far as *Rome*, while the other two armies attacked those of the barons, and gained several advantages over them. The pope, finding the efforts of the malecontents not so considerable as he expected, soon began to think of peace, and proposed to the barons to come to an agreement with the king, promising to obtain good conditions for them. As they distrusted the king's disposition, they at first were averse to a treaty; but the king of *Arragon*, and his son the king of *Sicily*, with the duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines*, offering to become guarantees, the peace was at last concluded on the 12th of *August*, when *Ferdinand* agreed to pay all the arrears of his tribute at a convenient time, and to pardon all those that had been concerned in the rebellion. It was likewise stipulated, that the city of *Aquila* should be at liberty either to submit to the pope or the king; that the pope should have the power of conferring all the benefices in the kingdom; and, what is somewhat remarkable, should be at liberty to furnish provisions and a free passage to the *French*, if they should attempt to invade *Naples*. Some of the barons, particularly the prince of *Salerno*, refused to trust to the king's pardon, and went to *France* and *Rome*. Those who remained were soon sadly convinced of the king's perfidy; for in a few months the greatest part of them were seized and imprisoned, with their wives and children, some of them being condemned by a formal trial, and executed publicly, while the rest were privately put to death in prison, without any regard to the remonstrances of the pope, the duke of *Milan*, or the other guarantees.

A. D.

1486.

A peace concluded.

Notwithstanding

which, the

barons are

put to

death.

1487.

* Auct. sup. citat. ONUPHR. & CIACON. vit. Innoc. RAIMALD. Annal. Historia Neapolitana ap. MURATOR. t. 23. * GIANNONE Historia Napol.

FERDINAND, on account of this and many other acts of tyranny, began now to be regarded not as a lawful prince, but as a despotic tyrant, hated and detested by all his subjects. Though by the many forfeitures of the late rebellious barons he had amassed a great treasure, and had increased the number of fortified places in the kingdom, yet he was distrustful of his own safety, as he was informed that both *Ferdinand*, now king of *Spain*, and *Charles VIII.* of *France*, formed pretensions to his dominions. *Charles VIII.* alleged, that he was heir to the late *John of Anjou*, and the king of *Spain*, as guarantee of the late treaty which had been so basely violated, threatened to declare war against *Ferdinand*, but was prevented by a rebellion in *Sardinia*, and an irruption of the *Moors* of *Granada*.

A new
rupture
betwixt
the king
and the
pope.

A D.
1489.

They are
again re-
conciled.

1491.

ABOUT two years after, the pope, not being able to obtain from him either the arrears of tribute, or satisfaction for the violation of the treaty concluded with the barons, denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, if he did not repent in two months. This fulmination not producing the desired effect, on the 11th of *September* he solemnly excommunicated him, and deposed him from the kingdom of *Naples*, at the same time publishing a crusade against him, and appointing the king of *France* general of the crusaders. *Ferdinand*, being sensible that the pope and the *French* king were not then able to offend him with temporal arms, paid no regard to the spiritual; but a few months after, being informed that *Charles VIII.* was making great preparations for an expedition to *Italy*, he began to think seriously of a reconciliation with the pope. For that purpose, he began a treaty at *Rome*, which, by the mediation of the king of *Arragon*, was concluded the following year on the 28th of *January*. Towards the end of *May*, the king sent his grandson the prince of *Capua* to *Rome*, who asked pardon of *Innocent*, and promised, in the name of his grandfather and father, to pay the usual tribute to the holy see, not to usurp the collation of benefices,^a and to make ample satisfaction to the sons or heirs of the barons who had been put to death in violation of the general pardon. *Innocent* received the young *Ferdinand* with great honour, and on the 4th of *June* granted a bull, securing the succession of the kingdom to *Alphonso*, or to the prince of *Capua*, in case *Alphonso* should die before his father^b. For a further security of the pope's favour, a marriage was contracted be-

^a VIALARD. in vit. Innocent. VIII. Bzoy. SEAIT. Hist. l. xx. MARIAN. Hist.

twixt one of the king's relations, and *Baptistina*, the pope's niece^c.

THESE precautions, however, were of very little consequence; for the following year *Innocent* died, and on the 10th of *August* was succeeded by *Alexander VI.* who, by his wicked ambition, and desire of aggrandizing his bastard son *Cesar Borgia*, not only disturbed the tranquillity of *Naples*, but of all *Italy*. *Ferdinand* is said by *Guicciardini* to have lamented the promotion of *Alexander* with tears, as he was informed that *Charles VIII.* was still intent upon invading *Naples*, and was apprehensive that the new pope would espouse the cause of the *French*. Soon after his elevation to the pontificate, he sent an ambassador to congratulate him at *Rome*, and a good correspondence seemed established betwixt them; but in the beginning of the following year, *Alphonfus* rejecting the offer of an alliance betwixt one of his sons and the pope's bastard daughter, *Alexander* immediately entered into a treaty with the *Venetians*, and with *Lewis Sforza*, uncle of the duke of *Milan*, who had usurped his nephew's dominions, and pressed the king of *France* to invade *Naples*, as *Alphonfus* had threatened to assist the young duke, who was his son-in-law, to obtain possession of his duchy. *Ferdinand*, alarmed with the designs of the pope and *Sforza*, immediately endeavoured to be reconciled to them: he offered to confirm the government of *Milan* to *Lewis Sforza*, and was so fortunate as to recover *Alexander's* favour by creating his youngest son *Geoffry* count of *Squillace*, with a yearly revenue of 10,000 ducats, and giving him in marriage a bastard daughter of *Alphonfus*^d. The king of *France*, however, at the instigation of the prince of *Salerno* and other exiles, still continuing his preparations, and ordering the *Neapolitan* ambassador to leave his court, *Ferdinand* exerted himself to put his kingdom in a posture of defence; but by his extraordinary fatigues he contracted an illness, of which he died on the 25th of *January*, more oppressed with cares than age, though he was then in his 71st year. According to *Guicciardini*, *Ferdinand* would have been accounted a good prince, if he had continued to govern by the same maxims which he used in the beginning of his reign. Although by his arrogance, oppression, and breach of faith, he had acquired the hatred of his subjects, yet by his prudence and abilities he raised the kingdom to a greater

Alexander VI. succeeds to the pontificate. A. D. 1492.

Ferdinand dies at Naples. 1494.

^c SPOND. Annal.

^d GUICCIARD. Hist. l. i. Diar.

SANESI ap. MIRATOR. t. 23. Storia Veneziana. Vite de Duchi, ut supra. Mem. de COMMUN. Cor. par. 7.

pitch of grandeur than any of his predecessors. He was a great patron of learning, which, by the loss of *Constantinople*, began to revive and flourish during his reign in *Italy*. He restored the university of *Naples*, and published many wise laws, which are in force to this day, and greatly esteemed *.

SOME time before the death of *Ferdinand*, *Alexander* threatened again to join the king of *France*; but *Alphonfus*, immediately after his succession, sending ambassadors to *Rome*, by large conditions still retained him in his interest. He granted him the investiture, with a diminution of the yearly tribute during his life, and sent his nephew *John Borgia* to *Naples*, to perform the ceremony of his coronation. *Alphonfus* likewise concluded a defensive alliance with the pope, who refused the investiture to the *French* ambassadors, and desired the *French* king to lay aside all warlike preparations, and refer his claim to the decision of the holy see. *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and *Bajazet*, emperor of the *Turks*, were also solicited to join in the alliance, but only *Ferdinand* promised to send a fleet to the assistance of the pope †. *Charles VIII.* in the mean time being continually solicited by his favourites, the *Neapolitan* exiles and *Lewis Sforza*, resolved to proceed in the expedition, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, and sent the duke of *Orleans* with a considerable body of men to *Genoa* (X). He himself, leaving *Vienne* on the 23d of *August*, passed the *Alps* with his army, and on the 9th of *September* arrived at *Asti*. This invasion, according to *Guicciardini*, was the source of innumerable calamities to *Italy*, occasioning the revolutions of states, the ravaging of provinces, the destruc-

The king
of France
enters
Italy with
an army.

* GUIC. l. i. GIANNONE, l. xxviii.

CHARD. Mem. de COMMINES.

† DIAR. BUR-

(X) *Charles* founded his pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples* upon the cession made to his father *Lewis XI.* by the son of the count of *Maine*, who was nephew of *Renatus of Anjou* by his brother. This nephew was left heir by the last will of *Renatus*, and, having no issue, transferred his rights to *Lewis*, who was likewise the nephew

of *Renatus* by a sister. The duke of *Lorraine*, who was grandson to *Renatus* by a daughter, alleged, that he had the most just claim to succeed his grandfather in all his possessions. He however received only the duchy of *Bar*, and it was decided that women could not succeed to *Provence* and *Sicily* while there were males of the descent (1).

(1) *Skid. in Phil. de Communes. Gian*

tion of cities, cruel slaughters, new manners and fashions, bloody methods of carrying on war, and unheard-of distempers &c.

ALPHONSUS endeavoured, if possible, to prevent the enemy from entering the kingdom, and for that purpose sent his son *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, with an army to *Romagna*, and gave the command of a powerful fleet to his brother *Don Frederic*, to protect the coast, and prevent the enemy from receiving any succours by sea. Notwithstanding the endeavours of *Ferdinand*, the *French* army, on the last of *December*, entered *Rome*, which the pope immediately quitted, flying for security to the castle of *St. Angela*. Eighteen of the cardinals declared for *Charles*, and pressed him in the most earnest manner to reform the church, and depose the pope. The king, however, persuaded by his favourites, who were bribed by *Alexander*, entered into a treaty with his holiness, who, among other matters, promised to grant the investiture of the kingdom to him, and to put several cities of the ecclesiastical state into his possession. Mean while *Alphonfus*, hearing that his son *Ferdinand* had abandoned *Rome*, and retired before the *French*, that *Aquila* and almost all *Abruzzo* had set up the standard of king *Charles*, and that in many other parts of the kingdom the people openly espoused the *French* interest, he was struck with such a panic, that on the 22d of *January* he made a solemn renunciation of his crown in favour of his son *Ferdinand*, who was generally esteemed, and, almost distracted with apprehension, fled with the queen dowager, his mother-in-law, to *Mazara*, a town in *Sicily*, formerly given to the queen by her brother the king of *Spain* (Y). King *Charles* a few days after left *Rome*, and entered the kingdom. *Ferdinand*, upon the news of his approach, abandoned *San Germano* with his army, and flying to *Naples*, where perceiving the universal defection of the people, he embarked

Alphonfus resigns the kingdom to Ferdinand, and flies to Sicily.

Ferdinand likewise flies to Ischia.

§ GUCCIARD. l. i.

(Y) He went soon after to *Messina*, where he lived with the monks of the order of *St. John of God*, according to their rules and austerities. *Commines* relates, that he resolved to proceed to *Valentia*, and to spend the remainder of his days in a

monastery; but not many months after his arrival in *Sicily*, he was seized with the tormenting distemper of the gravel, of which he died on the 19th of *November*, professing great remorse for his past wicked life (1).

(1) *Mem. de Commines*, l. vii. c. 11.

with

Charles
VIII. en-
ters Na-
ples.

A. D.
1495.

with a few followers on board some galleys, and sailed over to the island of *Ischia*. The *French* king, meeting with no opposition, advanced with his army, and on *Sunday* the 22d of *February* entered *Naples* in a triumphant manner, and soon after received the submission of the whole kingdom, except a few places in *Calabria*.

THIS unexpected revolution not only alarmed all the states of *Italy*, but also the emperor *Maximilian* and the king of *Spain*, who were jealous of such an acquisition to the *French* power. Accordingly, before *Charles* had been six weeks in *Naples*, these two princes, with the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Lewis Sforza*, who had now usurped the title of duke of *Milan*, entered into an alliance against him, the emperor and the king of *Spain* promising to invade *France*, and *Sforza* engaging to prevent any *French* reinforcements from entering *Italy*. *Charles* in the mean time minded nothing but his pleasures in *Naples*, while his officers and soldiers insulted and plundered the *Neapolitans*. He treated the nobility of the kingdom with disdain and contempt, and conferred all offices and dignities on a few *Frenchmen*. Having, according to *Spondanus*, been declared emperor of *Constantinople* by the pope, in consequence of a cession made to him by the Despot *Palæologus*, *Charles* vainly meditated the conquest of the *Greek* empire from the *Turks*, and sent over the archbishop of *Durazzo* to tempt the *Greeks* to revolt; but, hearing of the formidable league concluded against him, he resolved with the utmost dispatch to return to *France*^b. Having caused himself, on the 12th of *May*, to be solemnly crowned, and appointed *Gilbert Montpensier* viceroy, eight days after he left *Naples*, and marched in great haste to *Lombardy*, where his camp was attacked by the *Venetian*; but, having cut his way through the enemy, he soon after arrived at *Grenoble*.

He returns
with pre-
cipitation
to France.

BEFORE he left *Naples*, *Gonsalvo Hernandes*, known by the name of the *Great Captain*, had landed with some *Spanish* troops in *Calabria*, where he obtained some signal advantages over the *French*, and soon after his departure the *Neapolitans* received *Ferdinand* into their city with universal acclamations. At the same time a *Venetian* fleet arriving on the coast of *Puglia*, great part of the kingdom immediately revolted from the *French*, whose numbers were very inconsiderable, being, according to *Commines*, only 500 cuirassiers, 2500 *Swiss*, with a small body of infantry. *Ferdinand*, being assisted by the *Great Captain*, the following summer reco-

^b SPOND. ANNAL. COMMINES Addit. in Montfrel. TILUS in Chron.

vered the whole kingdom, except *Taranto* and *Gaeta*; and, Ferdinand in order to enter into a stricter friendship with the king of *Spain*, he married his niece, who was at the same time his own aunt, being the daughter of his grandfather by his second marriage. He now promised himself a return of his former prosperity; but while he was diverting himself with his new spouse at *Somma*, near the foot of mount *Vesuvius*, he fell dangerously ill, and, his life being despaired of, he was carried to *Naples*, where he died on the 7th of *October*, in the 28th year of his age, and the 2d year of his reign, being greatly regretted not only by the *Neapolitans*, but by all *Italy*¹.

recovers
the king-
dom, and
dies.
A. D.
1496.

FERDINAND, leaving no issue, was succeeded by his uncle *Frederic*, a most prudent prince, of a mild disposition, and a great encourager of learning, who, being assisted by *Gonsalvo*, quickly made himself master of *Taranto* and *Gaeta*, and obliged the *French* wholly to evacuate the kingdom. A few months after his accession, he received an affectionate letter from the pope, with the bull of investiture, and on the 10th of *August* he was solemnly crowned by cardinal *Borgia*, in the cathedral church of *Capua*. As the king of *France* had for some time threatened a second and more powerful invasion, *Frederic* was very assiduous in putting the kingdom in a state of defence; beginning likewise to suspect the designs of his two allies the *Venetians* and *Spaniards*, who, under different pretences, kept possession of the places that they had recovered from the *French*. *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, instead of prosecuting the war against king *Charles* in *France*, agreed to a truce with him, and even entered into a negociation for making a partition of the kingdom of *Naples*. This negociation, however, was prevented from being concluded by the death of *Charles*, who died of an apoplexy in the month of *April*. He was succeeded by his cousin *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, then in the 37th year of his age, who immediately assumed the title of king of *France*, *Jerusalem*, *France*, and the *Two Sicilies*, and duke of *Milan*, which duchy he claimed in right of his grandmother.

He is suc-
ceeded by
his uncle
Frederic.
1497.

ALEXANDER VI. who knew that his ambition and covetousness could not be satiated while *Italy* was in peace, had entered into a private negociation with the late king *Charles*, inviting him again to cross the *Alps*; but hearing of his sudden death, he made an offer of his friendship to *Frederic*, on condition that he would give his daughter *Charlotte*, then in

publishes
his preten-
sions to
Naples.
1498.

¹ GREG. COMMINES. BELCAR. DIAR. SANESI, DIAR. FERRAR.
ut supra. Chron Venet. ap. MURATOR. t. 24.

France, in marriage to *Cæsar Borgia*, who intended to renounce the ecclesiastic life, and grant him the investiture of the principality of *Tarento* as her portion. *Frederic*, persuaded that the next step the pope would take would be to deprive him of the kingdom, and to give the investiture of it to his son, absolutely refused to hearken to his proposal, though he was earnestly pressed by the duke of *Milan*, who was greatly afraid of the king of *France*. The pope, highly provoked with this repulse, immediately had recourse to *Lewis*, who, being wholly intent upon an expedition to *Italy*, and desiring a divorce from his wife, readily concluded the alliance, and granted large conditions to *Alexander*, creating his son *Borgia*, upon his arrival in *France*, duke of *Valentino*, with a revenue of 20,000 franks, besides other 20,000 as captain of 100 spearmen ^k.

Enters into an alliance with the pope, and conquers Milan.

A. D.
1499.

LEWIS, the following year, in the month of *August*, sent a powerful army into *Italy*, under the command of the duke of *Luxemburg*, *Edward Stewart*, duke of *Aubigny*, and one *Triulzi*, an *Italian*, who in less than three weeks made themselves masters of the whole *Milanese*. He himself arrived at *Milan* on the 6th of *October*, and, after giving a body of troops to *Borgia* to conquer *Romagna*, and receiving embassies of congratulation from the *Italian* states, he returned in the month of *December* to *France*. By this imprudent conduct, *Lewis Sforza* was encouraged a few weeks after to return from *Germany*, whither he had fled, with a considerable body of *Germans* and *Burgundians*. Upon his arrival, the whole duchy revolted from king *Lewis*, and he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy into *Milan*. But soon after he was betrayed by the *Swiss* in his own pay, and delivered to the *French*, who by that means again became masters of the whole duchy. Notwithstanding this considerable acquisition, *Lewis* delayed invading the kingdom of *Naples*, till he had concluded a treaty of partition with *Ferdinand* of *Spain*. The *Spanish* monarch had long formed a claim to *Naples*, in consequence of the conquest of his uncle *Alphonfus* I. whose right he alleged he was heir to; but observing the kingdom in the possession of the bastard *Ferdinand* and his sons, he had hitherto craftily concealed his pretensions: he even, at the desire of *Frederic*, sent fresh succours to *Naples*, under the command of the *Great Captain*. *Frederic*, however, was very suspicious of his designs, and, rather than rely intirely upon his assistance, earnestly solicited

1501.

^k BELLEFOR. l. vi. GUICCIARD. TOMASO TOMASE, BURSHARD.

succours

succours from *Bajazet*; but being disappointed at *Constantinople*, he made an offer to the king of *France* of becoming his tributary, and of paying him annually a large sum of money; which was rejected by *Lewis*, who, rather than be the supreme power in *Italy*, and have a king tributary to him, imprudently, as *Guicciardini* observes, introduced his cunning, ambitious, and powerful rival.

THE two kings, being both covetous of the possession of *Naples*, and mutually awed by each other's power, agreed to divide the kingdom in the following manner: That the king of *Spain* should have the possession of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and that all the rest of the kingdom, with the title of king of *Naples* and *Jerusalem*, should belong to the king of *France*. *Alexander VI.* in hopes of obtaining a part of the prey, to the astonishment of all *Italy*, confirmed the treaty, and on the 25th of *June* gave each of the princes the investiture of their share, all the three potentates cloaking their ambition with the pretence of religion, professing that they intended the conquest of *Naples* only with the view of being the more able by that means of distressing the *Turk*. *Frederic* had already put *Gonsalvo* in possession of several places in *Calabria*, and had prepared an army to oppose the invasion of the *French*; but hearing of the league betwixt *Ferdinand* and *Lewis*, he did not think proper to wait the arrival of the *French* army, but put a strong garrison into *Capua*, and retired with the rest of his army towards *Naples*. The *French* advanced without any opposition, and on the 25th of *July* took *Capua* by storm, which they plundered with the greatest barbarity. About a fortnight after they took possession of *Naples*, when *Frederic* retired to *Castel Nuovo*, but, despairing of relief, in a few days he surrendered all the forts and castles that held out for him in the *French* division to *Aubigny*, excepting the island of *Ischia*, whither he himself retired.

Soon after, reflecting on the perfidy of the *Spaniards*, he resolved to resign his whole kingdom to *Lewis*; and, having obtained a safe conduct from him, he went to *France*, where he was created duke of *Anjou*, with a yearly pension of 30,000 ducats. His eldest son was then besieged by the *Spaniards* in *Taranto*, and soon after being obliged to surrender, was detained prisoner, contrary to the articles of capitulation, and sent by *Gonsalvo* to *Spain*, where he was treated at first with royal honours¹. Thus the *Neapolitans*,

¹ GUICCIARD. lib. v. THUAN. lib. i. MARIAN. Hist.

by their internal factions, became a prey to foreign invaders, having tamely submitted to allow their kingdom, formerly one of the most powerful in Europe, to be split into two inconsiderable provinces, which disgrace they might easily have prevented, if they had adhered with fidelity to their prince. From this period their national dignity and reputation daily declined, and the kingdom soon began to be considered only as a branch of the monarchy of Spain, to which it continued subject during the two following centuries.

A difference betwixt the French and Spaniards about the limits of their shares.

A. D.
1502.

THE French and Spaniards having without any difficulty each conquered their own share of the kingdom, *Gonsalvo* was appointed governor and commander in *Puglia* and *Calabria*, and *Lewis d'Arminac*, duke of *Nemours*, as viceroy, took up his residence in *Naples*. As the terms of the partition treaty, specifying the limits of the two divisions, were not explicit, disputes immediately arose betwixt the two governors about the extent of their respective territories. Though *Puglia* had always been divided into three parts, namely, *Terra d'Otranto*, *Terra di Bari*, and *Capitanata*, yet the French insisted that *Capitanata* belonged to *Abruzzo*, groundlessly alleging, according to *Guicciardini*, that they were not obliged to stand to the modern division made by *Alphonfus* of *Arragon*, especially as *Capitanata* was disjoined from the rest of *Puglia* by the river *Ophanto*^m. These disputes soon branching out into others, the viceroy went to *Melphis*, and the governor to *Attela*, and entered into a negotiation for terminating all differences; but not being able to come to any agreement, it was resolved to wait the decision of *Lewis* and *Ferdinand*, and in the mean time to make no innovation. The viceroy, however, conscious of his own superiority of force, a few days after published an imperious declaration, threatening *Gonsalvo* with hostilities if he did not quickly renounce all pretensions to *Capitanata*.

The French begin hostilities against the Spaniards.

IMMEDIATELY after the publication of this declaration, on the 9th of June the French troops began to seize the towns belonging to the Spaniards. *Lewis*, instead of reproving the viceroy, took the princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano*, and some others of the chief barons, into his pay, and sent a reinforcement of 2000 *Switzers* to *Naples*, so that in a short time the French reduced almost the whole kingdom, *Gonsalvo* retiring with his army into *Barletta*, without money, and with little provisions. The French, being elated with their successes, towards the end of the year began to be less attentive to the war; and *Gonsalvo* receiving

fresh succours from Sicily and Spain, the following spring he was again able to appear in the field, and gained several considerable advantages over the Frenchⁿ. Mean while Philip, archduke of Austria, and son-in-law of Ferdinand, passing through France in his return from Spain to Germany, had an interview with Lewis at Lyons, and, contrary to the inclination of his father-in-law, negotiated a peace with regard to Naples, by which treaty it was stipulated, that the former division of the kingdom should again take place, but the provinces in dispute should be consigned in trust to Philip; that Philip's son Charles should marry Claudia, the daughter of Lewis; that for the future Naples should be governed in the name of the two children, who should assume the titles of king and queen of Naples, and duke and duchess of Apulia and Calabria.

A. D.
1503.

A peace
proposed by
the arch-
duke Phi-
lip.

THIS peace was immediately published in Naples, and the French general proposed a cessation of arms till the ratification of the treaty should come from Ferdinand. Gonzalvo, The however, rejected this proposal, resolving to make the best French advantage of his present superiority; and on the 27th of April gained a decisive victory over the French in Apulia, are intire-ly defeated by the Spaniards, when the duke of Nemours was slain. After this victory, all the cities of the kingdom surrendered to the Spaniards, and on the 14th of May Gonzalvo entered Naples in triumph. Ferdinand, upon hearing of the success of his arms in Naples, absolutely refused to ratify the treaty concluded by his son-in-law, and accused him of having exceeded his commission and instructions. The king of France, thinking that he had been basely over-reached, resolved to continue the war with greater vigour, and even to invade Spain by Roussillon and Fontarabia. In the mean time he ordered an army to march from Milan to Naples, and sent succours by sea to Gaeta, whither the remains of the French had retired, and were besieged by the Spaniards; but the vessel loaded with cannon and stores was lost in the mouth of the Garigliano, and on the 26th of December Gonzalvo intirely routed and dispersed the French army, and six days after obliged Gaeta to surrender, when the French agreed to evacuate the kingdom, except a few places in Calabria and Puglia.

1504.
They quit
the king-
dom of
Naples.

LEWIS XII. having lost his friend Alexander, thought proper to agree to a truce, when it was concluded that each party should keep what they possessed, without however having any mutual intercourse or commerce in Naples. Gonzalvo,

^a BELLEFOR. l. vi. c. 8, & 9. MARIAN. l. xxvii. c. 10, & 13. GIANNONE.

under pretence of this article, blocked up the towns belonging to the *French*, who, for want of provisions, were obliged intirely to quit the kingdom (Z). The following year, *Ferdinand*, who had been a widower for some months, renewed his negotiations with *Lewis*, and contracted an alliance with his niece *Germana*, when it was stipulated, that the kingdom of *Naples* should be accounted her dowry; but if she had no issue, it should return to *Ferdinand* and his heirs, and that *Ferdinand* in ten years should pay to *Lewis* 70,000, or, according to *Mariana*, 50,000, crowns for the expences of the war. The barons likewise, who had espoused the *French* party, being restored by this treaty to their liberty, their native country, estates, dignities, and goods, and all confiscations made by the king of *Spain* or *Frederic* were annulled.

Lewis re-
nounces his
claim to
Naples.
A. D.
1505.

Acknow-
leges Fer-
dinand as
king.

1506.

Ferdi-
nand, be-
ing jealous
of Gon-
salvo,
comes to
Naples.

THOUGH *Ferdinand* claimed the kingdom as heir to *Alphonfus I.* who was his father's brother, yet reckoning the four preceding princes lawful kings, on account of the pope's investiture, he assumed the name of *Ferdinand III.* and after *Lewis* had renounced his pretensions, he published an edict, wherein, reputing them lawful kings, and his predecessors, he confirmed all their deeds, concessions, and privileges. A few months before he thus acquired the kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* lost the kingdom of *Castile* by the death of his queen *Isabella*, the heiress of that kingdom. She indeed, by her last will, left her husband regent of the kingdom during his life; but the archduke *Philip*, who had married their daughter *Jean*, arriving in *Spain* the following year, and insisting upon the administration, *Ferdinand* was obliged to quit *Castile*, and retire to *Arragon*.

AFTER his return to *Arragon*, being jealous of the authority and influence of *Gonsalvo*, who, tho' several times recalled to *Spain*, had still formed excuses for continuing in *Naples*, he resolved to proceed thither, under pretence of seeing the kingdom, and settling the form of government, but in reality with a design of seizing *Gonsalvo*, who he suspected had a de-

° GUICCIARD, l. vii. MARIAN. l. xxviii, c. 14.

(Z) Soon after, *Frederic*, the late king of *Naples*, died at *Tours*, in the 52d year of his age, having been for some time flattered with the deceitful promises of *Ferdinand*, who, to amuse the king of *France*, pretended a desire to restore him to the kingdom. *Frederic*, by his wife *Isabella*, left three sons and two daughters, who all died without issue (1).

sign either of usurping the kingdom to himself, or delivering it to *Philip*, who alleged, that it ought to be annexed to *Castile*, by the forces of which it had lately been conquered. On the 4th of *September*, *Ferdinand*, with his queen *Germana*, accordingly sailed from *Barcelona* with 50 ships, and, coasting along *Provence*, upon their arrival at *Genoa* they were met by *Gonsalvo*, whom the king treated with great distinction. On the 1st of *November* he entered *Naples*, when he created *Gonsalvo* duke of *Sessa*, having before confirmed to him the office of high constable, the duchy of *S. Angelo*, *Terranova*, and other estates, amounting to above 20,000 ducats of yearly revenue, and given him a promise under his hand of the mastership of the order of *St. James*, upon his arrival in *Spain*.

THE *Neapolitans* expected great things from the presence of *Ferdinand*; but as he was obliged, by his treaty with the king of *France*, to restore the *Anjouian* barons to their estates, his royal revenues were exhausted in procuring equivalents for those of his own party, so that, contrary to the custom of new kings, he was forced to deny granting favours and exemptions, and exacted new subsidies from the people, who had vainly expected to be eased, and to have all their grievances redressed. By this conduct he disobliged both parties; and by refusing to pay the annual tribute to the holy see, he also offended the pope, who denied to grant him the bull of investiture. *Philip*, king of *Castile*, in the mean time dying at *Burgos*, *Ferdinand* resolved as soon as possible to return to *Spain*, to resume the government of that kingdom, to which he was invited by the grandees, and by his daughter *Jean*, who was so affected with grief for the loss of her husband, as to be incapable of the administration. Having granted some new privileges to the city of *Naples*, and to the *Seggio del Popolo*, and appointed Don *John* of *Arragon*, count of *Ribagorsa*, viceroy of the kingdom, on the 4th of *June* he left *Naples*, taking along with him the Great Captain *Gonsalvo*, and about three weeks after landed at *Savona*, where he had several conferences for three days with the king of *France*, who, as a testimony of his respect for *Gonsalvo*, took a gold chain which he himself wore, and put it about his neck, and prevailed with *Ferdinand* to allow him to sup at the same table with themselves and the queen. This was the last of the Great Captain's glorious days, for, immediately upon his landing in *Spain*, *Ferdinand* ordered him to quit the court, to retire to his own estate, and not to depart from thence without leave.

A. D.
1507.

He sets out
on his re-
turn to
Spain.

† Aut sup. citat. Jov. Elog.

The count
of Ribagorça suc-
ceeds as
viceroy.

THE kingdom of *Naples*, from its first establishment under the *Normans*, and during the reign of the family of *Anjou*, had continued hitherto framed according to the model of the kingdom of *France*, from which it derived many maxims and customs; but from this period a new polity, and new magistrates and laws, agreeable to the *Spanish* customs and principles, were introduced. The new viceroy *Ribagorça*, being assisted by two eminent lawyers who were called collateral regents, governed the kingdom for two years and four months with great wisdom and discretion. As *Ferdinand*, the year after his return to *Spain*, in the month of *December*, entered into the general league of *Cambray* against the *Venetians*, who retained several towns in *Naples*, on the coast of the *Adriatic*, as pledges for the money which they had formerly spent in assisting the *Arragonian* kings against the *French*, the viceroy the following spring sent *Fabrizio Colonna*, duke of *Tagliacozzo*, to recover those cities. *Fabrizio* marched with his army against *Trani*, which, without

The Venetians ob-
liged to
deliver up
the cities
they held
in the
kingdom.

A. D.
1509.

Ferdinand
dies.

1516.

making any opposition, immediately surrendered. With the same ease he made himself master of *Monopoli*, *Mola*, *Polignano*, *Brindisi*, and *Otranto*, and reunited them to the crown of *Naples*, as the *Venetians*, who were at the same time attacked by the king of *France*, the pope, and the emperor, despairing of defending the cities they possessed on the continent, had given orders to the governors to withdraw the garrisons¹. The count of *Ribagorça* soon after being recalled to court by the king, *Don Raimondo de Cardona*, on the 24th of *October* arrived at *Naples* as his successor, and continued viceroy during the life of *Ferdinand*, who died on the 21st of *January*, about seven years after¹.

The arch-
duke.
Charles
comes in
Spain.

UPON the death of *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, archduke of *Austria*, then in the 16th year of his age, succeeded to the whole *Spanish* monarchy, taking the title of king without the consent of the states, his mother *Jean* being still alive, and in vain pressed by several of the grandees to assume the administration in her own right. *Charles* was then in *Brussels*; and, having written an affectionate letter to the *Neapolitans*, promising them his friendship, and enjoining them to obey *Don Raimondo de Cardona*, whom he confirmed viceroy, he set out for *Spain*, where he arrived about the end of the year following. Before he left *Flanders*, he concluded an alliance with *Francis I.* who had lately succeeded to the crown of *France*, and for some years had seemed inclined to

¹ GUICCIARD. l. viii. SENAREG. de reb. Genues. GRAN-
NONE. ² GUICCIARD. l. xii. MARIAN. l. xxx.

undertake an expedition against *Naples*. *Charles*, having some difficulty in the succession to the kingdom of *Arragon*, as being the son of the female line, which, according to the ancient custom of that nation, had no claim while any of the male branch existed, *Francis* expected that he would resign the kingdom of *Naples* to him, to avoid a second contested succession. The succession, however, to *Arragon*, was secured to *Charles* by a law made by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, upon an ancient precedent; and *Francis* being alarmed with the report that the emperor intended to invade the duchy of *Milan*, he thought proper to propose a treaty with *Charles*, who, to avoid a war in the beginning of his reign, and prevent the *Arragonian* malecontents from making any opposition in expectation of foreign assistance, readily agreed to the proposal. The treaty was accordingly concluded on the 13th of *August* at *Noyon*, when, with regard to the kingdom of *Naples*, *Francis* agreed to give his daughter *Louisa*, then only a year old, in marriage to *Charles*, giving for her dowry all that part of *Naples* which had been assigned to the late king of *France* by the partition betwixt him and *Ferdinand*. *Charles* promised to pay yearly 100,000 crowns to the king of *France* for the maintenance of his bride, till she should be fit for marriage. It was further stipulated, that if the intended spouse should die before marriage, *Charles* should marry any future daughter under the same conditions, and, in case of want of issue, the part of the kingdom of *Naples* now in dispute should return to *France*.

A. D. 1517.

Concludes a treaty with the king of France.

ABOUT 14 months after *Charles* arrived in *Spain*, the *German* empire became vacant by the death of his grandfather *Maximilian*, who died on the 12th of *January*. *Charles* all the preceding year had endeavoured to prevail with the electors to chuse him king of the *Romans*, and had sent 200,000 ducats to *Germany* to purchase their votes, the king of *France* in the mean time using his utmost endeavours to prevent the imperial dignity from being united to the power of *Spain*. Upon the death of *Maximilian*, both *Charles* and *Francis* openly aspired to the imperial dignity; but the interest of *Charles* prevailing, on the 28th of *June* he was elected emperor. His promotion was not very agreeable to *Leo X.* who, for the security of the apostolic see, wanted a prince of small authority to be elected emperor; however, he dissimbled his dissatisfaction, and even before the election granted him a bull, dispensing with the investiture of *Naples*,

A. D. 1519.

Is chosen emperor of Germany.

* GUICCIARD. l. xii. FED. LEONARD. to. ii. p. 144.

and allowing him to accept of the imperial dignity. *Charles* the year following, in the month of *October*, was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The *Spaniards*, in the mean time, who were disgusted with his promotion to the empire, and oppressed by the governors whom he had left in *Spain*, openly took arms against them, and formed the government upon a new model, which they administered under the name of the *Holy Junto*.

Francis I. WHILE the *Spanish* governors were employed in quelling these revoltors, *Francis I.* who was envious of the emperor's greatness, sent a powerful army into *Navarre*, which, after conquering that kingdom, penetrated into *Spain*. The *Spaniards* did not concern themselves with the invasion of *Navarre*; but when the *French* entered *Castile*, both factions united, and intirely defeated the invaders. According to *Guicciardini*, the king of *France* undertook this expedition at the instigation of pope *Leo*, who was likewise jealous of the power of the emperor *Charles*, and entered into a private negociation with *Francis* for driving the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*. They agreed to invade the kingdom with joint forces, on condition that *Gaeta*, and all the territory betwixt the *Garigliano* and the ecclesiastical state, should be given to the church, and the rest of the kingdom to the king of *France's* second son; and that both he and the kingdom should be governed by the pope's legate residing in *Naples*, till he should be of age. *Francis*, afterwards reflecting that the pope hitherto had shewed himself no friend to him, that he had opposed him in recovering *Milan*, and probably would not wish to see him in possession of *Naples*, and that if he should join the *Spaniards* after his troops had entered *Naples*, he would not only lose that kingdom, but would likewise be obliged to abandon *Milan*, put off ratifying the treaty for these reasons, which instigated the pope to have recourse to the emperor against him. As the emperor and *Francis* began now to be jealous of each other's power, *Leo* earnestly desired to occasion a rupture betwixt them, and soon after entered into a defensive alliance with *Charles*, who was greatly irritated against the *French* on account of the late invasion of *Navarre*. In consequence of this league, *Charles* invaded the duchy of *Milan*, which in a few months he made himself master of.

Charles enters into an alliance with the pope against the king of France.

A. D. ABOUT three years after, *Francis* marched in person with a powerful army into *Italy*, and, quickly recovering the greater part of the *Milanese*, sent a considerable body of

men to invade *Naples*, under the command of *Stewart*, duke of *Aubigny*. Don *Carlos de Lanaja*, a *Fleming*, who about two years before had succeeded *Ribagorça* as viceroy, put the kingdom in a state of defence; and, leaving a deputy in *Naples*, proceeded to *Lombardy*, where he took the command of the imperial army, and on the 24th of *February* intirely defeated the *French* in the neighbourhood of *Pavia*, Francis and took the king of *France* prisoner, whom he afterwards is taken conducted to *Spain*. Francis continued a prisoner more prisoner, than 12 months, but at last recovered his liberty upon very and carried to hard conditions, by which, among other matters, he intirely renounced all pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples*, in favour of the emperor. Though he gave his two eldest sons as hostages for the performance of the conditions, yet, upon his return to *France*, he absolutely refused to fulfil his engagements, and renewed his preparations for invading *Italy*. A few weeks after, on the 17th of *May*, he concluded an *A league* alliance against *Charles* with the pope, the *Venetians*, and against the *Sforza*, who claimed the duchy of *Milan*. By this treaty emperor. the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* were to be consigned to pope *Clement*, who, with the *Venetians*, and several other princes of *Europe*, began to be alarmed at the prosperity of *Charles*.
A. D. 1526.

CLEMENT a few weeks after wrote to the emperor, excusing himself for entering into the treaty, and accusing *Charles* of having done many things to the prejudice of the apostolic see. *Charles* justified his proceedings in a long letter to the pope, and immediately sent back *Lanaja* to *Naples*. The viceroy, upon his arrival, caused the fortifications of many cities to be repaired, and particularly fortified the cities on the coast of the *Adriatic*, to prevent any invasion from the *Venetians*. The *Spaniards* in the mean time, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Venetian* and papal forces, made themselves masters of the castle of *Milan*; and the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, Don *Hugo Moncada*, persuaded the *Colonna* to surprize and seize the pope in the *Vatican* palace. *Clement* saved himself in the castle of *S. Angelo*; but the *Colonna* seizing and plundering the *Vatican*, he agreed to a truce with the emperor, promising to recall his troops from *Milan*, and to pardon the *Colonna*. During these transactions at *Rome*, continual reinforcements from *France* and *Germany* were pouring into *Lombardy*, in

* GUICCIARD. l. xvi. BELLEFOR. l. vi. c. 36. Epist. Princip. t. i. & ii. SLEIDAN. l. vi. GOLDAST. Confr. Imper.

The pope
invites
prince
Vaude-
mont to
invade
Naples.

A. D.

1527.

order to strengthen the armies for the following campaign. The pope, having recovered his liberty, refused to agree to a truce; but, being greatly irritated against the emperor, he invited into Italy prince *Vaudemont*, who pretended to be heir of the house of *Anjou*, that he might raise the *Anjou* faction in the kingdom of *Naples* against the *Spaniards*.

THE viceroy *Lanaja*, being informed of the invitation given to *Vaudemont*, resolved to begin hostilities against the ecclesiastical state, and in the end of *December* advanced with an army to *Cesano* and *Casperano*. The pope, to oblige him to withdraw his troops, in the beginning of the year sent *Renza di Ceri* into *Abruzzo* with 6000 foot, who took possession of *Aquila*, and several other places in that neighbourhood. About the same time *Vaudemont* arriving with 24 gallics, and being joined by those of the pope and the *Venetians*, began to infest the *Neapolitan* coasts. He assumed the title of king of *Naples*, and was appointed the pope's lieutenant. In the beginning of *March* he pillaged *Mola di Gaeta*, and afterwards took *Castello a Mare*, *Torre del Greco*, *Sorrento*, and *Salerno*. The imperialists, however, were superior in *Lombardy*; and as the other army undertook no enterprize, but only followed their motions, the duke of *Bourbon*, the imperial general, began his march for *Rome*.

CLEMENT, confounded with this news, immediately sent for *Lanaja*, with whom he agreed to a truce for eight months, promising to deliver up all the places his troops had conquered in *Naples*, and to give 60,000 ducats to the imperial army, on condition it would not enter into the territories of the church or of *Florence*. In consequence of this truce, he recalled his sea and land forces from *Naples*, and disbanded his troops. *Lanaja* accordingly proceeded to *Bourbon*, who absolutely refused to agree to the truce; and, advancing with his army, on the 6th of *May* attacked the city. He himself was killed in the beginning of the attack; but his army took and pillaged the city, and a few weeks after forced the pope to deliver up the castle of *S. Angelo*, and surrender himself a prisoner. *Lanaja* not having been able to dissuade *Bourbon* from his enterprize, left him before his arrival at *Rome*, and by another route returned towards *Naples*; but, falling sick in *Aversa*, died in that city, not without the suspicion of poison. His corpse, being carried to *Naples*, was buried in the church of *Monte Oliveto*; and the collateral regents governed the kingdom till towards the end of the year, when

Is made a
prisoner by
the imper-
ial army.

Don *Hugo di Moncada*, a *Spaniard*, was appointed viceroy. *Moncada* As *Lautrech*, the *French* general, had entered *Italy* with an succeeds army, with the design of relieving the pope, and attacking *Lanoja* as *Naples*, the imperialists at last concluded a treaty with Cle- viceroy. ment, which in the beginning of *December* was ratified by Don *Hugo*, when the pope obtained his liberty, tho' upon The pope obtains his very hard conditions. liberty.

LAUTRECH about two months after advanced with an army of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse to *Abruzzo*, all the cities in that province, from their natural fickleness, or aversion to the *Spaniards*, declaring for him before his army appeared. He afterwards took *Melfis* by storm, and *Ascoli*, *Lautrech* *Barletta*, *Venosa*, *Capua*, *Nola*, *Acerra*, and *Aversa*, sub- invades mitted to him without opposition, whilst the *Venetians* took *Naples*. possession of *Trani* and *Monopoli*, and the *French* fleet infested A. D. the southern coast. The *Venetians* a few weeks after took 1523.

Polignano, *Otranto*, and *Brindisi*, and, landing their troops, took *Lece*, the metropolis of *Otranto*, when all the neighbouring cities surrendered. The imperialists in the mean time, having put a strong garrison into *Cacta*, assembled their chief force in *Naples*, where all were in the utmost confusion and consternation, the enemy appearing on the last of *April* before the walls, and the people believing themselves abandoned by their tutelar saint *Januarius*, whose blood, when produced on the 2d of *May*, refused to liquify. The viceroy

was obliged to prohibit the public processions, and used all diligence to supply the city with provisions, and reinforced the garrison by insisting the citizens. He had several disputes about the chief command with the prince of *Orange*, who had succeeded *Bourbon*, and was chiefly intent upon keeping the communication open with the sea, for which purpose he fitted out a small number of galleys, and imprudently attacked the *French* fleet, though greatly superior, in which *Moncada* action he was killed, having enjoyed the government only is killed. about six months. Upon his death, *Philibert* of *Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, assumed the office of viceroy. Notwith-

standing this considerable victory, the *French* were soon after The obliged to raise the siege with great loss; for *Andrew Doria*, French raise the being dissatisfied with the king of *France*, on the 4th of July left *Naples* with several galleys; and some people, infected with the plague which raged in the city, being sent into the camp, the *French* were almost totally destroyed, *Lautrech*, prince *Vaudemont*, and many other persons of distinction, being likewise cut off. The marquis of *Saluee*, who succeeded *Lautrech*, endeavoured to save the remains of

The emperor and pope are reconciled.

A.D.

1529.

The Neapolitans oppressed by the prince of Orange.

The French renounce all pretensions to Naples.

the army in *Aversa*, but was defeated on his march by the garrison, and on the 1st of *September* was obliged to deliver up *Aversa*. The prince of *Orange* a few days after received the submission of *Capua*, *Nola*, and all the other towns of *Terra di Lavoro*, and, proceeding to *Abruzzo* and *Puglia*, drove the *French* intirely out of those provinces*. The *French* being thus expelled from *Naples*, the pope a few months after intirely abandoned their party, and agreed to an alliance with the emperor, who, to make him forget the bad usage he had received from *Bourbon's* army, promised to oblige the *Venetians* to deliver up the places they held in the ecclesiastical state, and engaged likewise to re-establish his family in *Florence*.

THOUGH the kingdom was now delivered from a foreign enemy, yet tranquillity was far from being restored; for the prince of *Orange*, prompted by his avarice, rigorously oppressed those barons that had declared for the *French*. The late viceroy *Moncada*, upon finding himself unable to oppose *Lautrech*, had given permission to many of the barons, in cases of necessity, to set up the *French* standard, and open their gates to the enemy, in consideration of large sums of money he received from them. The prince of *Orange*, however, alleging that *Moncada* had no authority to remit the allegiance due from subjects to their sovereign, would not admit the excuse of the barons, and began to punish them as rebels, some with death, and others with forfeitures. The duke of *Bojano* and the count of *Morone* were executed, and the prince of *Melfis*, the duke of *Somma*, the marquis of *Montefarchio*, and the counts of *Nola*, *Castro*, and *Conversano*, with many others, lost their estates. The new viceroy also, with the connivance of the emperor, who was always wanting money for the wars he maintained, obliged very many, who were barely suspected of favouring the *French*, to purchase their security by the payment of large sums^b. The emperor, a few months after his treaty with the pope, having concluded a peace with the king of *France* at *Cambray*, *Francis* thereby engaged to evacuate *Barletta*, the only place he held in *Naples*, to renounce all claim to that kingdom, and to assist *Charles* in obliging the *Venetians* to deliver up all the places they had seized in the kingdom. The prince of *Orange*, in the mean time, by the emperor's orders, had proceeded with the greatest part of his army to *Pulchra*, in order to oblige the *Florentines* to accept of *Alex-*

* GIANNONE.

^b Giornal. nel Rosso.

Julius Medici, grand-nephew of the pope, as their sovereign. While the prince was besieging *Florence*, the emperor arrived at *Genoa* with a powerful fleet, on board of which were 1000 horse and 9000 foot, and about the same time the duke of *Wirtemberg* entered *Lombardy* with 8000 German infantry. *Charles*, by these numerous forces, rendered himself very formidable to the *Italian* states, so that the *Venetians* thought proper to agree to an accommodation with him, by which they engaged to restore to him all that they possessed in *Naples*, and to assist him with 15 light galleys, in case any Christian prince should attack that kingdom. This peace was solemnly published on the first day of the following year at *Bologna*, where *Charles* a few weeks after received the imperial crown from the pope, and then set out for *Germany*.

A. D.
1530.

THE kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time was oppressed by cardinal *Pompeo Colonna*, who, upon the departure of the Colonna prince of *Orange*, had been appointed viceroy. The cardinal had served the emperor in his disputes with the pope, who had been provoked to deprive him of his hat for the insult he had lately received from his family in *Rome*. *Colonna* was afterwards restored to his dignity, but not to the pope's favour; and as it was common, since the times of *Alexander VI.* for cardinals to intermeddle in secular affairs, he neglected all care of religious matters, and gave himself intirely to arms and love intrigues. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, he found the kingdom drained of money, and full of disorders and irregularities, which at first he did not give himself any trouble to restrain, but was wholly occupied in raising taxes and donations to supply the emperor's necessities. The prince of *Orange*, by his own example, had introduced an intolerable licentiousness and debauchery among the young nobility, who, in contempt of the law, openly rescued malefactors from the hands of justice, defrauded tradesmen, oppressed the common people, and gave protection to the most enormous villains in their palaces, where they kept bravoes to execute their wicked purposes.

succeeds the
prince of
Orange as
viceroy.

THE cardinal, without regarding these enormities, employed himself in extorting a donative for *Charles*, on account of the birth of a young prince, and soon after sent 300,000 ducats to *Bologna*, to help to defray the charges of the emperor's coronation. As *Solyman*, emperor of the *Turks*, the following year, threatened to invade *Austria*, *Charles* ordered the cardinal to assemble a parliament, and to

1532.

require a donative of 600,000 ducats. The represent-
 at first remonstrated against this demand, as the kingdom
 lately been afflicted with war, famine, and pestilence;
 the viceroy being inflexible, it was at last resolved to raise
 the 600,000 ducats by a tax on houses, and to pay them
 within four years. Upon the payment of the first quota,
 the prince of *Salerno*, who carried the money, obtained a
 confirmation of the old privileges, and likewise several new
 grants. The cardinal about this time, roused by the univer-
 sal dissoluteness that prevailed through the kingdom, began
 to act with vigour against criminals of all ranks, and by
 several severe examples of justice, in some measure restored
 order to the state; but, before he could accomplish the re-
 formation he intended, he was cut off by death, which hap-
 pened to him in the beginning of *July*.

His death.

Don Pedro THE cardinal was succeeded in the government by *Don*
di Toledo *Pedro di Toledo*, a *Castilian*, marquis of *Villa Franca*, who
 arrived at *Naples* on the 4th of *September*. He no sooner
 appointed entered upon the government, than he began to reform the
 viceroy. tribunals in *Naples*; and, having called before him the king's
 council, the magistrates, and other officers, he charged them

*He re-
 forms se-
 veral
 abuses.*

to have the right administration of justice always before their
 eyes. He gave access and audience to all without exception;
 and, to strike a terror into offenders, executed some persons
 of note, who, presuming upon their great alliance, had
 committed many crimes. By an edict, he prohibited every
 one, of what quality soever, from keeping any arms in the
 streets, except swords, and ordered that none should go
 abroad even with a sword from about two hours after sun-
 set till next morning. Night robberies in the city he pu-
 nished with death, and ordered the bulk-heads and benches
 of artificers, and several dark porches which served as a re-
 ceptacle for rogues, to be removed. He appointed new cap-
 tains of the watch, deprived the nobility of the privilege
 of granting a sanctuary in their palaces to malefactors, and
 published several edicts against duelling, and those who
 should be found at night using ladders of ropes, wood, or
 any other matter.

A. D.
 1534.

WHILE he was thus employed in reforming abuses, the
 emperor had returned to *Italy*; and, after having a confer-
 ence with the pope at *Bologna*, had proceeded to *Spain*.
 The coasts of *Naples* likewise were infested by the pirate
Barbarossa, who had entered into the service of the emperor
Solymann. In the second year of *Don Pedro's* government,
 being ordered to restore *Ariendino Barosso*, by some called

^d GIANNONE.

M. J. J. J.

Caposetto, who had been expelled from the kingdom of Naples by his brother *Muleassen*, he passed the *Pharo of Messina* about the end of *July* with a fleet of 80 galleys. He made a descent in *Calabria*, burnt some ships, and carried off the whole inhabitants of *St. Lucido*. He afterwards burnt *Naples* *Capriano*, together with six galleys then on the stocks, and, passing in the sight of *Naples*, landed some of his troops on the island of *Procida*, which he pillaged. *Fondl* was also pillaged, and many of the inhabitants of *Sperlonga* were made captives. The *Neapolitans*, in order to protect their coasts from the insults of the *Turks*, met in parliament on the 20th of *August*, and gave the emperor a donative of 150,000 ducats.

CHARLES in the mean time formed a resolution of reducing the naval power of the infidels, as *Barbarossa*, who had usurped the government of *Algiers*, and restored *Muleassen* to the kingdom of *Tunis*, continued to infest all the coasts of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*. He employed the whole winter in making preparations for an expedition to *Africa*; and, resolving to go thither in person, his ardour was imitated by the grandees of *Spain* and the *Neapolitan* nobility, who intended to accompany him. The viceroy and the princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano*, the dukes of *Castrouillaro* and *Nocera*, the marquises of *Castelvetro* and *Della Valle*, each built a galley at his own expence, and, when the fleet sailed from *Naples* on the 17th of *May* to *Caghari*, the general rendezvous, many of the nobility embarked, and, with them, the two sons of *Don Pedro*. *Charles*, with great success, having defeated the *Moors*, and restored *Muleassen*, whom he made tributary, left a *Spanish* garrison in *Goletta*, a strong fort which commanded the harbour, and about the middle of *August* set sail for *Sicily*, where he arrived a few days after, and dismissed the greatest part of his fleet. Having afterwards made a progress through the island, he passed the *Pharo of Messina*, and landed at *Reggio*, from whence he proceeded through *Calabria* and *Basilicata* to *Naples*, which he entered in a triumphant manner on the 25th of *November*, and, during his residence, was entertained by the viceroy with feasting, plays, tiltings, and tournaments.

On the emperor's arrival in *Sicily*, the marquis del *Vasto*, the prince of *Salerno*, and many others of the nobility, earnestly solicited him to remove *Toledo* from the government; alleging, that his administration was rigid and severe, and not agreeable to the genius and state of the king-

A. D.
1535.

A. D.
1536.

*Enlarges
the author-
ity of To-
ledo.*

dom. In hopes of persuading *Charles* to hearken to their solicitations, when the parliament assembled in the beginning of the following year at *Naples*, they imprudently offered a donative of a million and a half of ducats, without considering their ability, so that the emperor was obliged afterwards to remit one third of the sum. They then proposed to ask the removal of the whole ministry; but the motion, being opposed with great warmth by an opposite party, was laid aside. *Charles*, being fully sensible of the reason of the aversion of the nobility to *Toledo*, instead of removing him from the government, heaped new favours upon him every day, and during his stay at *Naples* consulted him in his most weighty affairs; and at his departure, in the end of *March*, invested him with greater authority than he had before enjoyed.

*His prudent go-
vernment.*

UPON the departure of the emperor, *Toledo* applied himself with great vigour to enlarge and beautify the city of *Naples*, and to render it more opulent and healthy. He ordered the streets to be made plain and strait, and to be new paved, and he surrounded the city with a new and strong wall. He caused many new and magnificent churches and hospitals to be built, adorned the city with many fountains of marble, and enlarged the arsenal, making conveniences in it for building sixteen galleys at once. To prevent the air from being corrupted, he caused the standing waters near *Aversa*, *Acerra*, and *Eragola*, to be drained off by a large and deep canal; and, that the city might be always well stored with grain, he prohibited the exportation of corn, and ordered that no magazines or granaries of wheat or barley should be kept within 30 miles of *Naples*.

*He defends
the king-
dom a-
gainst the
Turks.
A. D.
1537.*

Don Pedro was likewise very careful to secure the coasts against the descents of the *Turks*; and the following year, hearing of the designs of *Solyman* against the kingdom, he wrote to the emperor for a reinforcement of *Spanish* infantry, armed the militia of *Naples*; and, assembling a parliament of the barons, laid before them the general danger. Being informed that about the middle of *July* *Barbarossa* had arrived at *Valona* with 200 sail of ships, and that the sultan had marched thither with 20,000 men, he left *Naples*, and made a general review of the whole army at *Melphis*. The *Turkish* fleet having received some loss in an encounter with that of the *Genoese* and the pope, and *Solyman* having intelligence that the viceroy was in the field with 30,000 men, he thought proper to withdraw his troops, after they had made

a slight descent on the coast of *Puglia*, and another on the coast of *Otranto*. After the enemy had retired, the viceroy allowed all those engaged in the expedition to return to their own homes; and to prevent any future insult from the infidels, he resolved to fortify all the places upon the coast, which he visited himself, attended with skilful architects and engineers. He fortified the cities of *Catrons* and *Vesti*, and caused castles to be built at *Reggio*, *Otranto*, *Lecce*, *Gallipoli*, *Trani*, *Barletta*, *Brindisi*, *Monopoli*, and *Manfredonia*. The kingdom being thus put in a state of defence, continued for some time free from any alarms from the *Turks*. About seven years after *Barbarossa* arrived on the coast, sacked the islands of *Ischia* and *Procida*, and endeavoured to make a descent near *Pozzuolo*, which city he cannonaded from his ships; but the viceroy marching immediately thither from *Naples* with a large body of horse, and a great multitude of people from the adjacent cities, forced the *Turks* to abandon their enterprize, and to retire towards the *Levant* with their fleet.

TOLEDO, about the same time, published a proclamation, ordering all the *Jews* to leave the kingdom. They had been very numerous in different parts of the kingdom for near 300 centuries, and had particularly increased since their banishment from *Spain*, about fifty years before, by *Ferdinand the Catholic*. They had acquired great riches by lending money upon extravagant interest; but their usury about this time increasing, and the city being full of complaints against them, they were banished by the emperor's desire; and the viceroy, for the conveniency of raising money upon pledges, established a bank, called *Monte della Pieta*, which continues to the present time, and lends money upon pledges at moderate interest, and as far as ten crowns without any interest at all ^s.

The Jews
are banish-
ed from
Naples.
A. D.
1540.

TOLEDO's government had hitherto given general satisfaction; but he having, about this time, begun to act with rigour against some who were suspected to lean to the doctrines of *Luther*, and soon after attempted, by secret means, to establish the inquisition, he raised such a storm as had near proved fatal to him. The inquisition had been first established about three centuries before, in consequence of the proceedings of *St. Dominic* against the *Albigenses*. The kings of the house of *Anjou* were the first who admitted inquisitors from *Rome* into *Naples*; who went through the pro-

The doc-
trines of
Luther
meet with
approba-
tion in
Naples.
1546.

^s Giornal. nel Rosso. GIANNONE. EUGENIO. Nap. Sacr. l. v. p. 334.

vinces by leave from those kings, without keeping any fixed court. The kings of the house of *Aragon* rarely allowed them to enter the kingdom, obliged them to give an account of their whole proceedings, and would not suffer them to execute any sentence without a special licence. The inquisitors, in the beginning of the reign of *Ferdinand*, endeavoured to establish their authority in a fuller manner; but the *Neapolitans*, then alarmed with the shocking inhumanities and barbarities exercised a few years before against the *Jews* and *Moors* in *Spain*, obliged the *Great Captain Gonzalvo* to stipulate, that no inquisitor should be allowed to enter the kingdom. The inquisitors, however, soon found means of insinuating themselves; and as at that time there was no suspicion of any new doctrines, that they might not be idle, they began to take cognizance of crimes formerly tried by the ordinary tribunals. They made themselves judges of blasphemy, fortune-telling, conjuring, and many other foolish arts. Whoever cursed the bells for their noise, was sure to incur their censure; nor did those escape unpunished who presumed to disclaim against the immoralities of priests and monks, or mocked or ridiculed them. The inquisitors, sent from *Spain* to *Naples*, were at last expelled the kingdom with ignominy; and *Ferdinand*, being apprehensive of an insurrection, promised the *Neapolitans* that no inquisition should be introduced among them ^b.

THE doctrines broached by *Luther* in *Germany* occasioned new attempts to introduce the formidable tribunal. His opinions soon penetrated into *Italy*, and began to meet with many favourers in *Naples*; so that the emperor *Charles*, during his residence in the kingdom, prohibited his subjects by an edict, under pain of death, from holding any correspondence with those infected with the heresy of *Luther*. The doctrines of the reformation, however, at the same time were publicly, though artfully, taught by the famous capuchin *Bernard Ochus*, or *Ochino*, who, on account of his eloquence and learning, had been invited to preach at *Naples* during *Lent*, and was approved by the emperor, who declared, that he preached with such spirit and so much devotion, that he made the very stones weep ^c. *Bernard*, during his abode at *Naples*, made many disciples, who after his departure privately instructed others, among whom were some famous preachers, and persons of rank and fortune, who began to form congregations and conventicles. The jealousy

^b *MARTIAN. Hist. l. xxx. SURIT. Annal. Rosso.*

^c *Giorn. nel*

of the viceroy being awakened, he published a severe edict against heretical books, and ordered some books of *Melanchthon* and *Erasmus*, that had been dispersed at *Naples*, to be publicly burnt. He likewise prohibited all books of divinity that had been printed within twenty-five years from being re-printed, and ordered that no treatise of divinity should be printed, unless the authors were approved of, and affixed their names to their works. This jealousy of the viceroy made all sort of learning suspected, and prevented the *Neapolitans* from making such a progress in literature as formerly. Several academies, which were about this time formed by the nobility of the *Seggi* for the advancement of learnings, were ordered to be suppressed; and in the end of the year *Toledo*, having received orders from the emperor, if possible, to introduce the inquisition, desired *Paul III.* to send a deputy from that tribunal in *Rome* to *Naples*. The deputy accordingly arrived at *Naples* with the pope's brief, to which the viceroy, after deliberating a few days, granted the royal *exequatur*, ordering it to be affixed upon the door of the cathedral, and not to be proclaimed through the city by sound of trumpet, for fear of an insurrection. The edict no sooner appeared upon the cathedral door, than the whole city was filled with uproar and tumult; and the deputies of the nobility and commons sent some of their number to *Pozzuolo*, to complain to the viceroy, who perceiving their fury and obstinacy, promised that there should be no more mention of an inquisition, but that heretics should be prosecuted according to the canons. The *Neapolitans*, upon receiving this answer, testified their joy for three days by bonfires and illuminations; but about two months after their fury was again excited by a second edict, which appeared on the 11th of *May*, more alarming than the former, as it mentioned the inquisition openly. The people immediately, in a tumultuous manner, tore down the edict, ran to arms, and made a new election of officers, who they were certain would not be in the interest of the viceroy.

A. D:
1547.
Great tumults on account of the inquisition.

TOLEDO hearing of the insurrection, came in great rage to *Naples*, and reinforced the garrison of *Castel Nuovo* with betwixt 3000 *Spaniards* from the neighbouring towns. For ten or twelve days there were continual skirmishes betwixt these *Spaniards* and the citizens. A cessation of hostilities was then agreed to, and both parties sent deputies to the emperor; but in the mean time the citizens, being informed that the viceroy had accepted the offer of 5000 *Florentine* foot, immediately levied 10,000 men, and mustered the inhabitants fit to bear arms, to the number of 14,000. With this force

*Peace re-
stored by
the empe-
ror's edict.*

they renewed hostilities against the *Spaniards*; but in their daily skirmishes they were generally worsted. The deputies at length returning from the emperor, the citizens were peremptorily ordered to obey the viceroy, and deliver up their arms to him; which command was complied with without hesitation, that the insurrection might not appear to have been a rebellion against their lawful sovereign. On the 12th of *August* a general pardon was granted to all concerned in the late tumult, excepting only thirty-six persons, one of whom was afterwards executed. The city was fined in 100,000 crowns; but the emperor never exacted the money^k. By this vigorous opposition, the emperor and the viceroy being both deterred from their design of introducing the holy tribunal, *Toledo* assisted the vicar of *Naples* in proceeding against heretics according to the canons; and a few years after the *Neapolitans* obtained a bull from the pope, ordaining, that the goods of heretics should not be confiscated (A).

*The Turks
make pre-
parations
to invade
Naples.
A. D.
1551.*

ABOUT four years after this commotion, the *Neapolitans* were alarmed with the news of the great preparations making at *Constantinople* for invading their kingdom. The prince of *Salerno*, from his enmity to *Toledo*, who he suspected had hired assassins against him, had left *Naples* and gone to *France*, where he excited *Henry II.* then at war with the emperor, to attempt the conquest of his native country, which he assured him would be an easy enterprize. *Henry*, who inherited his father's rivalry and hatred of the emperor, ordered some galleys to be fitted out at *Marseilles*, and by his ambassador at *Constantinople* solicited *Solyman* to send a fleet against *Naples*. *Toledo* in the mean time assembled the barons of the kingdom, and raised a fund of 300,000 ducats for supporting the war. He likewise sent for *Doria* with forty galleys from *Genoa*; but before his arri-

^k UBERT. FOLIET. de tumult. Neap. THUAN. Hist. GIANN. GIANNONE ex MSS. Giur Chioccor. t. viii. 10

(A) Several other attempts were afterwards made during the reigns of *Philip II.* III. IV. and *Charles II.* to establish the inquisition in *Naples*; but by the jealousy and vigilance of the people they all proved ineffectual. At last the emperor *Charles*

VI. in the beginning of the present century, published an edict, expressly prohibiting all causes relating to the holy faith to be tried by any persons, except the archbishops and bishops as ordinaries (1),

val the *Turkish* fleet of 150 large gallies appeared on the coast, and having burnt some maritime towns, on the 15th of July anchored before *Naples*. Soon after the *basha* observing the *Genoese* admiral pursued his fleet, and before he could reach the shore sunk two, and took seven of his ships. About three weeks after, however, the prince of *Salerno* not appearing with the *French* gallies, he retired with his formidable fleet, and sailed to the *Levant*, the prince, who quickly followed him, in vain soliciting him to return. The *basha*, as it was then reported, had entered into a secret treaty with *Mormile*, one of those whose estates had been forfeited on account of the late commotion, who prevailed with him to retire upon receiving 200,000 ducats. *Mormile* for this service was allowed to return to *Naples*, and received an equivalent for his estate ^m.

TOLEDO having removed this formidable enemy, began to proceed with rigour against several persons, who he suspected were privy to the designs of the prince of *Salerno*, and by his arbitrary and severe proceedings quickly rendered his government both terrible and odious. About this time the *Siennese* having been oppressed by the *Spaniards*, obliged the governor and garrison to evacuate their city, and soon after introduced the *French*; on which account the emperor ordered *Toledo* to march from *Naples* to reduce the republic. The *Toledo* viceroy, during the winter, was very diligent in making preparations for his expedition to *Tuscany*; and in the beginning of the following year sent his son Don *Garcia*, with 12,000 men, into the *Siennese* territories, where he quickly reduced several castles. He himself, in the mean time, leaving his third son Don *Lewis* lieutenant of the kingdom, embarked with a considerable number of *Spanish* soldiers on board *Doria's* fleet, and proceeded to *Leghorn*, though he had been for some time afflicted with a rheum and fever. His distemper increasing, he went for the benefit of the air to *Florence*, where he died on the 12th of *February*, leaving behind him by his first wife three sons, Don *Frederic*, Don *Garcia*, and Don *Lewis*, and four daughters, three of whom were married to *Neapolitan* lords; but *Eleonora* the second to *Cosmo di Medici*, duke of *Tuscany*.

CARDINAL *Pacecco*, the imperial ambassador at *Rome*, succeeded *Toledo* as viceroy, and in the month of *June* arrived at *Naples*. He was descended of an illustrious family in *Spain*, who were in possession of the duchy of *Escalona*.

^m SPOND. Annal. an. 1552. SIGON. in vit. Aur. l. i. c. 36.
^a GIANNONE.

A. D.

1554.

and marquisate of *Villena*, and he distinguished himself by his abilities and learning at the council of *Trent*. The *Napoleans*, apprehensive that he was a severe man, were at first greatly alarmed: but their fears were quickly dissipated; for the cardinal being of a calm and sweet disposition, not only treated them with great humanity, but in the second year of his government obtained for them a confirmation of their privileges from the emperor. He refused to imitate the rigorous methods of his predecessor, with regard to sudden imprisonments, tortures, and criminal punishments, inflicted upon delinquents on bare information, and preserved the peace of the kingdom by his prudent and provident orders. As the emperor this year resigned the kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and the *Milanese*, to his son *Philip*, on account of his marriage with queen *Mary of England*, the cardinal, on the 25th of *November*, gave the marquis of *Pescara*, *Philip's* envoy, possession of the kingdom of *Naples* in his name, with public solemnity and great rejoicing.

Paul IV.

professes an
enmity to
the Spaniards.

1555.

JULIUS III. likewise granted the bull of investiture in favour of *Philip*; but *Paul IV.* of the family of *Caraffa*, who about seven months after succeeded to the papal chair, immediately declared himself his enemy, and endeavoured to deprive him of the kingdom. *Paul* was by birth a *Neapolitan*, was remarkable for an austere and peviest disposition, and had long conceived a hatred to the *Spaniards*, because some of his relations, who upon *Lautrech's* invasion had declared for the *French*, had been punished as rebels. During the commotion at *Naples* on account of the inquisition, he had used his utmost endeavours to occasion a general insurrection, and to persuade the pope to seize the kingdom for the church. The emperor and *Toledo*, sensible of his partiality to the *French*, refused a benefice to his nephew, and for several years prevented himself from taking possession of the archbishopric of *Naples*. His promotion alarmed *Philip*, who ordered cardinal *Pacecco*, then in *Rome*, on account of the election, to continue in the city to watch his proceedings; and soon after hearing of his negotiations with the king of *France*, sent Don *Ferdinando Alvares de Toledo*, duke of *Alva*, then governor of *Milan*, to *Naples*, as viceroy, to put the kingdom in a posture of defence against the pope's designs. *Alva* arrived at *Naples* about the end of the year, and took the command from *Bernard de Mendoza*, who upon the departure of the cardinal, had been appointed lieutenant of the kingdom. The pope in the mean time, notwithstanding his great age and his reputation for sanctity, he having been the founder of the order of the *Theatins*, and a great promoter

The duke
of Alva
appointed
viceroy.

motor of the inquisition, began to cherish the most ambitious schemes, and indulge the most unchristian resentment against the *Spaniards*. He immediately promoted his three worthless nephews to dignities, protected the *Napolitan* malecontents at *Rome*, depressed all those who were in the interest of *Spain*, and entered into a treaty with the king of *France*, by which he promised to give the kingdom of *Naples* to his second son. Under pretence likewise that the *Spaniards* had formed a conspiracy against his person, he imprisoned *Philip's* ambassador at *Rome* for *England*; and alleging that the arrears of tribute had not been paid in due time, he drew up a bull, declaring that *Philip* had forfeited the kingdom.

Paul promises Naples to a son of the king of France. A. D. 1556.

THESE outrages of the pope, and his ardour in fortifying *Rome*, and other places in the ecclesiastical state, and his great warlike preparations, excited the diligence of the duke of *Alva*, who having in vain made several offers for an accommodation to *Paul*, at length, in the beginning of *September*, advanced towards the ecclesiastical state with an army of 12,000 foot, 300 men at arms, and 1800 light horse, and before the end of the year reduced all the papal territories in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, making incursions to the very gates of the city. The great success of *Alva* highly exasperated the pope, who being disappointed of his succours from *France*, oppressed the inhabitants of *Rome* with the most arbitrary and grievous exactions. Tho' he would not hearken to an accommodation, yet he obtained a truce for forty days from *Alva*, who immediately returned to *Naples*, to make proper preparations for opposing the duke of *Guise*, who had entered *Piedmont* with a large army to the pope's assistance. Having assembled the barons of the kingdom, he obtained from them a donative of a million of crowns for the king's use, and 25,000 for himself; and to distress the pope, who had imposed a tax of two-tenths upon all ecclesiastical revenues in the kingdom, he used his utmost diligence to prevent any money from going to *Rome*. He sequestered the revenues of many archbishoprics, and other benefices, which were collected in the name of the royal chamber or exchequer, and registered the wealth and plate of all the churches and monasteries, great part of which treasure was carried to *Naples*. He also ordered all the bells of the churches and monasteries in *Benevento*, and all the brass cannon of that city, to be coined into money, and to be valued, in order to be paid at the conclusion of the war; and hearing that the *French* had arrived on the frontiers of the kingdom, on the 11th of *April* he set out for *Abruzzo*.

Alva invades the ecclesiastical territories.

1557.

*Threatens
Rome.*

The truce having been for some time expired, hostilities were again renewed, and before the viceroy could assemble his army, the *French* had entered the kingdom and besieged some places on the frontiers. *Alva* quickly repulsed the *French*, who found themselves but ill supported by the pope; and the papal troops being soon after defeated, about the end of *August* he advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The *Romans* threatening to revolt, the pope began to listen to proposals for an accommodation, especially as he saw his design against the kingdom frustrated by the defeat of the *French* at *St. Quintin*, which obliged *Henry II.* to recall his troops from *Italy*. Accordingly, by the mediation of the *Venetians* and the duke of *Tuscany*, the peace was concluded on the 13th of *September*, when it was agreed, that the duke of *Alva* should go to *Rome* and ask pardon of the pope, who engaged to renounce his alliance with the *French*; that all places taken from the pope should be restored, and their fortifications demolished; that both parties should grant a pardon to all offenders, excepting only the *Colonna*, who the pope alleged had been the authors of the war; and that *Palliano* should be kept by a *Neapolitan* nobleman, till it should be disposed of by the joint consent of the pope and *Philip* °.

*A peace
concluded
with the
pope.*

THE news of the peace was very agreeable to *Philip*, and he bountifully rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in the war. The duke of *Alva*, upon his return to *Naples*, was received with acclamations and rejoicing; but, to the great grief of the *Neapolitans*, he was quickly recalled to *Spain*, and Don *Juan Manriques de Lara*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom. About five months after he was succeeded by the cardinal *de Cueva*, who, before he had enjoyed the government half a year, was ordered to proceed to *Rome*, where he assisted at the election of a new pope, upon the death of *Paul IV.* During the government of these two lieutenants, the kingdom suffered greatly by the invasions of the *Turks*. Soon after the departure of the duke of *Alva*, the *Turkish* fleet, consisting of 120 galleys, under the command of *Mustapha* basha, appeared in the *Neapolitan* seas. The infidels, after depopulating the city of *Reggio*, entered the gulf of *Naples*, and landing in the night time pillaged and destroyed the cities of *Massa* and *Sorrento*, of which last place

A. D.
1558.

*The Turks
invade the
kingdom.*

° ALEXAND ANDREA ap. GIANNONE. MONLUC. l. iv.
THUAN. l. xvii. & xviii. BELCAR. l. xxvii. NATAL.
l. x.

the

they carried off almost the whole inhabitants into slavery. Those who remained were forced to sell their possessions at a low price, and to send the money to *Constantinople* for the ransom of their friends; so that even to this day, from that calamity, the city remains poor and thin of inhabitants P.

PHILIP in the mean time losing both his father, the emperor, and his wife queen *Mary of England*, in the beginning of the following year proceeded from *Flanders* to *Spain*, appointed where he resolved for the future to fix his residence. Soon after his arrival, he sent Don *Parafan de Rivera*, duke of *Alcala*, as viceroy to *Naples*, where he arrived on the 12th of June, the same day that cardinal *Cueva* set out for *Rome*. The duke before had given proofs of his abilities as viceroy of *Catalonia*, and, according to *Thuanus*, was a man of prudence, probity, courage, and piety. During the first years of his government, he had many difficulties to struggle with, which by his prudence and wisdom he soon removed. At his arrival the kingdom was greatly afflicted by a general dearth. The people were alarmed with frequent earthquakes, which were felt through all the provinces, particularly in *Principato* and *Basilicata*, where many cities were destroyed, and the country desolated, while the plague and other grievous diseases daily carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. The *Turks* likewise infested the coasts with frequent descents, and even presumed to pillage part of the suburbs of *Naples*, from whence they carried off a great many captives.

THE state was also disturbed by some commotions occasioned by the followers of the doctrines of *Calvin*; and great troops of banditti had rendered themselves very formidable in *Calabria*. These outlaws chose one *Marco Beradi* of *Cosenza* for their leader, who assumed the title of king, usurped the regal ensigns and royal authority over his followers. He supported his small army for some time by plundering the neighbouring provinces, and made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the city of *Cotrone*. The viceroy ordered *Fabrizio Bignatelli*, the president of that province, to march against him with 600 horse, who was so successful as to ruin and disperse the banditti by frequent stratagems, though their numbers at first were so formidable, that he durst not hazard a general engagement with them.

WHAT chiefly engaged the attention of *Alcala*, during his whole administration, was the extravagant pretensions of

P THUAN. l. xx. GIANNONE. l. xxxiii.
ut supra. THUAN. l. xxxvi.

GIANNONE,

for the usurpations of the church of Rome;

the ecclesiastics and ministers of the church of *Rome*, who by various methods attempted to make dangerous encroachments upon the king's temporal authority. As the council of *Trent* was about this time dissolved, and its decrees published, the pope used his utmost endeavours to have them received and acknowledged, in the dominions of all those princes who still adhered to the church of *Rome*. As many of the decrees, however, tended to establish the usurpations of the popes, the catholic princes paid little or no regard to them, and some of them even at first prohibited them from being published. The king of *Spain*, as an obedient son of the church, pretended to receive the decrees of the council in all his dominions; but at the same time gave secret orders to *Alcala*, to admit of no innovations with regard to the royal prerogatives. The viceroy accordingly allowed printed copies of the decrees of the council to be dispersed over all the kingdom, but would never consent to grant the *exequatur regium*, or royal permission, in their behalf. He even gave orders to the presidents of the provinces, and other officers of the kingdom, not to suffer any innovation to be made, and vigorously opposed the prelates who appeared fond of putting in execution those decrees of the council derogatory to the king's authority.

A. D.
1567.

ALCALA likewise exerted himself in rejecting the bull of *Pius V. in Cœna Domini*, which, besides an infinite number of extravagancies, intirely overthrows the power of princes, by subjecting their government to the censure and correction of the court of *Rome*, and prohibiting them, under the pain of excommunication, from laying taxes upon their subjects, without the permission of the apostolic see. As the prelates, notwithstanding the prohibition of the viceroy, dispersed the bull through the kingdom, great disorders immediately ensued, on account of raising the taxes, which occasioned *Alcala* to write for new instructions to *Spain*. Having received strict orders from *Philip* to punish those who had dispersed the bull, he confiscated the estates of some prelates who had transgressed his mandate, prohibiting the publication, and imprisoned those printers and booksellers who had printed and dispersed the copies. *Pius* exclaimed against these proceedings of the viceroy; but instead of using his usual arms of excommunications and interdictions, according to *Cænone*, he had recourse to a cunning, malicious, and scandalous shift, namely, to order the confessors, both regular and secular, to deny absolution to their penitents, if they refused to acknowledge the bull. The clergy hoped by this means to triumph, and the confusions in the kingdom increased:

but

But the ardour of the pope soon after abating, the prelates likewise turned more remiss, and contented themselves with publishing the bull from the pulpits every *Holy Thursday*; in which state the dispute continued during the rest of the government of *Alcala*, though it was afterwards frequently prosecuted with spirit by his successors.

THE duke had also some very warm disputes with the papal ministers, about the necessity of the *exequatur regium* to the pope's bulls, rescripts, and other provisions, proceeding from the *Roman* court. He also opposed the encroachments attempted by the apostolic visitors, and prohibited laymen from answering any citation from the court of *Rome*: he would not allow the ecclesiastics to take the cognizance of mixed causes, that is, of such causes as properly belonged to the jurisdiction of secular magistrates, but which they alleged might all be tried in ecclesiastical courts: he vigorously insisted upon the king's right to one half of the tythes raised upon the ecclesiastics in the kingdom: he likewise deprived the knights of *St. Lazarus* of the privilege of being accounted ecclesiastics, by which means, though they were mere laymen, they had sheltered themselves from the laws under the protection of the popes, and by fraudulent methods acquired great estates: he also made strong remonstrances at the court of *Rome* against the abuses concerning last wills, which the bishops pretended to make for those who died intestate: and he punished those prelates who, contrary to his mandates, persisted in the exercise of what they judged their antient right.

A. D.
1569.

ALCALA, during these troublesome disputes with the ecclesiastics in defence of the king's prerogatives, was obliged to be constantly upon his guard against the invasions of the *Turks*. In the sixth year of his government the infidels alarmed all *Italy*, by a most formidable invasion of the island of *Malta*, which expedition is particularly and elegantly described by *Thuanus*. The viceroy, being apprehensive lest they should make an attempt upon *Sicily* on the continent, was at great pains in fortifying the maritime cities, and providing them with strong garrisons. His fears soon appeared not to be groundless; for the *Turks* failing in their enterprize against *Malta*, the following year sailed with a numerous fleet into the *Adriatic*, and endeavoured to surprize *Pescara*. Being, however, repulsed by the garrison, they ravaged all the neighbouring coast; and having pillaged all the towns,

* *GIANNONE*, l. xxiii. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
l. xxviii.

* *THUAN.*

A. D. 1570. they returned with an immense booty, and a great number of captives, to their ships. About four years after, by another formidable naval armament, they gave a fresh alarm to *Naples*, which obliged the viceroy to send for 3000 *Germans* for the defence of the kingdom: but the storm falling on the island of *Cyprus*, he sent twenty-three galleys with 3000 soldiers, and a great many *Neapolitan* knights, to the assistance of the besieged. The duke in the mean time having, by his continual application and many anxious cares, impaired his health, the following spring was seized with a violent rheum and fever, of which he died on the 2d of April at *Torre del Greco*, in the 63d year of his age, and the 12th of his vice-royalty. He greatly distinguished himself by his prudent and mild government, and was extremely benevolent and charitable to the poor and afflicted, by founding some hospitals for their relief, and distributing money to those who were ashamed to publish their necessities. For the conveniency of commerce he enlarged the highways, and built many new and stately bridges, and with great watchfulness secured the kingdom against the insults of the infidels, which occasioned his death to be universally lamented.

The cardinal of Granville appointed viceroy. UPON the death of *Alcala*, the supreme government devolved to the collateral regents, which they held only for a few days; for Don *Anthony Perenotte*, cardinal of *Granville*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, on the 19th of April arrived at *Naples* as viceroy, in consequence of an order which he had received some time before from *Philip*. He was the son of the famous *Granville*, counsellor to the emperor *Charles V.* who conferred upon him the bishopric of *Arras*, and employed him in several embassies to *England* and *France*. After he was created cardinal he had the charge of the most weighty affairs in *Flanders*, under the dukes of *Parma*; but by his rigour rendering himself odious to the people, he was recalled to *Spain*.

He assists Don John of Austria against the Turks; THE cardinal, during his government in *Naples*, was chiefly engaged in opposing the formidable power of the *Turks*, in raising subsidies to supply the great necessities of the king, and in frustrating the insidious attempts of the ecclesiastics to encroach upon the royal jurisdiction and prerogatives. He was very diligent in reinforcing the fleet of Don *John of Austria*, who arriving at *Naples* on the 9th of August, and being joined by the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* galleys, and many of the chief barons and noblemen of both kingdoms, on the 7th of October gained a most memorable vic-

tor over the *Turks*, in the gulph of *Lepanto*. The following year he likewise sent on board the princes fleet the *Spanish* garrison of *Naples*, and 5000 *Italian* forces; but the enemy declining an engagement, the summer passed off without any enterprize of importance. The year after, the *Venetians* concluding a separate peace with the infidels, and withdrawing their forces from the allies, Don *John* failed from *Naples* and reduced *Tunis*, after which expedition he returned, in the end of the year, to *Italy*; but while the cardinal and he were celebrating his safe return with bull feasts and tournaments, the *Turks*, who they expected after the late defeat would not dare to view their coasts, landed in *Otranto*, and pillaged the small city of *Castro*: and soon after having expelled the *Spanish* garrison from *Tunis*, recovered the possession of that kingdom, which for many years, with small interruption, had been tributary to the *Spaniards*.

A. D.
1573.

As *Spain* about this time began to lose its strength, and become poor and desolate, on account of the large armies and numerous garrisons which it maintained both at home and abroad, and of the many colonies that were sent to *America*, and of the total neglect of agriculture and manufactures, *Philip* began to mortgage his revenues to the *Genoese*, at most extravagant interest, and alienated cities and lands in the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. He particularly extracted large sums from *Naples*; and the cardinal, during his government of little more than four years, obtained two donatives, amounting to the sum 2,300,000 ducats, besides other sums raised by the sale of titles, and great quantities of stores and provisions sent out of the kingdom, under pretence of supplying the fort of *Goletta*, which commanded the harbour of *Tunis*.

raises
large subsidies upon
the Neapolitans;

THE cardinal likewise imitated his predecessor in opposing the usurpations of the clergy, and even exerted himself with more vigour with regard to *mixed causes*, by ordering the archbishop's prison to be broke open, and by taking from thence a thief, who had been guilty of sacrilege, whom he tried in the civil court and executed. Though the vicar of the archbishop excommunicated all those who were concerned in executing the orders of the viceroy, the cardinal, nevertheless, banished the vicar from the kingdom, sequestered all the archbishop's revenues, and imprisoned the councillors of his court, and the beadles who had pasted up the copies of the sentence, which he ordered to be defaced. The court of *Rome* was greatly irritated with the cardinal's proceedings, but condescended, however, to drop the affair, and to absolve all those privately in the treasury-chamber who

and opposes
the encroachments of
the clergy.

1574.

He is re-
called to
Spain.

A. D.
1575.

The mar-
quis of
Mondejar
appointed
vicaroy.

His go-
vernment
disagree-
able to the
Neapoli-
tans.

who had incurred the sentence of excommunication. cardinal is said to have disgusted Don *John of Austria* by preventing him from extorting a private donative from the *Neapolitans*; on which account the prince, by his interest at the court of *Spain*, procured his removal from *Naples*, in hopes that his favourite, the duke of *Sessa*, would be appointed his successor. The cardinal the following year, in the beginning of *July*, returned to *Spain*, where he was created counsellor of state, and president of the supreme council of *Italy*; but *Philip*, jealous of Don *John's* authority, instead of the duke of *Sessa* appointed the marquis of *Mondejar*, the prince's enemy, as vicaroy.

DON *Inigo Lopez Hurtado de Mendoza*, marquis of *Mondejar*, arrived at *Naples* about ten days after the departure of the cardinal. He quickly disoblged both *Granville* and Don *John of Austria*. Having, with great imprudence, confided in some flatterers, who insinuated themselves into his favour upon his first arrival, he revoked many wise regulations made by the cardinal, who naturally taking offence at such a reformation, kept a watchful and jealous eye over all his proceedings. The marquis likewise could not dissemble his sentiments of Don *John*, whom he looked upon with great disgust, as he still continued to divert himself in *Naples* with feasts and tournaments, and made such a shining figure as quite eclipsed the dignity of the vicaroy. The heart-burnings betwixt them soon broke out into an open quarrel; so that one day after some angry words Don *John* drew his dagger, and with great difficulty was prevented from stabbing him. He soon after, by his imprudent conduct, incurred the hatred of the *Neapolitan* nobility and commons. The nobility were offended by his endeavouring to impose upon the *Seggi* of *Naples* a *Elcming*, who was provincial regent at *Madrid*, and his spy, as a person of noble birth; and the common people were greatly irritated, by a report that, by the advice of a friar, he intended to adulterate the meal of corn with that of the herb *Calf's-foot*, or *Wake-Robin*, by the botanists called *Aron*, with which *Julius Caesar* is said to have supported his troops, in *Albania*, when besieging the army of *Pompey*. His enmity with the cardinal and Don *John*, and the universal discontent he had raised, prevented him from receiving any honour from his prudent regulations; so that, though by his provident care and severe edicts he had prevented the plague from entering *Naples*, which for two years had dispeopled many cities in *Italy*, the

general security was attributed to the foresight of the city of *Naples*, but chiefly to their patron *Januarius* and other saints². The viceroy likewise sent some troops to *Puglia* and *Calabria*, who repulsed the *Turks*, who had landed on those coasts: but the advantages gained over the infidels on this occasion were attributed to the vigilance and valour of *Nicolo Bernardino*, prince of *Bisignano* &c. The marquis at length intirely³ alienated the *Neapolitans*, by attempting to take a rich young heiress by force from a nunnery, with the intention of marrying her to his eldest son. This outrage being represented by the nobility to the king, and aggravated by *Granville*, the marquis was immediately recalled, and obliged to leave *Naples* in the beginning of winter, after he had governed as viceroy four years and four months. During his administration *Philip* obtained three donatives from *Naples*, amounting to 3,400,000 ducats. He made many wholesome regulations for the good government of the city and kingdom, and left twenty-four statutes or pragmatics, in which there are many prudent and commendable provisions².

He returns
to Spain.
A. D.
1579.

WHEN *Mondejar* was recalled, *Don Juan de Zuniga*, a and is second son of the family of *Miranda*, and prince of *Pietraper- ceased by*
fia, who had been *Philip's* ambassador for several years at the prince
Rome, was appointed viceroy. He arrived at *Naples* on the of *Pietra-*
11th of *November*, three days after the departure of his pre- peria.
decessor, and at his landing refused the vain pomp of a bridge, desiring 1500 crowns, appropriated for that purpose, to be given to the hospital for incurables². A few months after his arrival, having received an order to furnish all the succours possible for an expedition against *Portugal*, to make good *Philip's* pretensions to that kingdom, he fitted out seventeen vessels, on board of which he embarked 6000 soldiers and 4000 pioneers, under the command of the prior of *Hungary* and *Don Carlo Spinelli*. To support the charges of this armament, he assembled a parliament on the 29th of *September*, and obtained a donative of 1,200,000 ducats. About two years after he ordered the *Gregorian* reformation of the calendar to be observed in *Naples*; and as *Philip* now limited the time for the government of his viceroys to three He is re-
years, he soon after returned to *Spain*, leaving the reputa- called.
tion of an excellent governor, his departure being universally 1582.
regretted, on account of his piety, meekness, and courteous behaviour².

² SUMMONT. par 4. l. i. ³ THUAN. l. lii. ² SUM-
MONT. ut supra. ² SUMMONT. ² GIANNONE.

The duke
of Offuna
appointed
viceroy.

DON *Pedro Giron*, duke of *Offuna*, who had distinguished himself in the wars of *Granada*, and the conquest of *Portugal*, in the month of *November* arrived at *Naples*, as successor to *Zuniga*. He soon rendered himself odious to the nobility by his stiff reservedness, and haughty and disdainful demeanour, which rendered his government uneasy and disagreeable to him. To procure the popularity, which at first he had slighted, he entered himself into the body of the nobility of the *Seggio* of *Nido*, but could not by that means remove the bad opinion that had formerly been conceived of him. He was much disquieted with the continual demands of subsidies for *Spain*; but by promising new favours and privileges, which were actually granted, he obtained two donatives, amounting to 2,400,000 ducats. Towards the end of his government, which, notwithstanding the late resolution, continued four years, he began to acquire the goodwill of the *Neapolitans*, by his diligence in the dispatch of business, and his zeal for the impartial distribution of justice. During his administration he executed many public works, which were greatly beneficial to the nation; so that at his departure, he received many encomiums and blessings c.

He is suc-
ceeded by
the count
of *Miran-
da*.

A. D.
1586.

THE duke of *Offuna* was succeeded in the viceroyalty by Don *Juan de Zuniga*, count of *Miranda*, and nephew of the late prince of *Pietraperzia*, who arrived at *Naples* in the month of *November*. During almost the whole time of his government, which continued nine years, he was chiefly employed in extirpating the banditti, who had become very formidable in *Naples* and the ecclesiastical state. These robbers for several years had infested the kingdom in small bodies; but having been overlooked by the viceroys, their numbers greatly increased, especially as the famous *Sixtus V.* who the year before had ascended the pontifical chair, by his vigorous prosecution of those in the territories of the church, forced them to fly into the kingdom. Having by these reinforcements become very numerous, they openly took the field, and pillaged several walled towns, carrying desolation and ruin every where; so that commerce and traffick were intirely interrupted. The soldiers who were sent against them were frequently baffled and severely handled; but in the second year of his government, the viceroy was so fortunate as to seize their noted leader *Benedetto Mongone*, who, as a terrible example to others, was put to death by tortures. The banditti, however, still kept in a body, and one *Marco Sciarra* assuming the command,

The king-
dom is pil-
laged by
troops of
banditti;
1587.

and taking the title of king of *Campagna*, quickly became more formidable than his predecessor.

BOTH the pope and the viceroy being determined upon suppressing them, *Sixtus* sent a brief to the count, empowering him for three months to pursue the banditti into the territories of the church, without asking any further permission. This permission was afterwards renewed; *Sciarra*, however, defended himself for three years against all the attempts of the viceroy, who having received orders from *Spain* to watch the motions of the pope, sent 4000 horse and foot into the ecclesiastical state, under pretence of pursuing the banditti. *Sixtus*, during his whole pontificate, had shewn himself but a very cold friend to the *Spaniards*, whose overgrown power he had formed a design to reduce; and is even said by *Leti* to have given *Elizabeth* of *England* intelligence of the destination of the grand *Armada*. This year he openly quarrelled with *Philip*, fitted out a considerable number of galleys, and gave orders for assembling and disciplining the militia, to the number of 25,000 men, with the intent of marching in person against the kingdom of *Naples*, having received the promise of considerable succours from queen *Elizabeth*; but all his designs were frustrated by death, which happened to him on the 27th of *August*^a.

A. D.
1592.

THE inconsiderable force sent by the viceroy into the territories of the church, with the design of aweing the pope, was attacked and routed by the banditti, who, encouraged by their victory, pillaged *Serra Capriola*, *Vasto*, and the city of *Lucera*, and committed great outrages through the kingdom for near two years. The viceroy at length giving the command of the troops to the count of *Conversano*, while *Clement VIII.* sent *Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini* to expel them from the ecclesiastical state, the banditti, being hemmed in on both sides, were quickly reduced to great extremity, and deserted by their captain *Sciarra*, who was invited by the *Venetians* to take the command of their troops, in a war in which they were then engaged against the *Uscocks*. Tho' *Sciarra* went to *Venice* with sixty of his followers, yet the banditti who remained, receiving assistance from him, and being headed by his brother *Luca*, continued for some time to infest the country till the death of *Sciarra*, who was soon after betrayed by one of his associates in the march of *Ancona*. Upon his death the count of *Conversano* intirely routed out the whole gang of robbers, and returned with great honour to *Naples*.

who are
extirpated
by the
viceroy.

^a LETI Hist. Sixt. V. Idem Hist. Eliz. SPOND. ANNAL.

THE viceroy, in the mean time, had caused four galleasses to be built at *Naples*, which were employed in the fatal expedition against *England*; and the *French* having, about this time, invaded *Savoy*, he sent 4500 foot to the assistance of the duke, to prevent them from penetrating into the *Milanese*. To support the charges of these expeditions, he raised during his government no less than five donatives, amounting to 6,000,000 of ducats: and as the *Turks* were reported to be fitting out a formidable fleet at *Constantinople*, he sent a body of troops into *Calabria*, and garrisons to the castles of *Brindisi*, *Otranto*, *Taranto*, and *Gallipoli*. The infidels soon after anchored with 100 sail in *St. John's bay*, and pillaged *Reggio*, and fourteen villages in the neighbourhood. They afterwards sailed to *Otranto* and *Gallipoli*; but finding those coasts well guarded, they retired to *Valona*. The count, about two years after, returned to *Spain*, having gained the affections of the *Neapolitans*, by his generosity and zeal in removing several abuses of the law. During his government he improved both the city and kingdom by several public works. He likewise published fifty pragmatics, and divers provisions concerning the price of corn, and other necessaries of life.

Miranda
is recalled
to Spain.
A. D.
1595.

A FEW days after the departure of the count of *Miranda*, Don *Enrique de Gusman*, count of *Olivares*, arrived at *Naples*, as his successor. He had resided at *Rome* twelve years as ambassador from *Spain*, where, on account of the extravagant and odd humour of *Sixtus V.* he had many troublesome and difficult matters to transact. As he was eminent for his great skill and facility in dispatching the most weighty affairs, and had acquired a great reputation for prudence, the *Spaniards* gave him the surname of *Gran Papefista*, that is, a person always busy among papers or writings. After his departure from *Rome*, he went to govern *Sicily*, and from thence he came to *Naples*. It was quickly observed, that he was of a serious and severe disposition, and an enemy to diversions. He banished dancing, comedies, and feasts, usually given by his predecessors in the palace, and discouraged the formality and ceremony of a levee. His chief study was to give audience at all hours, and to see justice duly and rigorously administered. What distinguished him above his predecessors, was his careful attention to the economy of government, whereby he reformed many abuses, particularly the immoderate luxury in the women's dress, and the vanj of titles, which many, without foundation,

His prudent government.

appropriated to themselves both in writing and speaking. He was careful to keep plenty in the city and kingdom; and in order to beautify and adorn the city of *Naples*, he employed the famous architect *Dominico Fontana*, under whose direction he erected several magnificent works, and caused several streets to be levelled, and built strait and uniform. *Philip II.* of *Spain* dying, in the third year of his government, occasioned his administration to be but of short continuance; for *Philip III.* with whom he was no favourite, receiving several complaints against him from his enemies, sent the count of *Lemos* as his successor, who arrived at *Naples* before his departure, which obliged him to leave the city in an abrupt manner, and retire to the palace of the duke of *No-cera*. According to *Giannone*, there never was a more just, a more prudent man, or one of more indefatigable application, than the count of *Olivares*. During his government, which did not continue quite four years, he published thirty-two pragmatics, all of them useful and well digested.

He is re-
called by
Philip III.

PHILIP III. this year obtained the investiture of *Naples* from *Clement VIII.* and the viceroy *Don Fernādo Ruy de Castro*, count of *Lemos*, arriving at *Naples* on the 16th of July, the count of *Olivares*, three days after, embarked for *Spain*. The attention of *Lemos* was quickly engaged, by the discovery of a formidable conspiracy, which had been hatched for more than a year in *Calabria*, under the direction of *Tommasa Campanella*, a furious enthusiast. *Campanella*, on account of his wicked life, and on suspicion of heresy, had felt the censures of the inquisition, and had suffered a long imprisonment in *Rome*; but upon a profession of penitence he was set at liberty, and ordered to confine himself to a convent in *Stilo*, his native city. In resentment for the usage he had received at *Rome*, upon his return to *Calabria* he formed a design of expelling the *Spaniards* from *Naples*, and rendering the kingdom independent on the holy see. As he had acquired a great reputation for his skill in astrology, he first persuaded the monks of the convent where he lodged, and afterwards many others, that great revolutions of kingdoms, particularly of *Naples*, would happen in the first year of the ensuing century; that the people ought therefore to be forewarned, in order to be ready to shake off the yoke of the tyrannical kings of *Spain*, as he intended then to form the kingdom into an excellent republic. In his sermons he openly declared, that he was appointed by God for delivering the nation, while the monks his associates, to the num-

A.D.

1599.

The count
of *Lemos*
appointed
viceroy.

* *Idem* *ibid.*

*He quells
a formid-
able con-
spiracy.*

ber of 300, in their discourses verified his assertions, and declaimed against the tyranny of the kings of *Spain*, and in private encouraged the people to rise up in arms. Besides the monks, the bishops of *Nicastro*, *Girace*, *Melito*, and *Oppido*, entered into the conspiracy, and a great many provincial barons, and some of the city of *Naples*. They proposed to introduce a general liberty, to kill all the *Jesuits*, and those priests and monks that should refuse to join them, to burn all books, and to make new statutes. Having likewise concluded a treaty with a *Turkish* admiral, who promised to appear in the month of *September* with a fleet to their assistance, they assembled 1800 fugitives, whose number was daily increasing, when the plot was discovered by two of the conspirators. The viceroy immediately sent Don *Carlo Spinelli* with a body of troops into *Calabria*, under pretence of fortifying those coasts against the infidels. The designs of the conspirators by this means being anticipated, many of them were seized and put to death. *Campanella* was likewise apprehended and put to the torture; but by his many stupid and contradictory answers, he had the good fortune to be deemed a madman, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but finding means to escape, he fled to *France*, where he died about thirty-nine years after this transaction.

His death.
A. D.
1601.

THE conspiracy being quelled, the viceroy went to the jubilee at *Rome*, from whence he soon after returned to *Naples*, the kingdom being alarmed by the *Turks*, who in the month of *August* landed at *Scalea*, on the coast of *Calabria*, but were repulsed with considerable loss to their gallees. *Philip* soon after acquainting him that he intended to visit *Naples*, he resolved to build a magnificent palace for his reception, which was accordingly begun under the direction of *Fontana*: but the count in the mean time falling sick, after lingering several months, died on the 13th of *October*, in the third year of his government. During his illness, he obtained a royal writ, granting the lieutenantancy of the kingdom to his son *Don Francesco de Castro*, a youth of twenty-three years of age, who held the government near eighteen months, and was engaged in defending the kingdom against the *Turks*, who landed in *Calabria* and pillaged *Reggio*.

*He is suc-
ceeded by
the count
of Bene-
vente,*

THE following year, in the month of *April*, *Don Juan Alfonso Pimentel d'Errera*, count of *Benavente*, arrived as viceroy at *Naples*. He immediately applied himself, with great assiduity, to reform the abuses of the tribunals, especially with respect to criminal causes, ordering all the pro-

cesses of this kind that were lingering in the provincial courts to be brought to *Naples*, where sentence was denounced against the guilty according to their crimes, without delay. As he ordered criminals to be dragged even from the sanctuaries, he quickly had disputes with *Rome* about the ecclesiastical immunity. He was likewise obliged to add to the oppression of the *Neapolitans*, by imposing new taxes upon them, as the demands from the court of *Spain* were very pressing, and continually repeated. He accordingly laid a new duty upon fruit, which filled the people with discontent, so that they threatened an invasion. Their murmurs were increased by a new duty upon salt, and the stagnation of commerce, occasioned by the insatiable greediness of the money-clippers and false coiners, who had debased the coin. The viceroy, to put a stop to the practice of the money-clippers, ordered the *Zannette*, a coin of about the value of a sixpence, to pass current, whether of full weight or not, and the other money to be received by weight.

A. D.
1603.

As the *Turks* likewise continued to infest the kingdom, and to carry off a great many captives, the count formed a resolution of destroying *Durazzo*, which served the infidels for a place of retreat. He accordingly fitted out a considerable squadron of ships, and sent them, under the command of the marquis of *S. Croce*, to *Albania*, who landing his men and artillery on the coast near *Durazzo*, took the castle by storm, and pillaged and destroyed the city. At the same time *Don Lelio Ursini* was sent with a body of troops into *Calabria*, against the banditti of that province, of whom he destroyed a great number, without however being able entirely to extirpate them, as they sheltered themselves among inaccessible mountains.

who de-
fends the
kingdom
against the
Turks,

THE viceroy, in the mean time, was engaged in warm disputes about the immunity of churches and sanctuaries with the ecclesiastics, who in consequence of a bull, published about twelve years before by *Gregory XIV.* insisted, that it belonged to them to determine what criminals had a right to a sanctuary; and besides, at their own pleasure, extended the immunity of places not only to churchyards, monasteries, chapels, oratories, hospitals, and bishops palaces, but also to porches, houses, cloisters, gardens, and bake-houses in the neighbourhood of churches. The count having received orders from *Spain* to admit of no innovations, opposed the encroachments of the ecclesiastics with great vigour. The dispute, however, has never been absolutely decided; for the ecclesiastics, even to the present times, have frequently renewed their claim to the pretended immunity, and have

and opposes
the en-
croach-
ments of
the eccle-
siastics.

He is recalled.

A.D.
1610:

often been punished by the viceroys by banishment, imprisonment, and sequestration of their revenues. While the count of *Benavente* was thus employed in opposing the ecclesiastics, *Philip III.* who was very inattentive to the affairs of government, and allowed himself to be governed by his favourites, by their persuasion recalled him to *Spain*, and sent the son of the late count of *Lemos* as his successor. The young count of *Lemos* accordingly, in the month of *June*, arrived at the island of *Procida*, where he continued two or three weeks, that *Benavente* might have leisure to prepare for his departure. *Benavente* at last, after he had governed the kingdom about seven years, on the 11th of *July* embarked with his countess for *Spain*, leaving behind him shining monuments of his justice and magnificence ^b.

The count of Lemos appointed vi. croy.

DON *Pedro Fernandez de Castro*, count of *Lemos*, was son to the predecessor of *Benavente*, and brother of Don *Francisco*, the late lieutenant of the kingdom. Upon his arrival at *Naples*, finding the royal patrimony exhausted, no money in the military chest, and the corporation for supplying the city with corn many millions of ducats in debt, he immediately applied himself to remedy these mischiefs, and by his prudent and frugal management of the public money, he soon increased the provisions and royal treasure; so that during his government the kingdom enjoyed great plenty. He studied to have justice duly administered, and law suits quickly dispatched, awing the judges into a faithful discharge of their offices, and a strict punishment of malefactors, to whom he was severe and terrible.

He builds a magnificent edifice for the university of Naples.
1616.

ABOVE all, he was a great encourager of learning, in which he himself had made great proficiency. As the professors of the university of *Naples*, taught their scholars in some vaults under ground, near a church of the *Dominicans*, where they were much disturbed with the noise of the bells, the count, out of his love to learning, caused a large and magnificent structure to be built for the muses, under the direction of *Fontana*, which, according to *Giannone*, for stateliness and beauty cannot be paralleled by any university in *Europe*. When the building was near completed, on which he had expended 150,000 ducats, to shew his esteem for the university, in the sixth year of his government he attended all the members thither, in a grand procession from their old lodgings, and heard the oration pronounced upon that solemn occasion. He likewise composed a body of academical laws for the masters and students of the university;

^b GIANNONE; ut supra.

and by the encouragements he gave to men of learning, raised *Enou-*
a spirit of emulation among the *Neapolitan* nobility, who *begins*
began to revive the institution of academies, at some of which, *learning.*
particularly that of the *Otioli*, the count himself recited a co-
medy of his own composing. The count adorned the city
of *Naples* with other buildings besides the university, and
caused several public works to be erected in different parts of
the kingdom; but hearing that the duke of *Offuna* was ap-
pointed his successor, he left the administration to his brother
Francesco till the duke's arrival, and on the 8th of *July* em-
barked for *Spain*, in order to take upon him the charge of
president of the supreme council of *Italy*.

Don Pedro Giron, duke of *Offuna*, soon after the depar- *He is suc-*
ture of the count of *Lemos*, arrived at *Naples* from *Sicily*, *ceeded by*
where he had been for some time governor. To gain the af- *the duke*
fections of the people, he was very magnificent and liberal. *of Offuna.*
He eased them of two taxes, and, nevertheless, obtained from
them a donative of 1,200,000 ducats, which were sent to
Spain to supply the necessities of that crown. Mean time a
war breaking out betwixt the king of *Spain* and the duke of
Savoy, who had invaded *Montserrat*, and was assisted by
the *Venetians*, the viceroy, who had no affection for the re-
public, sent a body of troops to the assistance of the gover-
nor of *Milan* against the duke, and fitted out a fleet to act
against the *Venetians* in the *Adriatic* gulph. He did not
openly declare war against the *Venetians*, but sent the fleet *He infests*
into the gulph, under pretence of assisting *Ferdinand*, arch- *the trade*
duke of *Austria*, who was then at war with the republic, *of the Ve-*
having espoused the quarrel of the *Uscoks*, a barbarous *netians in*
people of *Croatia*, his subjects, who had made incursions in- *the Adria-*
to the *Venetian* territories. The *Venetians* complained *tic.*
against the hostilities of the duke at the court of *Spain*, who
sent an order to the viceroy not to infest the republic. The
duke, however, in open contempt of this command, conti-
nued to send small squadrons into the *Adriatic*, which seized
several vessels belonging to the republic, and threatened to
attack their territories. The *Venetians*, suspecting that the
viceroy's proceedings were connived at by the court of *Spain*,
fitted out a fleet in their own defence; at the same time ne-
gotiating a peace with the archduke *Ferdinand*, and endea-
vouring to reconcile the *Spaniards* and the duke of *Savoy*.
A treaty for the peace of *Italy* was accordingly concluded
the following *February*, which greatly offended *Offuna*, *To-*
ledo, the governor of *Milan*, and the marquis of *Bedmar*,
the *Spanish* ambassador at *Venice*. *Offuna* still continued to
infest the territories of the republic, and disturb their trade,

being countenanced and assisted by *Toledo* and *Bedmar*, who a few months after were discovered to have hatched a most formidable conspiracy against the republic. The duke, notwithstanding the repeated complaints against him, both by the republic and the *Neapolitans*, who suffered in their trade by the reprisals of the *Venetians*, yet, by his relations and friends at the court of *Madrid*, still found means of justifying his conduct. He denied his having had any correspondence with the conspirators in *Venice*, and even continued in his own name to infest the trade of the republic, furnishing his vessels with artillery by disgarnishing the principal forts of the kingdom.

His ambitious designs.

A. D.
1619.

THE *Neapolitans* still renewing their complaints, and accusing the duke of oppressing the kingdom, of living in a debauched and scandalous manner, and of privately encouraging the people in licentiousness, the court of *Spain* at length resolved to recal him. Notwithstanding the duke's utmost endeavours, his partizans were not able to support him any longer, as many of the *Neapolitan* nobility had arrived at *Madrid*, to solicit his removal, and a report prevailed, which was afterwards confirmed, that the duke had formed a design of disjoining *Naples* from *Spain*, and seizing the kingdom for himself¹. He had for some time protected the people, without distinction, against the barons, and promised to redress their grievances, and abolish the taxes. He had foreign troops in his pay, and ships of force at his command; and, according to *Nani*, by secret methods, he founded the duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, in hopes that they would support him in his enterprize. The *Spanish* court having intelligence of these secret designs, immediately ordered cardinal *Borgia*, then : *Rome*, to proceed to *Naples*, to turn out the duke, and assume the government of the kingdom. *Offuna* used his utmost endeavours to delay the journey of the cardinal; but not succeeding, he attempted to raise a commotion in the city, by means of one of his creatures, *Genuino*, an elect of the people, who harangued the mob, and exaggerating the benefits they had received from the viceroy, assured them, that after his departure they would be treated more harshly by the *Spaniards*. The cardinal, who had arrived at the island of *Procida*, to baffle these designs privately landed at *Pozzuolo*, and in the night time entered *Castel Nuovo*, proclaiming his arrival next morning by a general discharge of the cannon of the castle.

¹ Idem ibid. NANI Hist. Venet. l. iv.

OSSUNA wrote to the king, complaining of the cardinal for affronting him, by entering the city by stealth; but added, that he sacrificed his private injuries to the service of the crown, and was coming to justify himself before his majesty in the face of the court. On the 14th of June he embarked for Spain; but to give time for the king's passion to abate, he proceeded very slowly on his voyage, and after two months arrived at *Marseilles*, where he trifled away his time in balls and feasts. Arriving at length at *Madrid*, by means of his friends and relations he made his peace with the king, and so artfully cleared himself, and aggravated the behaviour of the cardinal, that he had the assurance to desire to be restored to the government of *Naples*. The council of state, then awed by the capricious favourites, debated the matter, and would have even granted his desire, if the *Neapolitan* ambassador had not made a vigorous opposition (B). The duke's interest, however, so far prevailed, that the cardinal, in the month of *November*, was removed, and cardinal *Antonio Zapatta*, then in *Rome*, was ordered to proceed to *Naples* as lieutenant of the kingdom.

He returns to Spain, and justifies his conduct.
A. D. 1620.

BORGIA, during his short government of five months, punished those *Neapolitans* that had been guilty of the riot, and Borgia declared *Genuino* a rebel. He again imposed the taxes that had been taken off by the duke, and made other regulations that are published in three pragmatics.

succeeds him as viceroy.

DON *Antonio Zapatta* assumed the government of *Naples* on the 12th of *December*, and soon acquired the applause of the people by his care in reforming the tribunals, and obliging the judges to a constant attendance. Being of an easy access, he readily gave audience to all persons, and was very careful to cause the city to be supplied with abundance of all provisions. The city, however, notwithstanding his endeavours, was soon afflicted with a dearth, as corn was very scarce through the whole kingdom, on account of two or three successive bad crops, and could not be transported by land to *Naples*, the roads being rendered impassable by four

Cardinal Zapatta appointed lieutenant of the kingdom.
1621.

(B) *Philip III.* dying a few months after, his successor *Philip IV.* appointed the count of *Olivares* his prime minister, who being no well-wisher to *Ossuna*, ordered the crime laid to his charge to be judicially examined. The duke being found guilty, was imprisoned in the

castle of *Alameda*, where he languished for four years, and died on the 24th of *September* 1624. He was so given to sensual pleasures, and had such an immoderate ambition to command, that all his fine natural endowments were thereby eclipsed.

months continued rains. The tempestuous weather at sea, and the *Turkish* cruisers, prevented any supplies arriving by shipping; so that the city in a few months was reduced to the utmost distress, which provoked the populace to mutiny, and to threaten a general insurrection. One of the counsellors, in order to pacify the mob, persuaded the cardinal to go through the city to comfort the people; but he no sooner appeared than he was insulted by the populace, who, notwithstanding his *German* guards, threw a shower of stones at his coach, and obliged him to take shelter in the archbishop's palace, till many of the nobility ran to his assistance, and conducted him back in safety to his palace.

His unhappy government.

THESE disorders were increased by stopping the currency of the coin called *Zannette*, which, by the covetousness of the money-clippers, was now reduced to one-fourth of the just value. As this money was refused in all payments, the viceroy caused it to be cried down; but, at the same time, not being able, on account of the scarcity of silver, to coin a new species of money, as he proposed, the nation was filled with commotions, and the *Neapolitans* again insulted him; and one of the mob threw a loaf of bread into his coach, desiring him to see what kind of bread he made them eat. The cardinal neglecting to punish the rioters, the mob soon after again surrounded his coach, calling out *Victuals, victuals, my lord*; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, assaulted him with stones; so that he was obliged to gallop back to the palace. The viceroy, finding the bad effects of his lenity, resolved at length to punish the seditious, and ordered ten of the most guilty to be broke upon the wheel, and sixteen others to be sent to the galleys, which severity effectually quelled the tumults. The court of *Spain* being informed of the tumults in *Naples*, which were thought in some measure owing to the cardinal's easy and indulgent temper, he was recalled in the second year of his government, and on the 14th of *December* the duke of *Alva* arrived at *Naples* as his successor.

He is recalled.

A. D.
1622.

The duke of Alva arrives as viceroy.

D. ANTONIO *Alvarez de Toledo*, duke of *Alva*, in the beginning of his government, applied himself to redress the grievances occasioned by the stoppage of the currency of the *Zannette*, whereby some banks in the city, and many private citizens, had been ruined. He formed a board of ministers for restoring plenty and commerce in the kingdom, and by their advice laid a new tax upon all wine sold in the city in hogheads or butts, which was farmed out at 90,000 ducats yearly. This revenue was assigned to the creditors of the banks as a third part of their credit, and another third

was paid them in new-coined money. The interest of money likewise being lowered, there was a little respite from troubles, and commerce began to revive. However, the exhausted condition of *Spain*, and the ambition, profuseness, and bad economy of the ministers of that kingdom, rendered the following years of the duke's government full of troubles. On account of a dispute about the *Valteline* betwixt *Spain* and *France*, and of a war betwixt the *Genoese* and the duke of *Savoy*, the duke was obliged to send out of the kingdom supplies both of men and money; so that to raise men he was forced to grant a pardon to all outlaws and banditti who would enlist in the service; and to furnish subsidies, he imposed a tax of two carlini upon each family, and of five shillings in the pound upon the estates of foreigners, besides appropriating the revenue assigned for the payment of the king's creditors. The duke likewise, being obliged not only *The nation* to support the wars in *Italy*, but also to send men and money *oppressed so* to *Flanders*, obtained a donative from the city of *Naples* of *support the* 150,000 ducats. The kingdom, at the same time, was again *Spanish* afflicted with a dearth, and threatened with the plague, which *quars.* raged in *Sicily*. The coasts were also infested by the *Turks*, who seized several ships, and attacked the town of *Sperlonga* near *Garta*, and the castle of *Abate*, and the tower of *Licafa*. To complete the nation's misfortunes, in the fourth year of the duke's government a terrible earthquake was felt in *Naples*, and many other parts of the kingdom. A few weeks after, in the month of *April*, another yet more terrible was felt in *Calabria*, which did great damage to *Catanzaro*, *Girifalco*, and other cities. These, however, were only forerunners of one still more violent, which the following year afflicted *Puglia*, where it overthrew many cities, and made so great a slaughter of the inhabitants, that, there not being room to bury them, to prevent the air from being infected their bodies were burnt.

In the midst of all these troubles, the magnanimity and generosity of the duke appeared upon all the occasions that offered during his government. He encountered all difficulties with constancy and courage, and applied himself with unwearied application to the affairs of government. He beautified *Naples* with several new public edifices, and, for the convenience of travelling, caused several bridges to be built in different parts of the kingdom. The nation is chiefly indebted to him for causing the regent *Carlo Tappia* to draw up a share of the whole revenue, wherein he regulated the sum each corporation was to spend yearly in the public service, which in a great measure prevented the managers from embezzling

Alva is re- bezzling the public money. While the duke was thus go-
called. vernaing the kingdom with general applause, he received the

disagreeable news that the duke of *Alcala* was appointed his
 successor. That he might put off the time of his arrival as
 long as possible, he neglected to send the gallies to *Barcelona*;
 so that *Alcala*, after being obliged to pledge his plate for his
 subsistence, was forced to embark on board a *Maltese* galley,
 and on the 26th of *July* landed unexpectedly at *Pesilipo*,
 where he continued for some weeks. *Alva*, in the mean
 time, remitted all the old debts that were owing to the ex-
 chequer, and obtained a donative of 1,200,000 ducats from
 the parliament; which he then dissolved. Having likewise
 obtained a free gift for himself of 75,000 ducats, on the
 16th of *August* he embarked for *Spain*, leaving behind him
 the character of a just, good, and prudent viceroy.

He is suc- NOTWITHSTANDING the wise government of *Alva*, the
ceeded by duke of *Alcala* upon his arrival found the kingdom in a most
the duke of wretched state. *Philip IV.* being wholly guided by his fa-
Alcala; vourite the count of *Olivares*, whom he had created a duke,
 exhausted *Naples* for supporting his wars in *Lombardy*, which,
 according to *Giannone*, occasioned more mischief to the king-
 dom than if a war had been carrying on in the very heart of
 it. The forces of the nation being employed abroad, the
 banditti began again to plunder the provinces, and even
 to attack the walled towns, while the *Turks*, with little or
 no opposition, infested the coasts, and carried off captives
 and booty. Notwithstanding the poverty and distresses
 of the kingdom, the *Spanish* minister still made new demands
 upon the viceroy both of men and money. The duke
 accordingly sent several thousand men to *Lombardy*; and,
 to raise the money wanted, suspended the payment of the
 sums to the king's creditors, and asked a general voluntary
 contribution, which was regulated in such a manner, that no
 person was to give above 1000 ducats, and none less than
 ten; so that the nobility, barons, and even the advocates
 and clerks, were obliged to empty their purses into the vice-
 roy's hands. These resources not being sufficient, it was
 resolved to sell the cities and lands belonging to the crown,
 and to encroach upon the regalia, which increased the disor-
 ders of the kingdom. The cities disposed of, accustomed to
 be the king's immediate vassals, refused to submit to the new
 purchasers, whose dominion they dreaded. The inhabitants
 of *Amantea* and *Taverna* shut their gates against their new
 lords; and having entered an action at law, by refund-
 ing the price were continued in the king's domains. The
 kingdom was so impoverished, that the following year the
 viceroy with the greatest difficulty could maintain the infant

who alie-
nates the
crown-
lands to
support the
Spanish
Wars.

Mary with her retinue for four months, who passed through the kingdom on her way to her husband, *Ferdinand of Austria*. The viceroy, in the mean time, was obliged to fit out eight galleys to guard the coasts from the *Turkish* incursions, and to send some troops against the banditti, who infested several parts of the kingdom.

As the nation was struck with a panic on account of another earthquake, and a report that prevailed, that several profligate wretches were travelling up and down *Italy*, and spreading an artificial pestilence by poisoning the water in the churches and streets, the duke prohibited all persons from entering the kingdom without bills of health, and kept a strict guard upon the confines. The plague at this time actually raged in *Lombardy*, and even broke out in the borders of the kingdom, and in *Milan*. Some villains being condemned for poisoning the waters, the people were so distracted that every thing went to wreck. The advocates refused to undergo the examination appointed by the king, and deserted the courts, while the judges decided causes without any pleading, in favour of that party who gave them the largest bribe. The royal jurisdiction was likewise trampled upon by the ecclesiastics, whose incroachments were but weakly opposed by the viceroy. The duke of *Alva*, in the mean time, having made many complaints against *Alcala* at the court of *Spain*, *Olivares* ordered him to come to *Spain* to answer to the charges against him, giving him hopes, however, of returning to *Naples*. He accordingly, on the 13th of *May*, set out for *Spain*, leaving the government to the count of *Monterey*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, who had arrived at *Naples* a few weeks before.

D. EMANUEL de Guzman, count of *Monterey*, had procured the viceroyalty of *Naples* by his interest with *Olivares*, who was doubly related to him, and recalled *Alcala*, not on account of any real male-administration, but to make room for his kinsman. The beginning of the count's government was very calamitous, occasioned by a most terrible eruption of *Mount Vesuvius*, which began on the night of the 15th of *December*. The mountain vomited flames, ashes, and stones, with so great violence, that many houses in *Naples* were thrown down, and the whole city was threatened to be buried under the fragments of the eruption. The stones were carried to the distance of 100 miles, and from one side of the mountain an immense quantity of burning bitumen issued out, which separated into seven currents, and run to the sea, where it continued burning twelve days. From the other side of the mountain a torrent of hot water burst forth, which

overflowed many places in the neighbourhood. The sea likewise was driven back, and for some time left the ships stranded upon the shore. About two months after the *Neapolitans* were again terrified by a second eruption, which continued for several days^k.

The Neapolitans greatly oppressed.

To these natural calamities were added others still more distressing for the nation. As the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding a continued run of bad fortune which attended their arms, nevertheless protracted their wars in *Italy* and *Flanders* with a haughty perseverance, the *Neapolitans* were still oppressed to furnish subsidies and recruits, which were also demanded on account of the disturbances in *Catalonia* and *Germany*. The viceroy likewise, in the third and fourth years of his government, was obliged to fit out ten large ships, and to send great numbers of troops to the *Milanese*, which was threatened with an invasion from the *French*. The following year, a rumour prevailing, that the *French* held a private correspondence with one of the chiefs of the banditti, and intended to invade the kingdom in different places, the viceroy was put to great expence in fortifying *Barletta*, *Taranto*, *Gasta*, and other cities; in furnishing all the maritime places with garrisons; and fitting out thirty ships and ten tartans. But finding that the *French* intended only by false alarms to prevent him from sending succours to *Milan*, he immediately hastened the reinforcements thither, sending 1000 horse by land, and seven regiments by sea. During his government, it was found, that no less than 8000 horse and 54,000 foot had been raised for foreign wars, and that 3,500,000 crowns had been sent out of the kingdom in subsidies; other great sums besides being required for the expences of the kingdom; so that the viceroy was obliged to impose new taxes upon meal, flesh, and oil, and frequently to seize the revenues of foreigners. The revenues of the city of *Naples* being also burthened with a debt of fifteen millions, the *Neapolitans* at length sent the bishop of *Volturara* to the court of *Spain* to beg a redress of their grievances; but the pressing necessities of the state rendered his representations ineffectual. Soon after, the count, after he had governed with great prudence six years, was recalled to *Spain*, for which kingdom he embarked on the 12th of *November*.

Monterey returns to Spain.

A. D.

1637.

He is succeeded by the duke of Medina;

MONTEREY was succeeded in the government by, D. Ramiro Guzman, duke of *Medina de las Torres*, who had been raised from a gentleman to that dignity by *Olivares*, whose daughter she had formerly married. Though the daughter of

Olivares had died without issue, yet the minister being still fond of promoting the duke, he procured him a second match with a very rich *Neapolitan* heiress, by promising him the office of viceroy. The marriage was accordingly celebrated at *Naples*; but the court of *Spain* judging it necessary that *Monterey* should continue somewhat longer in the government, the duke was obliged to live in the kingdom several months in a private character, to the great discontent of the young duchess and her relations, who openly complaining against *Olivares*, at length obtained the gratification of their desires. As the court of *Spain*, on account of their ill-managed wars, were still making new demands of subsidies from *Naples*, the duke was obliged to impose new taxes upon silks, salt, oil, corn, flesh, and salted provisions; as also upon lime, playing cards, gold and silver thread, upon contracts for money, and upon stamped paper. It was likewise proposed to lay a small daily duty upon every inhabitant of the city of *Naples*. This proposal, however, was dropt; but the merchants were obliged to pay 200,000 ducats, and all the villages about *Naples*, *Nola*, and other cities belonging to the king's domains, that could not buy themselves off, were sold to the barons. A donative of a million of ducats was likewise extorted from the baronage of the kingdom in parliament.

THE nation, at the same time, was again afflicted with a most terrible earthquake, which, on the 27th of March, destroyed a great many cities in *Calabria*. *Cosenza*, *Cassiglione*, *Nicastro*, and many other cities, and a great number of villages, were almost intirely reduced to ruins, and above 10,000 people were killed. The general consternation and distress were greatly augmented by an impostor, named *Pietro Paolo Saffanio*, who published every-where that greater earthquakes were soon to happen, not only in *Calabria*, but throughout the whole world, as the day of judgment was near at hand; that the sea was to break its banks, and overflow the fields and cities; that the heavens were to rain down hail-stones of five pounds weight each; and that the mountains were to vomit out flames. Many of the *Calabrians*, terrified by these dismal predictions, and believing their province more exposed than other places, deserted their native country, which the viceroy being informed of, he immediately apprehended *Saffanio*, and condemned him to the gallies.

THE *Turks*, in the mean time, renewed their usual depredations with a fleet of sixteen gallies; and after doing a great deal of damage to the coasts, sailed up the *Adriatic* with the intention of attacking *Loretto*, but were prevented by the *Venetians*.

who is obliged to impose new taxes.

A terrible earthquake in Calabria. A. D. 1638.

*The French Venetians*¹. The *French* likewise, who now began to counterbalance the power of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, had entered into a correspondence with some malecontents, and formed a design of surprizing the city of *Naples*. The conspiracy, however, being discovered, one of the nobles who had concerted the scheme with the *French* was seized at *Rome*; and, being brought to *Naples*, was beheaded in the market-place. Though the conspiracy had failed, yet the *French*, in hopes of being joined by the disaffected, the following year arrived with a fleet of thirty-four men of war off *Gasta*. Being repulsed by the cannon of the castle, they proceeded to the gulph of *Naples*, and made several attempts to land; but by the precautions of the viceroy, and the vigilance of the inhabitants, their endeavours were frustrated; especially as their motions were watched by eighteen gallies under the command of D. *Melchior de Borgia*.

Catalonia and Portugal throw off the Spanish yoke. THE *French* were more successful in *Catalonia*, where, by their emissaries, they provoked the people, who were most grievously oppressed by *Olivares*, to revolt from the *Spanish* government, to kill the viceroy, and to seize the places of strength throughout the province. While the *Spanish* court were alarmed with this formidable insurrection, and making preparations to reduce *Catalonia*, news arrived at *Madrid* that the *Portuguese* had likewise revolted, and declared the duke of *Braganza* king, by the name of *John IV*. The revolution in *Portugal* was so general, and so quickly established on a regular plan, that *Olivares* despaired of re-uniting that kingdom to *Spain*, but bent his chief efforts against the *Catalans*, who, having put themselves under the protection of the *French*, maintained a long war against the *Castilians*. On account of this war fresh troops were raised in *Naples*, new ships were fitted out, and a donative extorted by the viceroy, who was therefore obliged to oppress the subjects and corporations with new taxes and impositions.

TROOPS likewise were still demanded for the *Milanese*; and a war having broke out betwixt *Urban VIII.* and the duke of *Parma*, about the duchy of *Castro*, the pope made a demand from the viceroy of 900 horse stipulated in the bull of investiture. The duke alleging that the war did not concern the church, but the pope's own family, refused the request of *Urban*; but was obliged, nevertheless, at the expense of the kingdom, to garrison some places which were held by the *Spaniards* in *Tuscany*. At the same time, the commerce of the kingdom being greatly interrupted by the

¹ NANI. Hist. Venet. l. ii.

banditti, and the regular troops not being sufficient for suppressing them, the duke sent the prince of *Torello* into *Campania*, with the title of lieutenant-general, to curb their insolence. During these transactions, *Olivares* being disgraced at the court of *Spain*, and the administration of the government committed to his enemy and nephew *D. Lewis de Haro*, the new minister, to gratify the admiral of *Castile*, who was then viceroy of *Sicily*, and might have pretensions to become his rival at home, appointed him successor to *Medina*. The admiral accordingly arriving at *Naples* on the 6th of May, *Medina* retired to his country-house at *Portici*, till the galleys were fitted out for carrying him to *Spain*. He held the government about six years and a half, during which time he adorned the city and kingdom with several public works, left about fifty most excellent laws, and erected two new tribunals in the provinces of the further *Abruzzo* and *Basilicata*.

Medina is recalled to Spain.

A. D.
1644.

D. JUAN Alphonso Enriquez, admiral of *Castile*, like his predecessors, was immediately perplexed by the demands of the court of *Spain* for supplies of men and money. He was not only obliged to send troops to *Catalonia*, but likewise to *Malta*, which island was threatened with an invasion from the *Turks*, who this year appeared in sight of *Otranto* with a fleet of forty-six galleys, pillaged *Rocca Imperiale*, and carried off 200 captives. The admiral was also forced to demand a donative of a million, and, as the only means of raising the money, laid a tax upon all the rented houses of the city of *Naples*. The collection of this tax occasioning great disturbances, which threatened a general insurrection, the viceroy wisely ordered the collectors to desist, on which account he was severely reprimanded by the court of *Spain*, who, blaming his timidity, commanded him without delay to raise the tax. The admiral, however, knowing the disposition of the kingdom, with great prudence continued firm in his resolution of suspending the collection; declaring, that he intended to serve, and not to betray, his king; and wrote to *Madrid*, begging to be removed from the government, that he might not be obliged to carry matters to extremities. As he renewed his request with great earnestness, the *Spanish* ministry appointed the duke of *Arcos*, a bold and resolute man, as his successor, and ordered him to proceed to *Rome* to do homage, in the king's name, to the new pope *Innocent X.* The admiral accordingly, about the middle of April, left *Naples*, before he had quite finished the two years of his government, during which he had made many prudent

The admiral of Castile appointed viceroy.

He is removed at his own request.

1646.

dent regulations; and, returning by *Rome* to *Spain*, died the year following.

and succeeded by the duke of Arcos.
 DON *Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, duke of *Arcos*, made his entry into *Naples*, and assumed the government of the kingdom, a few weeks before the departure of the admiral. According to a modern author, he was of a rapacious disposition; and, though possessed of an immense estate in *Spain*, had accepted of the government of *Naples* chiefly with the view of enlarging his fortune. Being filled with a presumptuous opinion of the grandeur of the *Spanish* monarchy, he discovered a sovereign contempt for the *Neapolitans*; and fomented the division between the nobles and the people, in hopes of governing both with the greater ease. At his first arrival, he declined imposing any new taxes; but, being obliged to raise money, he appointed two boards to extract the arrears of the donatives that had been granted to the king. As the *French*, under pretence of assisting the nephews of the late pope against *Innocent*, threatened to invade *Tuscany* with a powerful fleet, and soon after actually appeared on the coast with ten galleys, thirty-five men of war, and seventy transports, on board of which were 6000 foot and 600 horse, the viceroy was obliged to send several reinforcements to the *Spanish* garrisons in that part of *Italy*; some of which, nevertheless, were forced to surrender to the *French*, who, though they were defeated by the *Spaniards* at sea, yet in the end of the year made themselves masters of the important harbour of *Portolongone*.

The kingdom distressed to oppose the French in Italy.
 THESE new acquisitions of the *French* alarmed the viceroy, who immediately gave out commissions for raising 12,000 men, 5000 of whom to be *Germans*, ordered the most wealthy citizens of *Gaeta* to fortify their city at their own expences, and summoned the militia of the kingdom to come to *Naples*; who refused to comply with his command. The *French*, in the mean time, having fitted out five men of war and two small fireships at *Portolongone* and *Pimmino*, on the 1st of *April* appeared in the gulph of *Naples*, and took several ships in sight of the city. But the *Neapolitans*, embarking on board thirteen men of war and twelve galleys then in the harbour, quickly drove them from the coasts. A few weeks after, however, the city was greatly alarmed by the accidental or malicious burning of the *Spanish* admiral's ship in the night-time, by which 300,000 ducats, which

A. D. 1647.
 were

— *Mém. de la Révolution de Naples de Lufan. 1757. Mém. du Duc de Gualto.*

were going to *Spain*, were lost; and 400 soldiers perished. The viceroy, suspecting that the loss of the ship was owing to the duke of *Matalone*, who was known to have an aversion for the *Spaniards*, ordered him to be imprisoned in *Castel Nuovo*. The duke was one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, being in possession of ten duchies, six principalities, and a great number of large fiefs. He was beloved by the people on account of his known aversion to the *Spaniards*, and was of a haughty disposition and enterprising spirit; therefore the viceroy thought by imprisoning him he would prevent any tumults which the disposition of the people seemed to threaten.

THE duke, in the beginning of his government, had obtained from the parliament a donative of a million; but, in order to make it ready money, he imposed a duty upon fruit, which he assigned to some merchants who advanced the sum. This duty the common people looked upon as the hardest oppression, the chief part of their subsistence, during the hot summer months, being fruit, which in the kingdom of *Naples* is very plentiful and delicious. The edict for collecting the new duty was no sooner published in the beginning of *January*, than the people began to murmur in a tumultuous manner; and when the viceroy came abroad, surrounded his coach, bawling to have their grievances redressed. They were encouraged in their sedition by the news that the citizens of *Palermo*, on account of new duties, had openly revolted. The viceroy therefore, apprehensive of greater disorders in *Naples*, desired the *Seggi* to deliberate about taking off the duty, and imposing another less grievous; but such difficulties occurred, that they could come to no determination; and those who had farmed the duty bribing some of the viceroy's favourites, he was fatally persuaded by them to defer the abolition of the tax. The indignation of the people, who suspected such an intention, greatly increased; especially as they were privately excited by several malecontents, among the chief of whom was *Giulio Genuino* the elect, now in priest's orders, and in the 80th year of his age, who, in resentment for his long sufferings for his behaviour under the administration of *Ossuna*, had been wishing for an opportunity of vengeance against the *Spaniards*. The farmers of the revenue, and all those concerned in raising the taxes, had incurred the hatred and detestation of the people, particularly of *Tommaso Aniello*, commonly called *Massaniello*, of *Amalfi*, a fisherman, whose wife, having been discovered in smuggling a small quantity of meat, was imprisoned, and condemned to pay a fine of 100 ducats.

They are encouraged by Massaniello, a poor fisherman ; MASSANIELLO, a few years before, had come to Naples from Amalfi, where his father had been a fisherman. At this time he was about twenty-four years of age, and the father of four children. He was of a middling stature, and an agreeable aspect ; was distinguished for his boldness, activity, and integrity ; and had a great influence with his companions, by whom he was beloved and esteemed. As he was obliged even to sell his furniture to pay the heavy fine, he had conceived an implacable hatred against the farmers of the taxes, and was also moved with compassion for the miserable state of the city and kingdom. He therefore formed a design with some of his companions to raise a tumult in the market-place on the festival day of the *Carmelites*, usually celebrated about the middle of *July*, when between five and 600 youths entertain the people by a mock-fight ; one half of them, in the character of *Turks*, defending a wooden castle, which is attacked and stormed by the other half in the character of Christians. *Massaniello* being appointed captain of one of these parties, and one *Pione*, who was privy to his design, commanding the other, for several weeks before the festival they were very diligent in reviewing and training their followers, who were armed with sticks and reeds : but a small and unforeseen accident tempted them to begin their enterprize without waiting for the festival.

who heads the rioters.

ON the 7th of *July* a disturbance happening in the market-place betwixt the tax-gatherers and some gardeners of *Pozzuolo*, who had brought some figs into the city, whether the buyer or seller should pay the duty, after the tumult had continued several hours, *Massaniello*, who was present with his company, excited the mob to pillage the office built in the market for receiving the duty and to drive away the officers with stones. The elect of the people, who, by deciding against the gardeners, had increased the tumult, run to the palace, and informed the viceroy, who most imprudently neglected all means of putting a stop to the commotion. *Massaniello*, in the mean time, being joined by great numbers of people, ordered his young troop to set fire to all the offices for the taxes through the city ; which command being executed with dispatch, he then conducted them directly to the palace, where the viceroy, instead of ordering his *Spanish* and *German* guards to disperse them, encouraged their insolence by timidly granting their demands. As they rushed into the palace in a furious manner, he escaped by a private door, and endeavoured to save himself in *Castel del Ovo* ; but being overtaken by the rioters in the streets, he was trampled upon by them, and pulled by the hair and whiskers. How-

The viceroy saves his life by taking sanctuary in a convent.

over,

ever, by throwing some handfuls of gold among them, he again escaped, and took sanctuary in a convent of *Minims*, where, being joined by the archbishop of *Naples*, cardinal *Filomarini*, and several nobles, by their advice he signed a billet, by which he abolished all taxes upon provisions. As a means to quell the tumult, he likewise desired the cardinal to offer *Massaniello* a pension of 2400 crowns, who generously rejected the bribe; and declared, that, if the viceroy would keep his word, he would find them obedient subjects.

It was now expected that the tumult would cease; but *Massaniello*, upon his return to the market-place, being joined by several malecontents, among whom were *Genuino*, and one *Peronne*, who had formerly been a captain of the *Sbirri*, he was advised by them to order the houses of all those concerned in raising the tax to be burned, which were accordingly in a few days reduced to ashes, with all their rich furniture. *Massaniello* being now absolute master of the whole city, and being joined by great numbers of people of desperate fortunes, he required the viceroy, who had retired to the *Castel Nuovo*, to abolish all the taxes, and to deliver up the writ of exemption granted by *Charles V.* This new demand greatly embarrassed the viceroy; but, to appease the people, he drew up a false deed in letters of gold, and sent it to them by their favourite the duke of *Matalone*, whom he now set at liberty. The fraud, however, being discovered, the duke was pulled from his horse and maltreated by the mob, and at length committed as a prisoner to *Peronne*. This accident, to the great joy of the viceroy, enraged the people against the nobility, several of whom they killed, burnt the houses of others, and threatened to extirpate them all. *Massaniello*, in the mean time, tattered and half naked, commanded his followers, who were now well armed, and were reckoned about 100,000 men, with a most absolute sway. He eat and slept little, gave his orders with great precision and judgment, appeared full of moderation, without ambition, and interested views. But the duke of *Matalone* having procured his liberty by bribing *Peronne*, the viceroy imitated his example, and secretly corrupted *Genuino* to betray his chief. A conspiracy was accordingly formed against *Massaniello* by *Matalone* and *Peronne*, the duke, who was equally exasperated against the viceroy, proposing, that after his death his brother *D. Joseph* should head the rebels.

* GIANNONE. Mem. du Duc de Guise. Hist. des Révolutions de Nap. LABARD. de reb. Gal.

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able trea-
ty.

MASSANIELLO, in the mean time, by means of the cardinal archbishop, was negotiating a general peace and accommodation; but while both parties were assembling in the convent of the *Carmelites*, the banditti hired by *Mattalone* made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Massaniello's* life. His followers immediately killed 150 of them. *Peronne* and *D. Joseph*, being discovered to be concerned in the conspiracy, were likewise put to death, and the duke with great difficulty escaped. *Massaniello* by this conspiracy was rendered more suspicious and severe. He began to abuse his power by putting several persons to death upon slight pretences; and to force the viceroy to an accommodation, he cut off all communication with the castles, which were unprovided with provision and ammunition. The viceroy likewise, being afraid lest the *French* should take advantage of the commotion, earnestly desired to agree to a treaty, which was accordingly concluded, on the 5th day of the insurrection, by the mediation of the archbishop. By the treaty, it was stipulated, that all duties, imposed since the time of *Charles V.* should be abolished; and that the writ of exemption granted by that emperor should be delivered to the people; that, for the future, no new taxes should be imposed; that the vote of the elect of the people should be equal to the votes of the nobility; that an act of oblivion should be granted for all that was past; and that the people should continue in arms under *Massaniello*, till the ratification of the treaty by the king.

*Massaniel-
lo still re-
tains his
absolute
authority.*

By this treaty no less than 10,000 persons, who fattened upon the blood of the public, were ruined. The people, when it was solemnly published, manifested an extreme joy, believing they had now recovered all their antient rights and privileges. *Massaniello*, at the desire of the viceroy, went to the palace to visit him, accompanied by the archbishop, who was obliged to threaten him with excommunication, before he would consent to lay aside his rags, and assume a magnificent dress. He was received by the duke with the greatest demonstrations of respect and friendship, while the duchess entertained his wife, and presented her with a robe of cloth of silver, and some jewels. The viceroy, to preserve some shadow of authority, appointed him captain-general, and at his departure made him a present of a golden chain of great value, which with great difficulty he was pre-

o Vide act. sup. citat. Hist. de la Revol. de Naples, par LUSSAN. le Comte de Modene, t. i.

vailed upon to accept of; but yielded at length to the intreaties of the cardinal. Next day, in consequence of the commission granted him by the viceroy, he began to exercise all the functions of sovereign authority; and having caused a scaffold to be erected in one of the streets, and several gibbets, he judged all crimes, whether civil or military, in the last resort, and ordered the guilty to be immediately put to death, which was the punishment he assigned to all offences. Though he neglected all forms of law, and even frequently judged by physiognomy, yet he is said not to have overlooked any criminal, or punished any innocent person.

His grandeur and prosperity was of very short continuance; *He is as-* for his mind becoming distracted and delirious for two or *three* *days*, he committed a great many mad and extravagant actions, and on the 18th of July was assassinated with the consent of the viceroy. Some attribute his madness to the sudden change of his fortune, and his excessive joy for restoring the liberty of his country; others to the want of rest, and too much wine; and some allege, that it was the effect of poison, secretly administered to him by the Spaniards. As the populace carried his head upon a pole, and treated his body with the greatest indignity, the viceroy expected that peace and tranquillity would be immediately restored; but the people being still in arms under several chiefs, who commanded in different quarters, and were jealous of each other, he had no authority in the city, where anarchy immediately prevailed. The weight of bread being im- *The com-* prudently lessened, the people a few days after began *motion still* to regret the death of *Massaniello*; and having taken his *continues.* body from the common sewer, and joined the head to it, they carried the corpse in procession through all the quarters of the city, and buried it with solemn and royal funeral ceremonies. The populace then continued for three or four weeks in quiet suspense, waiting for the orders from Spain; but one of those who had his house burned claiming to be indemnified for his losses, and the viceroy refusing to deliver up *Gemina*, who had encouraged him, and had fled to the castle, the people again ran to arms with greater fury than before, and immediately seized several posts, commanding the harbour and straitening the castles. They continued their hostilities for two days with great vigour, and on the 23d of August chose for their chief the prince of *Massa*, one of the most wealthy nobles of the kingdom,

P. GIANNONE. Hist. par LUSSAN. DEGLI Hist. des Rois des Deux Siciles, an. 1647.

who had acquired a great reputation in the war of *Catalonia*. He accepted of the command with great regret, and immediately entered into a secret correspondence with the viceroy, whom, at the same time, he was besieging in *Castel Nuovo*.

*A general
insurrec-
tion in the
provinces.*

DURING these transactions in *Naples*, the *Spaniards* had been expelled from *Salerno*, *Cava*, *Sanseverino*, and several other cities, by the people, who, upon the news of the insurrection of *Massaniello*, had taken arms in all the provinces of the kingdom, and revenged themselves upon the *Spaniards* and the nobility, who had long governed them with a rod of iron. This general insurrection being the subject of discourse at *Rome*, the duke of *Guise*, who happened at this time to be at the pope's court, was encouraged by *Innocent* to offer his service to the *Neapolitans* against the *Spaniards*. The duke was prompted by his ambition to engage in the enterprize, especially as he had some distant pretensions to the crown. He accordingly sent two *Italians* to *Naples*, desiring the *Neapolitans* to form themselves into a republic, and offering himself as their chief. The viceroy, who dreaded his arrival, especially as he saw the whole kingdom in arms, and was informed that the *French* were fitting out a formidable fleet at *Toulon*, by the mediation of the archbishop, on the 7th of *September*, concluded another accommodation, more disgraceful than the former. The people, now weary of commotion, resumed their former occupations with great eagerness, treated the *Spaniards* with kindness, and even destroyed all their works and retrenchments they had formed against the castles, being credulous enough to believe that the king would ratify a treaty that intirely deprived him of the sovereignty of the kingdom.

*The viceroy
condescends to a
more dis-
graceful
treaty.*

*D. John
of Austria
arrives
with a
fleet at
Naples.*

ABOUT three weeks after, the *Spanish* fleet at length arrived in the bay of *Naples*, consisting of forty ships of war, twenty-two galleys, and some other vessels, under the command of the king's natural son, Don *John of Austria*, a youth of eighteen years of age, extremely handsome, of a courteous behaviour, and ripe judgment. The fleet was but ill provided with ammunition, and had but 4000, or, according to some, 5000 troops on board; yet it was looked upon by the *Spaniards* as the bulwark of their monarchy, being designed as a bridle upon the two wavering kingdoms, and to recover *Portoforgone* and *Piombino* from the *French*. The prince accordingly had the character of vicar-general in *Italy*. The prince was inclined to use clemency; but the viceroy, thinking his revenge would be thereby frustrated,

fatally persuaded him to insist that the people should lay down their arms before his entry into Naples, hoping by this means to give some foundation for renewing hostilities, when he would be able to reduce the revoltors by force. The duke likewise employed his emissaries in Naples to persuade the people that D. John wanted to surprize them, and had a design to destroy their city. The people accordingly insisting to capitulate upon even terms, by the advice of the viceroy it was agreed that 3000 troops should be landed from the fleet, which, with those in the towns and castles, would make a body of 11,000 men; and that a general assault should be given to the city in different quarters, which at the same time should be cannonaded from the castles and fleet. Next day, being the 5th of October, this perfidious resolution was executed in a cruel manner, the Spaniards attacking the posts of the revoltors with great fury, and putting to death men, women, and children, without distinction, while the artillery thundered from their ships and castles, and set fire to the city in several places. The people, recovering from their first consternation, were animated with rage, and in their turn attacked the Spaniards, whom they repulsed with great loss.

D. JOHN and the viceroy were confounded with the bad success of their enterprize; but despairing now of any accommodation, next day they renewed the attack. Hostilities were continued several days with little interruption; but nothing succeeded with the viceroy; and the people, becoming more exasperated, openly revolted from the Spaniards; ordering, that none, under pain of death, should propose an accommodation with them. They rejected with disdain the offer of a truce made them by the prince and the viceroy, and published a manifesto, recapitulating all their grievances, and requesting the assistance of all Christian princes. A few weeks after they cruelly put the prince of *Mussa*, their general, to death, pretending to discover his private intelligence with the viceroy. The prince had from the beginning been secretly in the interest of the Spaniards, and hoped, by retarding and frustrating the military operations, to prevail with the people to return to their obedience; but his designs having been for some time suspected by the chiefs of the revoltors, they ordered his head to be struck off, without, however, having any proofs of his intentions.

Vide auct. sup. citat. Mem. de Guise. Mémoires Voyage d'Italie. L'ORDAN, Repub. de Naples.

*Appoint
Anneſe, a
gunſmith,
as their
chief.*

*The duke
of Guiſe
arrives at
Naples,
and is de-
clared
chief.*

UPON the death of *Maſſa*, the chief command was conferred on *Januarius Anneſe*, a gunſmith, who was very inſtrumental in procuring the death of his predeceſſor. He was a man full of artifice and deceit, brutal and covetous; and, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his activity in the beginning of his revolt, and his hatred to the *Spaniards*, had obtained the command of one of the chief poſts, which, rousing his ambition, made him ſtill more vigilant in the common cauſe. He was at firſt very induſtrious in eſtabliſhing himſelf in his new dignity; but being wholly illiterate, and exerciſing his ſovereign power with great confuſion, vanity, and avarice, his government was quickly deteſted. The people, who began to feel the want of proviſions, openly murmured; and, having formed themſelves into a republic, ſent a deputation to the duke of *Guiſe* at *Rome*, offering him the ſame authority and rank among them that the prince of *Orange* enjoyed in *Holland*. The duke accordingly, after having ſurmounted many difficulties, arrived at *Naples* on the 15th of *November*, in a ſmall felucca, which held only about ſix perſons, having been obliged to ſeparate from thirteen other feluccas, to avoid the *Spaniards* who purſued him. Upon his arrival, the *Neapolitans* expreſſed a moſt extravagant joy; and two days after the ſupreme command was conferred upon him, with great ſolemnity, in the cathedral church, where he took the oath of fidelity to the people, and received a bleſſed ſword from the archbiſhop.

THE duke was not a week in *Naples* before he found himſelf greatly embarrassed. He obſerved, that the greateſt part of the citizens of any credit continued neutral, or rather privately favoured the *Spaniards*; and that there were not above 5000 troops regimented; though many thouſands occaſionally took arms; he himſelf had no money; his colleague *Anneſe* was in ſome meaſure his rival, and privately thwarted his deſigns, and he found it impracticable to reconcile the people and the nobility, which laſt he was very earneſt to render his friends, being ſenſible that it was otherwiſe impoſſible to ſucceed in his ambitious views. The duke, however, having prevailed on *Anneſe* to grant him 100,000 crowns, raiſed about 1000 more troops, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the *Spaniards*, but with ſmall ſucceſs. As the city was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; he was obliged, about the middle of *December*, to march out with 4000 foot and 600 horſe, to open the communication with

the country. He took the route of *Aversa*, where there was a body of 6000 nobles, who had assembled in their own defence, but had refused to co-operate with the *Spaniards*. He was in hopes of persuading the nobles to declare for him; but having a conference with the duke of *Andria*, he soon found that his expectations were without foundation.

MEAN while the *French* fleet, consisting of 29 ill-provided *The* men of war and five fire-ships, arriving in the bay of *Naples*, French the duke was flattered with the prospect of powerful suc- fleet ap-
cours. He however suffered a most mortifying disappoint- pears be-
ment; for *Mazarine*, jealous of the success of his enterprise, fore *Nap-*
addressed his dispatches to *Anese*, as chief of the republic; ples.
and the fleet, instead of immediately attacking that of the *Spaniards*, while the half of their crew were on shore, lay inactive within cannon-shot of the enemy, and, after landing a small quantity of powder and two pieces of artillery, continued about three weeks on the coast, and then returned to *Toulon*, having only taken a few merchant ships, and had some small skirmishes with the enemy. The principal ad- Returns
vantage the duke gained by their arrival was, a confirmation without
of the chief command of the republic for seven years, *An- giving as-*
ese having been forced to resign his share in the supreme sistance to
authority, in consideration of a yearly revenue of 50,000 the duke.
crowns, and a land estate, with the title of duchy or prin- A. D.
cipality, upon the conclusion of the war. The week follow- 1648.
ing, the baron of *Modena*, who commanded the army against *The duke*
the nobles, by a stratagem prevailed upon them to evacuate extends his
Aversa, which city he immediately took possession of, to the conquests to
great joy of the *Neapolitans*, who received from thence the pro-
considerable supply of corn. Their hopes were likewise vinces of
flattered with the news that the army of the nobles was dis- the king-
persed, and that in almost all the provinces the party of the dom.
new republic was superior. Besides, several of the nobles began to acknowledge the authority of the duke, who recovered some important posts from the *Spaniards*, and had even procured some spies in the collateral council of the regency. Two of the *Spanish* galleys likewise declaring for the republic, and news daily arriving of the loss of the *Spaniards* in the provinces, the duke at length established a magnificent household, ordered the courts of justice to be opened, and appointed several boards for the different branches of the administration.

THE *Spaniards* in the mean time suffering greatly for want of provisions, and many of their soldiers deserting, Don *John*, by one of his confidants, offered the duke the sovereignty of the marquisate of *Final* and principality of *Saler- lerno*,

lerno, if he would quit *Naples*, engaging likewise to procure for him from the emperor the investiture of the duchies of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and the principalities of *Carpi* and *Correggio*. The duke, however, who fondly expected a crown, rejecting these offers, the *Spaniards* endeavoured to renew a treaty for an accommodation, by the mediation of *Don John* the pope's nuncio; but the *Neapolitans* absolutely refusing to have any more concerns with the duke of *Arcos*, *Don John* prevailed on the duke to resign his government. He accordingly left *Naples* on the 26th of *January*, when *Don John* assumed the government, and immediately published an edict, exhorting the people to return to their duty, promising them a general indemnity, and many favours. This edict produced little or no effect, which was likewise the fate of a manifesto published about the same time by the nobility, who declared that they were willing to forget all the injuries they had received from the people.

THE duke, in the mean time, being convinced of the enmity of *Annese*, who laid several snares for his life, and thwarted all his measures, he formed a design of assassinating him, which however proved ineffectual. His revenge against *Annese* being frustrated, he called in about 6000 men from the country, and on the 11th of *February* made a general attack upon the posts of the *Spaniards*, but this enterprize likewise proved unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the difficulties he had to struggle with, and the weakness and disunion of his party, all *Italy* imagined he was upon the point of being elevated to a throne. The *Venetians*, *Genoese*, and the Roman princes, seemed inclined to court his friendship; and the pope, who had an affection for him, and wanted the kingdom of *Naples* to be independent both of *France* and *Spain*, pressed him to assume the title of king of both *Sicilies*, offering him the investiture of the kingdom, and a loan of 300,000 crowns, and assuring him, that he would form a league with the other *Italian* states in his defence. The duke readily accepted the offer of the money; but alleged to his holiness, that the time was not yet proper for assuming the title of king^t. *Annese* in the mean time, and some other chiefs of the people, continued their designs against the duke; but failing in one or two attempts, and believing their own lives in danger, as he began to act with great haughtiness and despotism, they seriously entered into a negotiation with *Don John* for a peace. During these transactions, the count of *Oniate*, the *Spanish* ambassador at

The pope offers the investiture of Naples to the duke of Guise.

Annese enters into a correspondence with Don John.

^t Auct. sup. citat;

Rome, arrived at *Naples*, as successor to the duke of *Arcos*, the court of *Spain* having been offended that the collateral council should have arrogated to themselves the power of removing one viceroy and appointing another, and being-jealous lest Don *John* should seize the opportunity of the present disorders to usurp the sovereignty of *Naples*.

DON *Inigo Valez y Tassis*, count of *Oniate*, entered *Castel Nuovo* on the 1st of *March*, having brought with him from *d'Oniate Rome* a great quantity of provisions, and 200,000 crowns. *arrives as viceroy.* His character was very different from that of his predecessor, being reputed a man of great prudence and strict honour. He no sooner entered upon the government, than he visited all the posts; and to influence the people to return to their obedience, ordered the monks in *Holy Week* to insil into the minds of their penitents the horrid guilt of rebellion against their lawful prince. He likewise carried on the correspondence with *Annese* and the other chiefs, enemies of the duke, who, having concluded a solemn treaty with him, promised to admit the *Spaniards* into the city. In consequence of this agreement, he disposed every thing for a general attack, which was accordingly made on *Easter Monday*, the 6th of *April*, about midnight, when the duke was absent at *Pesilipo*, endeavouring to reduce the small island of *Nisita*. *He surprises and reduces the city of Naples.* The *Spaniards*, to the number of 3000, being admitted into the city by the gate of *Alba*, and publishing that the duke of *Guise* had joined them, quickly made themselves masters of all the posts, with scarce any opposition. Very little blood was spilt, and in a few hours there was not the least appearance of sedition, the whole city being reduced. The people, recovering from their first consternation, expressed the greatest transports of joy, and embraced the *Spaniards* with the ardour of long absent friends. *Annese* having joined the viceroy and Don *John*, they went in procession to the cathedral church, where they rendered their thanks to God by a solemn *Te Deum*. The duke of *Guise*, confounded with the loss of *Naples*, which blasted all his ambitious schemes, could not abstain from tears. Having made several vain attempts to reënter the city, he fled with a few followers towards *Abruzzo*, where the party of the republic was very powerful; but, being pursued by the *Spanish* troops, he was made prisoner, and carried to *Gasta*. *The duke of Guise taken prisoner.* From thence he was conducted to *Spain*, where he continued a prisoner four years, but was at last set at liberty at the treaty of the prince of *Candé*, who had joined the *Spanish* faction.

The provinces return to their allegiance.

The French in vain attempt to raise a second commotion.

UPON the news of the reduction of *Naples*, and the imprisonment of the duke of *Guise*, all the provinces of the kingdom immediately submitted, excepting *Abruzzo*, where the rebels were assisted by some *French*, who had come from *Rome*; but the barons assisting the viceroy, they were soon dissipated. Notwithstanding the imprisonment of the duke of *Guise*, *Mazarine*, sensible of his error in not having given him assistance, ordered a fleet, which had been for some time equipping at *Toulon*, to sail to *Naples*, in hopes of exciting the people to a second insurrection in favour of prince *Thomas of Savoy*, whom he intended as a husband for one of his nieces. The *French* fleet, under the command of prince *Thomas*, accordingly appeared on the *Neapolitan* coast; but the prince, being quickly convinced that his enterprize was impracticable, returned soon after to *Provence*. The viceroy having discovered, that *Annese* had received and concealed a letter, relating to this invasion of prince *Thomas*, condemned him to death, and caused him to be hanged in the middle of the market-place, by which proceeding he believed his authority firmly established^u. Tranquility being again restored, Don *John* on the twenty-second of *September* left *Naples*, and with the fleet sailed for *Messina*, to confirm the *Sicilians* in their former obedience to the king. Upon his departure, the viceroy published a general pardon, and applied himself to re-establish the government, such as it was before the revolution; and as all wise people agreed that a general exemption from taxes was impossible, the *Seggi* assembled, and consented to a tax of forty-two carlini upon each house, and to restore the half of the duties that had been taken off, excepting those upon fruit, herbs, and roots, which were never to be again imposed.

The viceroy punishes the dissatisfied with great rigour.

THE count, to frustrate as much as possible the designs of the *French* in raising a second revolt, established a junta, or board of counsellors, to keep a strict eye over all suspected persons, and began to punish with the utmost rigour all those who had any principal share in the late commotions. He charged the chief ringleaders frequently with pretended crimes, and on that account put them to death; which alarming many others, for their own security they fled the kingdom. As the banditti in the late revolution had all declared themselves zealous republicans, and had been principally concerned in the disturbances in the provinces, which they fo-

^u Hist. du Card. Mazarin. D'acq. Hist. du Roi des deux Siciles. Hist. de la Revol. de Naples, par Lussan.

mented more with the design of seizing the estates of the barons, than from obedience to the duke of *Guise*, the viceroy formed a resolution of ridding the kingdom of such an irregular militia. They principally infested the two provinces of *Abruzzo*, but by the measures taken by the viceroy in a short time they were almost entirely extirpated.

ALTHO' the nation was greatly exhausted, the count like-*He reco-*
wise resolved to attempt the recovery of the garrisons of *Tus-*
cany; and accordingly sailed thither in person, with a formi-*garrisons*
dable fleet, and in the end of *May*, after a desperate attack, *of Tusca-*
made himself master of *Piombino*. A few months after, hav-
ing also obliged the *French* garrison of *Portolongone* to sur-
render, he returned to *Naples*, where continuing his rigour
against the disaffected, he began to render himself odious to
the *Neapolitans*. On this account, 'tis alleged, that the court
of *Spain* sent him a successor before he had finished the sixth
year of his government. During his administration, he was
very assiduous in re-settling the government, and in repairing
all the public buildings of *Naples* that had suffered any da-
mage in the late commotions.

A. D.
1650.

He is
recalled.
1653.

DON *Garcia d'Avellino y Haro*, count of *Castrillo*, arrived *The count*
at *Naples*, as successor to *Oniate*, on the tenth of *November*. *of Castrillo*
He was of a mild and indulgent temper, and, to conciliate the *appointed*
affections of the people, immediately upon his assuming the *viceroy*.
government, ordered two ounces to be added to the weight
of the bread. As the war still raged more than ever betwixt
the two crowns of *Spain* and *France*, the *French* were now
fully persuaded of the importance of making a diversion in
Naples; and the *Neapolitan* refugees, who had fled from the
rigour of *Oniate*, urging the great ease of renewing the disturb-
ances, orders were given by *Mazarine* for fitting out a for-
midable fleet. He was greatly influenced by the solicitations
of the duke of *Guise*, who magnified the affection of the
Neapolitans for his person, and obtained the chief command
of the intended expedition. The viceroy being informed of
the designs of the *French*, used his utmost diligence to put
the kingdom in a state of defence, by levying new troops,
reinforcing the garrisons of *Tuscany*, and by strengthening
all the places on the coast, most exposed to the insults of the
enemy. By these precautions, the rash ambition of the duke *1654.*
of *Guise* was again frustrated. The duke appeared on the *The duke*
coast on the twelfth of *November*, with a numerous fleet, on *of Guise*
board of which were 7000 soldiers and 150 horse, besides *makes a*
200 gentlemen, whom he intended as officers for those he *vain at-*
expected would join him. After a short resistance, he made *tempt to*
himself master of *Castello a Mare*: but before he could extend *raise a se-*
his *cond insur-*
rection.

his conquest, he was entirely surrounded by the *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* troops, which obliged him to reembark his forces, and abandon the place, which he held only a few days. The *French* before they went on board pillaged the houses of the inhabitants, and robbed the churches of all their furniture and sacred vessels, and loading their ships with the booty, set sail for *Toulon* on the tenth of *December*, when a squadron of twenty-three *English* men of war, which had been sent by *Cromwell* to the assistance of the *Spaniards*, appeared in the gulf of *Naples*. Though the *French* were thus baffled in their enterprize against *Naples*, yet having prevailed on the duke of *Modena* to declare for them, they continued the war in *Lombardy*, and the following year besieged *Pavia*, which forced the viceroy to fit out a squadron of men of war and gallies, and to send 7500 foot and 1500 horse to the assistance of the governor of *Milan*, who by that reinforcement obliged the duke of *Modena* to raise the siege.

A. D. 1655. As *Sardinia* at this time was afflicted with a pestilence, the count of *Gastrillo* prohibited, under the severest penalties, all commerce with that island. However, the following year a transport, with soldiers on board, from the island, being admitted into the harbour of *Naples*, and the troops being permitted to come on shore, the plague by this inadvertency was introduced into the city, where it raged with the greatest violence, carrying off in less than six months 400,000 of the inhabitants. The distemper was at first called by the physicians a malignant fever; but one of them affirming it to be pestilential, the viceroy, who was apprehensive lest such a report would occasion all communication with *Naples* to be broke off, was offended with this declaration, and ordered him to be imprisoned. As a favour, however, he allowed him to return and die in his own house. By this proceeding of the viceroy, the distemper being neglected, made a most rapid and furious progress, and filled the whole city with consternation. The streets were crowded with confused processions, which served to spread the infection through all the quarters. The terror of the people increased their superstition, and it being reported that a certain nun had prophesied that the pestilence would cease upon building a hermitage for her sister nuns upon the hill of *St. Martin's*, the edifice was immediately begun with the most ardent zeal. Persons of the highest quality strove who should perform the meanest offices. Some loading themselves with beams, and others carrying baskets full of lime and nails, while persons of all ranks stripped themselves of their most valuable effects, which they threw into empty hogsheds, placed in the

the streets to receive the charitable contributions. Their bustling, however, and the increasing heats, diffused the malady through the whole city, and the streets and the stairs of the churches were filled with the dead, the number of whom, for some time of the month of *July*, amounted daily to 15,000.

THE viceroy in the mean time used all possible precautions to abate the fury of the distemper, and to prevent its spreading to the provinces. The infection, however, desolated the whole kingdom, excepting the provinces of *Otranto* and the further *Calabria*, and the cities of *Gaeta*, *Sorrento*, *Paolo*, *Belvedere*, with some few other places. The general calamity was increased in *Naples* by several malecontents, who insinuated that the distemper had been designedly introduced by the *Spaniards*, and that there were many people in disguise that went through the city sowing poisoned dust. This idle rumour enraged the populace, who began to insult the *Spanish* soldiers, and threaten a sedition; so that the viceroy, to pacify the mob, caused a criminal to be broke upon the wheel, under pretence that he was a disseminator of the dust. A violent and plentiful rain falling about the middle of *August*, the distemper began to abate, and on the eighth of *December* the physicians made a solemn declaration, that the city was entirely free from infection. The disease, however, still continued in the provinces for several months, on which account the viceroy prohibited any one from entering *Naples* without his leave, which prohibition was continued till the month of *November* in the following year. Upon the ceasing of this dreadful calamity, the viceroy was involved in new troubles by the banditti, who began to multiply in *Principato*, where they were protected by some barons. While he was employed in punishing the protectors, and *The count* dislodging the protected, he was informed that the count of *is recalled*. *Peniaranda* was appointed his successor; a few weeks after *A. D.* 1659. whose arrival in *Naples* he resigned the government.

THE count of *Peniaranda* arrived at *Naples* in the end of *Is succeeded* *December*, and entered upon the administration on the eleventh of *January*. His government was very peaceable, the treaty of peace being concluded betwixt the *Spaniards* and *French* in the *November* following at the *Pyrenees*. As the kingdom of *Portugal* was excluded from this treaty, the *Spaniards* bent their thoughts upon reuniting it to the crown, and assembled a powerful army for reducing the *Portuguese*. As their usual bad fortune still attended them,

He sends succours to Spain against the Portuguese.
 A. D. 1664.
 the viceroy was obliged the four following years to send considerable succours from *Naples* to *Spain*. In the mean time he was engaged in quelling the insolence of the banditti. He published rigorous edicts against those who protected them, and sending troops into the *Abruzzi* and *Principato*, he apprehended a great many of them; and forced others to lay down their arms. Some he ordered to be hanged, others he condemned to the galleys, and sent a great many of them to recruit the armies in *Portugal*. While he was thus employed in restoring tranquility to the kingdom, the cardinal of *Arragon*, who resided at *Rome* for some time, as ambassador from *Spain*, arrived at *Naples*, as his successor. The count, a few weeks after his arrival, on the ninth of *September*, embarked for *Spain*, leaving behind him an illustrious character for affability, piety, and great disinterestedness, having during his whole administration manifested a great aversion to rapacity and avarice, which vices had dishonoured many of his predecessors. He left fourteen wise and prudent statutes, some of which severely condemned duels and murders, which by the lenity of his government had become very frequent.

The cardinal of Arragon succeeds him as viceroy.
 1665.
 DON *Paschal* of *Arragon* immediately upon assuming the government, published a rigorous edict against all those who carried concealed arms, ordered all vagabonds to depart the city within three days, and caused many criminals to be executed, and condemned a great number to the galleys. His severities, however, were not sufficient to bridle the depraved city and nation; for the malecontents, encouraged by the great number of sanctuaries, and by the pretended privileges of the ecclesiastical court, still continued to disturb the public, in contempt of the laws. The banditti were no less insolent, and being protected by the powerful barons, infested the roads in great troops, and carried off great numbers of prisoners, some of whom they murdered, and obliged others to pay large sums for their ransom. The viceroy used his utmost endeavours to put a stop to these mischiefs, and sent a lawyer to *Rome*, to obtain some redress in the abuses of the pretended immunity. At the same time he was engaged in punishing a new kind of robbers, namely, the merchants, who by fraudulent bankruptcies cheated their creditors with impunity. In order to put a stop to this wickedness, he published an edict, declaring, that whoever should be found guilty of a fraudulent bankruptcy should suffer death. Those were deemed guilty who within four days did not surrender themselves; and the concealers of their effects, and their pretended creditors were likewise to be

He publishes an edict against fraudulent bankruptcies.

be punished with death. While the cardinal was thus employed in putting a stop to the disorders, and restraining the looseness of manners that prevailed in the kingdom, he was informed of the death of the king of Spain, who left his dominions to his son Charles. As the new king was only four years of age, his mother was appointed regent, and a junta was nominated, to assist her in the administration of the government. The archbishop of Toledo, who by his office, was one of the junta, dying on the same day with the queen-regent appointed the viceroy as his successor. Accordingly the following year, on the eleventh of April, embarked for Spain, having governed the kingdom only about nineteen months.

DON Pedro Antonio of Arragon, who for some time resided as Spanish ambassador at Rome, succeeded his brother the cardinal, as viceroy. In the beginning of his government, Alexander VII. granted the bull of investiture to the infant king; but at the same time, as sovereign lord of the kingdom, claimed the administration of the government during the minority, and ordered his nuncios at Madrid and Naples to present memorials of his pretended rights. These memorials being immediately refused by several Spanish and Neapolitan lawyers, the court of Rome thought proper not to insist upon their pretensions.

THE Spanish court at this time found a more formidable enemy in Lewis XIV. who upon the death of Philip published his pretensions to the duchy of Brabant, the lordship of Malines, the marquisate of Antwerp, Upper Guelderland, the country of Namur, Limbourg, Dalem, Hainault, Artois, Cambray, the county of Burgundy, Luxembourg, and many places on the Meuse, in right of his queen Maria Theresa; who, being a daughter of the first marriage, he alleged was lawful heiress of all these territories, in prejudice to the males of a second marriage. The Neapolitan and Spanish lawyers, according to Giannone, clearly refuted the pretensions of the French king, who paying no regard to their arguments, suddenly invaded Flanders with a formidable army, and quickly conquered great part of it. As he likewise threatened to attack the Spanish territories in Italy by sea and land, the viceroy was obliged to reinforce the garrisons of Tuscany with 1800 Spanish and Italian foot, and to hire a regiment of Germans. He was also forced to detain the squadron of galley which he had intended to send to the relief of the Venetians in Candy, who were greatly pressed by the Turks. His fears, however, of an invasion from the French were soon dispersed, news arriving about Midsummer, that Lewis

XIV. apprehensive of exciting several other powers of *Europe* against him, had consented to a peace, by which the *Spaniards* were stripped of a considerable part of their territories in *Flanders*.

THE *Spaniards* were continually receiving new disgraces and losses. The peace was no sooner concluded with *France*, than news arrived at *Madrid*, that the viceroy of *Sardinia* had been murdered by some of the nobles of that island, who had assembled a body of men for their defence. To quiet the disturbances of that kingdom, the viceroy was obliged to send some troops and gallies thither from *Naples*, who being joined with others from *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Sicily*, soon restored tranquillity to the island. The kingdom of *Naples* in the mean time was most miserably harrassed by the banditti, who infested the roads in such numbers, that a stop was entirely put to all inland traffic and commerce. They fortified themselves in several towns and strong holds in the *Abruzzi*, and even became so insolent as to order many districts to pay the taxes to them, and not to the king's collectors. They robbed the messengers and public posts of their dispatches and letters, and made frequent incursions into the neighbourhood of *Naples*, threatening to prevent all provisions from entering the city by land. The viceroy used several means for extirpating them, which in a great measure proved ineffectual. At last he erected a junta, or board of ministers, for punishing them and their abettors. The junta caused some barons, their protectors, to be arrested; but after a short imprisonment they were set at liberty, upon paying to the viceroy large sums of money.

Naples
harrassed
by the ban-
ditti.

A. D.
1670.

D. Pedro
is removed
from the
govern-
ment.
1672.

DON *Pedro* was severely censured for his mercenary disposition, and acquired the character of a sordid minister, for allowing all criminals, even the most enormous, to escape the punishment of their crimes, on condition of paying a composition in money; by which means, it was computed, that he amassed the immense sum of 320,000 ducats, during his short government of six years. He was not only careful of amassing money for himself, but likewise augmented all the taxes and customs to such a degree, that the increase was computed little less than nine millions of ducats. He adorned the city of *Naples* with many public works, and left about thirty prudent laws, whereby the tribunals were put in better order, and many abuses in the custom-houses were reformed. The marquis of *Astorga*, who was ambassador for the court of *Spain* at *Rome*, arriving on the eleventh of *February* at *Naples*, Don *Pedro* a few days after resigned the govern-

government to him, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month embarked for Spain.

DON Antonio Alvarès, marquis of Astorga, upon his arrival at Naples found the city afflicted with a great scarcity of corn, but much more harrassed by the multiplicity of crimes, especially robbery, which was committed in all corners. Tho' he soon restored abundance, by causing provisions to be brought from remote countries, and from the provinces, yet he found the utmost severity ineffectual to prevent robberies, and put a stop to the continual depredations of the banditti in the country. The kingdom at this time was likewise harrassed by the incursions of the *Turks*, and by many secret enemies, who almost entirely put a stop to commerce by adulterating and diminishing the coin. Clipping irons and instruments for coining were even found in the houses of the nobility; and women of quality, from sordid avarice, were also said to be concerned in the villainy. As the coin was reduced to a fourth part of its first value, the viceroy was very assiduous in putting a stop to the mischief, and caused many clippers and false coiners to be executed, while many others protected themselves from the laws, by having recourse to the sanctuaries and the privilege of the clergy.

LEWIS XIV. in the mean time, in conjunction with Charles II. of England, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, having declared war against the Dutch, and suddenly over-run great part of their country, the Spaniards joined the opposite alliance, and the following year declared war against the French. The viceroy on this account the year after was obliged to send considerable succours to the defence of Catalonia, which the Spaniards were apprehensive the French intended to invade. But about the same time, the city of Messina having revolted from the Spaniards, and applied to the French for protection, the attention of the marquis was chiefly engaged in sending supplies to Sicily. For this purpose, he appointed the city of Reggio as a place of arms, sent several galleys to join the Spanish fleet, and hired a considerable body of Germans. The French, however, on the third of January, entered the harbour of Messina with several ships, and on the tenth of the following month, after a long and desperate engagement, obliged the Spanish fleet to retire in a shattered condition to Naples.

A. D.
1673.

who assists
the Spaniards in
quelling a
revolt in
Messina.
1675.

THE expences of refitting the fleet, paying the seamen's wages, and furnishing other necessaries for the war, which amounted to near a million of ducats, were all supplied by the kingdom of Naples. The viceroy, to raise the money,

He
called to
Spain, and
succeeded
by the mar-
quis de los
Velez.

sold the revenues of the customs and taxes at a low rate ; disposed of the office of auditor of the exchequer for three lives for 46,000 ducats ; demanded from the barons an equivalent in money for their usual supply of horsemen ; and seized the third part of the yearly revenue of all foreigners. The *Spaniards* in the mean time were entirely driven from *Messina* ; and it having been reported at *Madrid*, that the marquis of *Astorga*, and his favourite ministers, had embezzled great part of the money raised for the war, which had retarded the progress of the expeditions, on the ninth of *September*, when the fleet had got under sail, the marquis *de los Velez* entered the harbour from *Sardinia*, as successor to *Astorga*. The viceroy accordingly resigned the government to him, and a few weeks after set out for *Spain*, where he was appointed one of the counsellors of state, and general of the artillery.

The
French
Messina.

Don *Fernando Faxardo*, marquis *de los Velez*, being informed that the *French* were likewise endeavouring to raise an insurrection in the kingdom of *Naples*, by corresponding with the banditti of *Calabria*, and dispersing manifestoes, encouraging the people to imitate the *Messinians*, nominated a junta to search out and punish the disaffected. Accordingly, many being discovered, who had abetted the designs of the *French*, some of them were imprisoned, and others hanged. At the same time, being urged by the queen-regent, he dispatched powerful succours to *Sicily*, having prevailed on the nobility and commonalty of *Naples* to grant a donative of 200,000 ducats ; which sum was expended partly in paying the army in *Sicily*. The *Spanish* fleet at length, in the end of *November*, being reinforced by eighteen *Dutch* men of war, and six fire-ships, under the command of admiral *Ruyter*, the *Messinians* were soon reduced to great difficulties ; but receiving now and then some small supplies from *France*, they were enabled to hold out for two years longer, when the *French* basely abandoned them, without even waiting till they should make their peace with the *Spanish* government. The *Messinians*, upon the departure of the *French*, immediately submitted to the *Spaniards*, who granted them a general pardon, but afterwards stripped them of their privileges, and bridled their city by a strong and impregnable citadel.

On account of this cruel and obstinate war, it was computed that little less than seven millions of ducats had been carried out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which reduced the nation to great distress. The difficulties were also increased by

by the bad currency of the coin, which was every day more and more diminished. The contagion had reached the cloisters, and the monks were become great proficient in the art of coining. Even those criminals who had escaped hanging, and been condemned to the oar for adulterating the coin, continued to coin in the very galleys. The viceroy, to put a stop to the disorders, cried down the old money, and paid to those who brought it to the mint new money equal in value. Not being able, however, to furnish the new coin in sufficient quantities, this remedy was not answerable to the greatness of the mischief, though it in some measure lessened the confusion. The kingdom at the same time still continued exposed to the ravages of the banditti, all the endeavours of the viceroy to extirpate them being ineffectual. The marquis was likewise careful to suppress the disorders of the city, where the most heinous crimes were committed both by the nobility and commonalty, whose manners had been corrupted by the sailors belonging to the fleet, and the soldiers that came to serve in the war of Sicily. He ordered many criminals to be hanged without distinction of rank, caused many to be privately strangled in prison, and condemned great numbers to the galleys.

THE French in the mean time, notwithstanding the peace of Nimeguen, having treacherously surpris'd *Strasburgh*, put a garrison into the citadel of *Cusai* in *Montferrat*, and seized large territories in *Germany*, under pretence that they were included in the sovereignty of the cities yielded to them by the treaty, all Europe began to be alarmed at their immoderate and unjust ambition*. The Spaniards were very jealous of their designs upon the *Milanese* and *Catalonia*, so that the viceroy was obliged to send 2000 men from *Naples* to *Barcelona*, and two ships loaded with ammunition. Considerable subsidies in money were likewise required from the *Neapolitans*; but while the viceroy was employed in contriving the funds for raising the subsidy, the marquis *del Carpio* arrived at *Naples* on the 6th of *January* as his successor. *Los Velez* three days after resigned the government to him, and quickly embarked for *Spain*, where he was kindly received by the young king, who honoured him with a seat in the council of state, and afterwards appointed him president of the council of the *Indies*.

* *Struv. Period. t. 10. p. 3098. Acta memor. & Declarat. de Gal. regis dominio in decem Alsat. civit. Recueil des Arrêts de la chamb. royale de Metz pour la reunion. Hist. d'Alsace, l. xlii. Vit. Leopold. p. 536.*

A. D.

1683.

*The mar-
quis del
Carpio
pointed
viceroy.*

Don *Gasper de Haro*, marquis *del Carpio*, had not enjoyed the government many months, when a new war broke out betwixt *France* and *Spain*, in consequence of which, in the month of *December*, he published a proclamation, ordering all the *French* to quit the kingdom of *Naples*. In the mean time, observing that the corrupt discipline and looseness of manneis was not owing to the want of provident and wholesome laws, but to the too great indulgence of the magistrates, he therefore determined to adhere strictly to a course of uncorrupted and inflexible justice. In the beginning of his government, finding that the frequency of crimes was chiefly owing to the carrying of fire-arms, and other sorts of offensive weapons, with which every person was girt, he published a severe statute, by which he took away the power from the magistrates of granting licence for carrying such arms. He likewise revived the old laws against all idle persons and vagabonds, and commanded the magistrates to see them strictly put in execution, so that in a short time the principal occasions of so many crimes and disorders were removed. About the same time he published divers regulations to prevent the frauds and tricks that were become too common among the manufacturers, especially those concerned in working in gold and silver; and, observing the pernicious effects of luxury, he prohibited by a severe law the excessive number of servants, the wearing of embroidered cloaths, or cloth of gold and silver, forbidding also the consumption of these metals upon sedans, coaches, calashes, and saddles. He applied himself no less to the reformation of the tribunals, and with the utmost care endeavoured to root out the abuses and corruptions that had crept into them.

*He restores
the cur-
rency of
the coin.*

BUT two things chiefly rendered his government illustrious, namely, the coining of new money, and the extirpating of the banditti. For restoring the currency of the coin, he began with reviving the old statutes against those who imported false money, or melted down any coin; and, to raise a fund for paying the deficiency occasioned by the clipping, he imposed a duty of 15 grana upon each bushel of salt, to be paid by all persons without distinction of rank; and exacted also a year's rent of all the incomes of *Neapolitans* and foreigners, and of natives living abroad with their families, to be raised within three years. For extirpating the banditti, in the first year of his government he granted a full indemnity to all criminals and outlaws, provided they would assist in the pursuit of their chiefs and gangs; he put a great reward upon the heads of those who could not be taken alive, and caused all the towers and houses where they

were

were wont to haunt to be demolished, for which purpose he sent troops against them with battering cannon. To de- *Extirpates*
prive them of all protection, he published a severe law against *the ban-*
all those who should keep any correspondence with them, or *disti.*
give them any assistance, favour, or victuals, ordaining that
those who should furnish them with arms and powder, or
should receive any share of their robberies or ransoms, should
be looked upon as principals, and be punished with death.
The strictness and impartiality of the viceroy alarming the
barons, they quickly abandoned the outlaws, who, finding
themselves deprived of shelter, were so terrified, that they
thought of nothing but saving themselves by flight or sub-
mission. Those who were taken suffered the just punish-
ment of their crimes; so that in a short time they were ex-
tirpated in so complete a manner, that they have never ap-
peared since in the kingdom.

WHILE the marquis was thus a terror to audacious cri-
minals, he was the patron and protector of the virtuous and
indigent. He relieved the poor and unfortunate with great
charity, and acquired the affection of the *Neapolitans* by
supplying the city with plenty of provisions, and furnishing
public shews after a magnificent manner. At the same time
he was frugal and moderate, and manifested a great detesta-
tion of avarice and corruption. After he had thus rendered
himself universally respected and beloved, he was unfortu- *His death.*
nately snatched away by death on the 15th of *November,* A. D.
before he had completed the fifth year of his government. 1687.

UPON the news of the death of the marquis *del Carpio,*
Don *Lorenzo Colonna,* high constable of the kingdom, im- *He is suc-*
mediately went from *Rome,* and assumed the administration, *ceeded by*
which he held till the beginning of the following year, when *the count*
Don *Francesco Benavides,* count of *Santistevan,* who had been *of Santi-*
viceroy of *Sicily,* entered upon the government as successor *stevan;*
to the late marquis. The count endeavoured to tread in
the footsteps of his predecessor, and immediately renewed
the statutes about manufactures, provisions, and carrying of
arms. He was chiefly solicitous about completing the new
coinage, which his predecessor had not lived to finish. He
added some new species to the coin, and raised the value of
that which had been struck by the late marquis 10 *per cent.*
being a little above the intrinsic value of the silver, to pre-
vent it being melted down, or carried out of the kingdom.
He published many regulations concerning the exchange of *who pub-*
the old money for the new, and prescribed the method to be *lishes the*
new coin.

7 BURNET'S Travels, Let. 4. GIANNONE, *ut supra.*

*He is re-
called to
Spain.*

A. D.
1695.

*The duke
of Medina
Cœli ap-
pointed
viceroys.*

practised in the banks for circulating bills and letters of credit. Not content, however, with the alteration he at first made in the money, in the third year of his government he raised the value of the new coin other ten *per cent.* whereby, besides lessening his own reputation, he greatly hurt the trade of the kingdom. As the nation was about this time alarmed with the report that a contagious distemper had raged in the province of *Bari*, and at *Civita Vecchia* in the ecclesiastical state, the count prohibited all commerce with that province and the territories of the church, and appointed persons in each ward of *Naples* to prevent any from entering the city without the necessary bills of health, till all suspicion of contagion quite vanished. In the following years of his government, he endeavoured to reform the tribunals, by limiting a time for the decision of all causes. He also published several regulations about the provisions of the city and kingdom, concerning the frauds committed in credit betwixt man and man, about the importation of foreign linen and woollen cloth, and about many other affairs. Mean while the duke of *Medina Cœli*, the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome*, arriving as viceroy at *Naples*, the count of *Santistevan* a few weeks after resigned the government to him, and set out for *Spain*.

DON *Ludovico de la Cerda*, duke of *Medina Cœli*, resolved to imitate the glorious example of the marquis *del Carpio*. He began his government with endeavouring to suppress the contraband trade, and the frauds committed in the custom-houses, and in the importation of merchandize. His edicts against these frauds were so rigorous, especially in convicting the accused upon slight proofs, that the *Seggi*, apprehensive lest they should turn into an abuse, thought proper to oppose him. The duke was ambitious of imitating the late marquis in the magnificence of public shews. He enlarged the theatre, and not only furnished it with costly and noble scenes, but with the best musicians in *Europe*. He encouraged learning and learned men in a distinguished manner, assembling them in his palace, where, with great attention and complaisance, he heard their different compositions.

MEAN while the nation began to be terribly alarmed with the declining state of *Spain*, and the increasing power and grandeur of *France*, which this year had sent into the field five strong armies, and maintained them the whole campaign in the enemy's country. What chiefly struck the kingdom of *Naples*, and other dominions of the vast *Spanish* monarchy, with consternation, was the news of the continual infirmities of king *Charles*, who now despaired of having any issue

The

The disorders and revolutions likely to follow upon his death filled the *Neapolitans* with great apprehensions, which quickly appeared to be too well founded; for soon after the conclusion of the peace of *Ryfwick*, contrary to the laws of justice, a treaty of partition of the *Spanish* monarchy was made by the kings of *England* and *France*, the republic of *Holland*, and the duke of *Savoy*, by which the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with their dependencies, the city and marquisate of *Final*, with the province of *Guipyscoa*, were assigned to the *French*. The *Spaniards*, who for two centuries had piqued themselves upon the vast extent of their dominions, were highly incensed at this treaty, and the *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians* for several ages had conceived a great aversion to the *French*; nevertheless *Charles*, who had also been greatly exasperated against king *William* and *Lewis XIV.* was prevailed upon to leave by his last will *Philip*, the second son of the dauphin, heir of all his dominions, to the prejudice of the *Austrian* family, who had the preferable right, on account of the solemn renunciation of *Maria Theresa*, upon her marriage to the *French* king. King *Charles II.* survived this deed only a few weeks, and died on the 1st of *November*. The news of his death, and of the succession of *Philip of Anjou*, quickly arrived at *Naples*, which filled the people at the same time with grief and astonishment; but the viceroy immediately publishing two clauses extracted from the will of the deceased king, *Philip* was acknowledged as his successor, without the least commotion or disturbance (W).

A proposal for a partition of the Spanish monarchy.
A. D. 1699.

King Charles appoints Philip of Anjou heir of all his dominions.
A. D. 1700.

THE emperor, and the parties concerned in the designed partition, jealous of such an acquisition of power to the house of *Bourbon*, immediately resolved to oppose the settlement of *Philip* on the throne of *Spain*; but that they might

The emperor, the English, and the

(W) The duke of *Medina Celi* soon after returned to *Spain*, where he acted as prime minister to king *Philip*; but in the year 1710 he was sent a close prisoner to the castle of *Segovia*, from whence he was conveyed to several other prisons, without being brought to any examination. A few months after it was reported that he died in prison a natural death; but it was generally believed his

fate was hastened by wicked means. His disgrace and confinement were supposed to be owing to his being concerned in some secret cabals with the *Spanish* grandees, who, upon the news that the allies, at the conference at *Gertrudenberg*, had insisted that *Lewis XIV.* should indirectly abandon his grandson *Philip*, were suspected of taking secret measures for their own security (1).

(1) Burnet. *Hare's Let. to a Tory Minister*, part 2.

Dutch,
declare
war
against the
French
and Spa-
niards.

not disgust the *Spaniards* by a new division of their monarchy, they agreed to place the archduke *Charles*, the second son of the emperor, upon their throne. They accordingly declared war against *Lewis XIV.* and *Philip*, after they had imprudently allowed *Philip* to be quietly settled at *Madrid*, and the *French* troops to take possession of *Naples* and the duchy of *Milan*. *Clement XI.* though he privately favoured the interest of *Philip*, yet, apprehensive lest the party of the archduke *Charles* should prevail, refused to declare himself in favour of either of the pretenders, each of whom solicited him for the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*. Being afraid to interfere in the disputes of such powerful competitors, he resolved not to grant the investiture of *Naples* till the conclusion of the war; but to satisfy both parties, he published an authentic act, by which he declared, that the delay should in no-ways prejudice the ancient rights of the king of *Spain*².

King Phi-
lip ar-
rives at
Naples.

A. D.
1702.

Proceeds
to Lom-
bardy.

PRINCE *Eugene*, in the mean time having entered *Lombardy* with an imperial army, and made considerable progress in the *Milanese* and the *Mantuan*, *Philip* resolved to visit *Italy*, thinking that his presence would have a great influence in fixing the allegiance of his *Italian* subjects. He embarked on board a *French* fleet at *Barcelona*; and in the month of *April* arrived at *Naples*, where he was received with great outward splendor, though he made but small progress in securing the affections of the *Neapolitans*. The pope indeed condescended to appoint a cardinal legate to wait upon him, which partiality greatly offended the emperor, who immediately ordered his ambassador to leave *Rome*³. After continuing a short time in *Naples*, *Philip* sailed from thence to *Final*, and afterwards joined the *French* army commanded by *Vendosme*, which on the 15th of *August* was defeated by prince *Eugene* at *Luzara*⁴.

As the *French*, the four following campaigns, were put to great difficulties in opposing prince *Eugene*, and had no enemy in *Naples*, they drew the greatest part of their troops from thence; to reinforce their armies in *Lombardy*, which however they were forced at length wholly to abandon. The imperialists eagerly seized this opportunity of making an attempt upon *Naples*; and the following spring, contrary to the inclination of the allies, who wanted to invade *Provence*, the emperor ordered count *Daun* to march from *Lombardy* thro'

² DE BARREY, Hist. de Louis XIV. BELLEGARDE, Hist. gener. d'Espagne. ³ BURNET, Hist. ⁴ Idem ibid. BRO-

DRICK Hist. of Europe.

the ecclesiastical state with 8,500 men. Cardinal *Grimani* at *Rome* had already concerted the plan of a revolution in favour of the house of *Austria*, with the duke of *Monteleone* and his brother the archbishop of *Naples*; so that, upon the approach of the count, the whole kingdom declared for the emperor, which confounding the duke of *Escalona*, the Spanish viceroy, he retired with his forces to *Gaeta*, whither they had conveyed their treasure and richest effects. The *Neapolitans*, whose ancient detestation of the *French* had been increased by their late government, expressed the greatest joy upon the arrival of the imperialists, and the magistrates of *Naples* went as far as *Aversa* to present count *Daun* with the keys of their city. The whole kingdom then acknowledged king *Charles*, excepting *Gaeta*, *Pescara*, and some place in *Calabria*, which however were all soon reduced. *Pescara* surrendered for want of provisions, and on the last of *September* *Gaeta* was taken by storm, and pillaged. The duke of *Escalona*, and the garrison, who had retired into the castle, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. Their estates were confiscated, as belonging to rebels; and the duke, upon being conducted to *Naples*, was ungenerously exposed to the railleries of the people, who had smarted from the severity of his government.

THE *Neapolitans*, however, quickly found that their condition was not greatly bettered by their submission to the house of *Austria*; for count *Daun*, who was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom till the arrival of a viceroy, acted in such a manner as though he had resolved to ruin the nation by his exorbitant exactions. By laying a duty upon fruit and herbs, he raised a formidable tumult in *Naples*, which seemed to threaten an universal revolt, if the new tax had not been quickly laid aside. Representations having been made to the courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, which last city was now in possession of king *Charles*, the excesses of the count were corrected, and cardinal *Grimani* soon after arriving at *Naples* as viceroy, the discontents of the *Neapolitans* abated, and a design was formed for seizing *Sicily*, as the disposition of the *Sicilians* was known to be averse to the *French*. This enterprize, however, was laid aside, and a small force was sent to reduce the garrisons on the coast of *Tuscany*, some of which surrendered after very little opposition.

Naples submits to the imperialists.
A. D. 1707.

They occasion a tumult in Naples, by imposing a duty on fruit.

* BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. x. BURNET, ut supra. Letter of the Earl of MANCHESTER to the Earl of Sunderland. GILPIN, ut supra.

*The arch-
duke* ABOUT four years after, king *Charles* succeeding his brother *Joseph* upon the imperial throne, and the *Tory* faction in *England* being admitted into the administration, queen *Anne*, by their advice, entered into a friendly correspondence with *Lewis XIV.* as a means to put an end to the war, it being now judged more impolitic to insist upon the succession of the *Spanish* monarchy for the new emperor than for *Philip* of *Anjou*.

A. D.

1711.

*A peace
concluded
betwixt
the confederates and
the kings
of France
and Spain.*

A. D.

1713.

In consequence of these views of the *English* ministry, seven preliminary articles were agreed to betwixt the courts of *London* and *Versailles*, and published for the foundation of a general peace. These preliminaries were rejected with disdain by the court of *Vienna*, and were very disgusting to the *Dutch*, who, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade the queen to alter her resolution, at length agreed to send their plenipotentiaries to *Utrecht*, the place appointed for the congress, and to grant passports for those of the *French*. The conferences were accordingly opened the following year, in the end of *January*, and continued about 18 months, during which time *France* had concluded particular treaties with *Britain*, *Holland*, *Savoy*, *Portugal*, and others of the confederates. The emperor *Charles*, however, still persisted in continuing the war, but soon finding himself unable to oppose the *French* arms, he agreed at length to negotiate a peace with *France*, which was concluded a few months after at *Rastadt*, betwixt prince *Eugene* and marshal *Villars*. By this treaty, among other things, it was stipulated, that *Charles* should be left in quiet possession of the kingdom of *Naples*, the duchy of *Milan*, the island of *Sardinia*, and the forts on the coast of *Tuscany*.

*The emperor
refuses
to acknowledge
Philip
as king of
Spain.*

THOUGH the emperor had thus agreed to a peace with *Lewis XIV.* yet he still refused to acknowledge his grandson *Philip* as king of *Spain*, and kept up his pretensions to the whole succession of that monarchy. On this account he expressed his resentment against the duke of *Savoy*, ordering his ambassador to quit the territories of the empire within 15 days, because the duke had taken possession of the island of *Sicily*, which had been ceded to him by the king of *Spain* at the treaty of *Utrecht*. The emperor was prevented two or three years from prosecuting his designs against *Spain* by a war in *Hungary* against the *Turks*. *Philip* of *Spain*, in the mean time, reflecting upon the weak and exhausted state of his kingdom, attempted nothing against the emperor; but about three years after the peace of *Rastadt*, at the persuasion of cardinal *Alberoni*, he fitted out a formidable fleet, and took possession of *Sardinia*. The *Spanish* troops from
thence

thence sailed to *Sicily*, with the intention of blocking up *Messina*, the duke of *Savoy* being suspected of a design to enter into an alliance with the emperor, and of secretly negotiating with him an exchange of *Sicily* for *Sardinia*. As the king of *Spain*, by these hostilities, had violated the neutrality of *Italy*, contrary to his engagements with the allies at *Utrecht*, *George I.* of *England* sent a powerful fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under the command of admiral *Byng*, and at the same time formed an alliance with the regent of *France* and the *Dutch*, to oblige the emperor, *Philip*, and the king of *Sicily*, to agree to an accommodation.

IN consequence of this treaty, which, from the accession of the emperor, was termed the quadruple alliance, the ambitious designs of *Alberoni* were defeated; and the following year *Philip* was obliged to agree to the terms of the treaty proposed by the mediators, by the fourth article of which it was stipulated, that he should renounce all rights and claims to the dominions possessed by the emperor in *Italy*, and also the right of the reversion of *Sicily* to the crown of *Spain*, as had been settled at the treaty of *Utrecht*. By the same treaty the king of *Sicily* was obliged to restore that kingdom to the emperor, who, in return, put him in possession of the island of *Sardinia*, the reversion of which kingdom, in default of heirs male, was reserved to the crown of *Spain*. Thus the two kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* were solemnly disjoined from the monarchy of *Spain*, to which they had been united for more than two centuries. As the investiture of the kingdom of *Sicily* had been dropped ever since the invasion of *Peter of Arragon*, whose pretensions were opposed by the popes, so it was now believed that the emperor by disusage would abolish the custom of investiture for *Naples*, which kingdom he had already been in possession of twelve years. *Charles*, however, for what reason is uncertain, continued to offer his homage to the holy see for *Naples*, which was at last accepted three years after by *Innocent XIII.*

As the *Neapolitans*, since the late revolution, had manifested great affection for the house of *Austria*, and had zealously exerted themselves against the *Spaniards*, upon their appearance before *Messina*, the emperor, as a reward for their fidelity and zeal, granted them many new concessions and privileges. He bestowed new and more honourable titles upon the city and its magistrates, and excluded all foreigners from employments, benefices, and offices, within the kingdom. As the pope, during the war in *Italy*, had discovered a great partiality to his competitor, he, in resentment, opposed the usurpations of the *Roman* see. He ab-

England and France oblige the emperor and Philip to agree to a peace.

Philip renounces all pretensions to Naples. A. D. 1719.

The emperor receives the investiture of the kingdom from the pope.

A. D. 1722.

lished

lished the tribunal of the nuncio, and all vestiges of the inquisition, and, by many royal writs, established the important right of the *exequatur regium* to all bulls, briefs, and other provisions coming from *Rome*. He prohibited any pensions being imposed upon ecclesiastical benefices in favour of foreigners. He extended the feudal succession in favour of the barons to the fifth degree, and confirmed the privileges granted to them by his predecessors. The kingdom was likewise comprehended in the truces made betwixt the emperor and the *Turk*; and, by establishing free ports, it was proposed to open a commerce betwixt the kingdom and *Germany*. The *Neapolitans*, from a grateful sense of the favours and privileges conferred upon them, caused them to be collected and printed, that their value might be publicly known.

THE HISTORY of GENOA.

THE city of *Genoa*, by *Latin* writers frequently, though corruptly, called *Janua*, is the capital of a small territory in the northern part of *Italy*, extending along the southern shore from the river *Macra* to the *Var*, and separated from *Lombardy*, on the north by the *Apennine* mountains, on the south washed by the *Mediterranean* sea. This country is part of the ancient *Liguria*, which, about the beginning of the *Roman* state, comprehended part of *France*, as well as of *Italy*, extending from the river *Arno* to the *Rhone*; and including towards the north the cities of *Turin*, *Tortona*, *Pavia*, with many others^a. In the division of *Italy* made by the emperor *Augustus*, the rivers *Macra* and *Var* were reckoned the eastern and western boundaries of *Liguria*, which was terminated on the north by the *Apennines*. About three hundred years after, *Constantine* fixed its northern boundary at the river *Adda*, *Milan*, then perhaps the greatest city in the *Roman* empire next to *Rome*, being appointed the capital of the province, where the consul and the archbishop both kept their residence.

THE origin of the ancient *Ligurians* is very uncertain. The most probable opinion is, that they were a branch of the *Celtæ*, who had proceeded from the *Loire* to the *Rhone*, and from thence to *Italy*, as their language is said to have been originally the same with that of the *Gauls*^b. They were reckoned a very warlike nation; and from *Livy* it appears, that for more than eighty years they were at war with the *Romans* before they were subdued. In the second *Punic* war they declared for the *Carthaginians*; but the city of *Genoa*, which even then was a celebrated emporium^c, espousing the party of the *Romans*, *Mago* the *Carthaginian* sailed thither with a large fleet, on board of which were twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, who plundered and burnt the place. It was afterwards rebuilt by the *Romans*; and continued under their dominion, with the rest of *Italy*, till the conclusion of the fifth century, when *Theodoric*, king of the *Goths*, having

^a PLINY, l. 3. SIGON. regn. Ital. JUSTIN. LIVY, l. 28. ^b PLUTARCH, in Mario. Tabul. chorograph. Italix ap. MURATOR. l. 10. EUTROP. l. 5. ^c STRABO, l. 4.

defeated the usurper *Odoacer*, was proclaimed by his army king of *Italy*, even with the consent of the emperor *Zeno*.

Genoa
conquered
by the
Goths.
A. D.
498.
Some think that the southern part of *Liguria*, betwixt the *Apennines* and the *Mediterranean*, was never conquered by the *Goths*; but, according to *Folieta*, the contrary of this is evident from the mandates of *Theodoric*, and other *Gothic* kings, to the *Genoese*^d. However it be, the *Goths*, about sixty years after, were entirely subdued by *Belisarius*; and all *Italy* was again united to the eastern empire. The *Lombards*, who, about fifteen years after invaded *Italy*, and quickly reduced great part of it under their dominion, did not at first carry their arms over the *Apennines*; so that *Genoa*, being unmolested by them, still continued subject to the emperors. This new revolution in *Italy* was of great advantage to the *Genoese*, their wealth and the number of their inhabitants being greatly encreased, by the many refugees who fled from the neighbourhood of the *Po* from the fury of the invaders. Many of the nobility of *Milan* resorted thither; and the archbishop *Honoratus*, with his successors, kept their residence in *Genoa* seventy years^e. At the end of this period, *Rotharis*, king of the *Lombards*, invaded the *Alpes Cottiae*, and reduced the whole coast of *Liguria*, from the city of *Luna* in *Tuscany* to the *Var*, plundering and burning the cities, and among the rest *Genoa*^f. *Rotharis* erected his new conquest into a provincial dukedom, both the governors of districts and particular cities among the *Lombards* having the title of duke^g.

And by the
Lombards
A. D.
638.
LIGURIA, being thus united to the kingdom of the *Lombards*, continued subject to them till the end of the following century, when *Italy* was conquered by *Charlemagne*, who reduced *Liguria* to its ancient bounds. settled by *Augustus*, erected it into a marche, and appointed his relation *Audemar* as the first comes, or margrave. *Genoa*, at this time, being distinguished for its wealth and populousness, began to give its name to the whole coast, and continued under these counts for about one hundred years, till the race of the *Pepins* became extinct in *Italy*, and the empire was translated to the *German* princes^h. *Audemar*, the first *Genoese* count, was commissioned by *Charlemagne* to protect the coasts of *Italy*, and the islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia* from the incursions of the

It is erected
into a
marquisate
by Charle-
magne.
A. D.
774.

^d FOLIET. *Genens. hist.* l. 1.

^e Idem l. 4. SIGON. ad an. 638.

& 38. ^h FOLIET. ut supra.

^e PAULUS DICONUS, l. 2.

^g Tab. Chorog. col. 101.

A. D.
806.

Moors ¹. For this purpose having fitted out a formidable fleet at *Genoa*, he sailed over to *Corfica*, of which, according to *Foliet*, he made an entire conquest; but, according to others, it appears, that the infidels only abandoned the island for a few months; for the following year they again arrived with a fleet from *Spain*; but were defeated by one count *Burchard*, who destroyed thirteen of their ships. Whether this *Burchard* was the successor of *Audemarus*, who had been killed the former year in his expedition against the *Moors*, is uncertain, as very little notice is taken by any historians hitherto published of this country for more than three centuries after *Charlemagne*; its remote situation preventing it from being concerned in the disputes betwixt the kings of *Germany* and *France*, and the dukes of *Spoletis* and *Frioul*, for the sovereignty of *Italy*, and the protection of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* being afterwards committed to the counts or marquisses of *Tuscany*, then very rich and powerful ^k.

IN the year 935 or 936, while the *Genese* forces were absent upon some expedition, the *Saracens* surprized the city, which they plundered and burnt, putting to death a great many of the inhabitants, and carrying others into captivity. Having embarked their captives, and immense booty, they set sail for *Africa*; but the *Genese*, about the same time, returning and finding their city in ashes, immediately pursued the invaders, and overtaking them on the coast of *Sardinia*, entirely defeated them, recovered all the captives, and took a great many of the enemy's ships ¹.

THE *Franks*, having now lost all authority in *Italy*, the *Genese* began to form themselves into a republic, and to be governed by their own magistrates, who were freely elected, and took the name of consuls. In order to support their independence, they applied themselves, with great assiduity, to commerce and navigation, by which means they not only supplied themselves with those necessities which the barrenness of their territory could not afford, but quickly became rich and powerful. Being apprehensive lest some of the *German* emperors, who frequently entered *Italy* as invaders, should renew their pretensions to their state, they consented to acknowledge *Berengarius* the third, duke of *Friuli*, who had been elected emperor by a party of the *Italian* nobles. *Berenga-*

The Ge-
nese form
themselves
into a re-
public.
A. D.
950.

¹ ANNAL. FULDENS. AN. 806. ^k PETR. CYRN. de reb. Corf. l. 2. FOLIET. ut supra. ANNAL. BERTIN. AN. 806. 807. AIMON. l. 4. ¹ LUITFRAND. Hist. l. 4. b. 2. FOLIET. Chron. Januens. nunc primum edit. per MURATOR, t. 9.

rius, who with great difficulty maintained himself in his new dignity, endeavoured by his concessions to enlarge the number of his friends and adherents; and accordingly made no difficulty to confirm the new republic in all their rights, privileges, and possessions ^m.

The Genoese and Pisans conquer Sardinia.

A. D. 1217.

MEAN while the *Genoese* began to extend their commerce from *Spain* to *Syria*, and from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, their vessels, according to the custom of those times, being fitted for fighting as well as for carrying merchandize. Having acquired a great reputation by their extensive commerce, in the beginning of the following century they were invited by the *Pisans*, who had likewise formed themselves into a republic, to join with them in an expedition against the *Moors*, who had entirely made themselves masters of *Sardinia*. The *Genoese* and *Pisan* annals give a very different account of this expedition: the *Pisans* alledge, that a few years before, having obtained the investiture of the island from the pope, on condition of recovering it from the *Moors*, they accordingly expelled the infidels; but being then at war with the inhabitants of *Lucca*, they were so engaged on the continent, that the *Moors* again surprised the island: that, on this account, they had recourse to the *Genoese*, by whose assistance they entirely conquered the island, when, according to agreement, they gave all the booty of the *Moors* to their allies. The *Genoese*, however, make no mention of any gift of the pope; but say, that they made a partition of the island with the *Pisans*; that they took the *Moorish* king *Musaetus*, and sent him a prisoner to the emperor; and that their allies refused to fulfil their conditions with them ⁿ. However it be, from this time is dated that jealousy and enmity betwixt the two republics, which engaged them in a long course of wars, that in the end proved the ruin of the *Pisans*. Scarce any account of these transactions is given us by the writers of those times, who almost never relate the cause or issue of a war; but by a single expression slightly touch upon the most important enterprise.

War betwixt the Genoese and Pisans. A. D. 1270.

ABOUT thirty-three years after the joint expedition against *Sardinia*, we are informed by the *Pisan* annals, that the republics of *Genoa* and *Pisa* were engaged in a destructive war ^o: This war seems to have continued near eighteen years, when the two parties, probably by the mediation of the pope, concluded a treaty of peace and alliance, and sent their fleets in conjunction against the *Moors* in *Africa*, where, according to

^m FOLIET. ut supra.
ap. MURATOR. t. 6.

Idem ibid.

Chron. Pisan.

Leo Ostiensis, they killed a hundred thousand of the enemy, and carried off an immense booty; and, if we believe *Bertholdus*, obliged the *Moorish* king to become tributary to the pope, who had granted all those concerned in the expedition an ample pardon of their sins, and sent with them a blessed standard of *St. Peter* P. *Foliet* mentions two other expeditions to *Africa* a few years after; but we have no account of their success.

THE strange and unaccountable zeal which at this time seized the western kingdoms of *Europe* for recovering the *Holy Land* from the *Saracens*, contributed to raise the *Genoese* republic to its highest degree of opulence and grandeur. Though very few of the *Genoese* took the cross, yet they embarked with ardor in all the enterprizes of the crusards; and on many occasions performed very important services to those religious warriors. Their fleets were continually employed for many years either in transporting them to the *Levant*, or attending their armies along the coasts of *Syria*, where they blocked up by sea the maritime places which were besieged by land. Sometimes they disembarked their troops, to act in conjunction with the crusards: at other times they transported their baggage; but they were constantly employed in furnishing them with provisions and warlike stores, which gave them new opportunities of extending their commerce; especially as they made considerable acquisitions of territory, and established colonies in several places of *Asia*, which they had conquered from the infidels. When the first body of crusards marched into *Syria*, the *Genoese* sent a fleet thither of forty galleys; which, at their first arrival, seized a great extent of the coast of *Asia Minor*, and gave great assistance to the christian army before *Antioch*, which city, after a long siege, surrendered the following year on the third of *June*. Soon after, the infidels having marched with an immense army to endeavour to recover the city, two of the christian officers, being struck with a panic, fled to the *Genoese* fleet, and reported that the place was again in possession of the *Turks*. This news terrifying the *Genoese*, they immediately set sail for *Italy*; and in their passage landing at *Myrrea* in *Lycia*, brought from thence to *Genoa* the supposed body of *John the Baptist*, which was received by their countrymen with inexpressible joy.

A. D.
1097.

A. D.
1098.

P Chron. Pisân. An. 1070, 1078, 1088. BERTHOLD. An. 1088.
LEO OST. l. 3. c. 70. 1 Chron. Januens. JACOB DE VARAGINE. FOLIET.

The Genoese are principally concerned in taking Jerusalem
A. D.
1099.

THE following year, however, the *Genoese* sent another powerful fleet into the *Levant*, under the command of *William Embriacus*, who, being informed that the crusards had advanced from *Antisch* to *Jerusalem*, immediately sailed to *Joppa*, and made himself master of the city; but hearing that the *Saracens* had prepared a great number of ships at *Afcalon*, with the intention of attacking him, he thought proper not to risk an engagement with their superior force, but landing all his troops and stores, sunk the hulks of his galleys, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy; and, marching over land, joined the besiegers. As the *Genoese* were looked upon as very expert engineers, and brought with them many warlike stores, and several machines for throwing darts and arrows, their arrival was very agreeable to the crusards, who met with great opposition from the infidels. After they had joined the army, the attacks were carried on with greater vigour, and the taking of the city was chiefly owing to their ingenuity: for, by the advice of *Embriacus*, they built a large wooden tower in such a manner, that one of its sides could be let down in the form of a draw-bridge, so as to serve as a passage for the troops to the top of the ramparts. This machine being advanced close to the walls, a general assault was given to the city, which was first entered by *Godfrey of Loulogne* from the tower, who, being followed by many others, one of the gates was broke open, and the army admitted.

A. D.
1101.

THE news of the taking of *Jerusalem* no sooner arrived in *Italy*, than the *Genoese* began to fit out another fleet of twenty-seven, or, according to some, thirty-seven galleys, and six other vessels, which the year after, on the first of *August*, sailed from *Genoa* with eight thousand men, among whom was the historian *Cassarus*, whose annals have been lately published by *Muratori*. The fleet sailed directly for *Laodæcia*, then subject to the *Greek* emperor, where they took up their winter station, and had a conference with the general *Baldwin*, who was persuaded by them and the pope's legate, as his brother *Godfrey* was dead, to accept of the crown of *Jerusalem*. During the winter the *Genoese* made several short excursions into the territories of the *Saracens*, and burnt many of their castles on the shore. Upon the approach of the spring they sailed with their whole fleet to *Joppa*; and landing their troops they marched to *Jerusalem*, where they celebrated their *Easter*, and afterwards made an agreement

GUL. TYR. de bell. sacr. FOLIET. PAUL AEMIL. ANNAL. FRANC.

with

with the king to assist him in his enterprizes against the infidels, on condition of receiving one third of the booty taken from the enemy; and that the *Genoese* republic should have settlements in the places to be conquered, with full jurisdiction over their own citizens. In consequence of this treaty, they, in conjunction with the crusards, immediately attacked *Azotus*, which they made themselves masters of in three days. From thence, in the month of *May*, they sailed to *Cæsarea*, which, after a short siege, they took by storm, *Embriacus* being the first that mounted the wall, where he continued some time alone, by the breaking of the ladder of the galley on which he mounted. We are informed by *Foliet* and *Jacob de Varagine*, that when the booty was divided into three parts, and the *Genoese*, who had been principally concerned in the action, were desired to chuse their share, they pitched upon a large emerald made in the form of a dish, which alone they preferred to the other two shares, because it was said to have been used by our Saviour in celebrating the last passover¹. Sacred relics seem at this time to have been as frequent in *Palestine*, as giants bones were afterwards said to be in *America*.

AFTER the conquest of *Cæsarea* the *Genoese* set sail for *Italy*, and after a voyage of three months arrived safe at *Genoa*. The following *February*, when the magistrates were to be elected, the republic resolved to chuse four consuls for four years; and as a reward for the services of *Embriacus*, nominated him the first consul. The new consuls immediately sent a fleet of forty gallies to *Palestine*, and, considering the flourishing state of the republic, they put a stop to the currency of the money of *Pavia*, and for the first time ordered new money to be coined in *Genoa*². The fleet that had sailed to *Syria* took *Acaron* and *Gibelleto*; and the year after, having reduced *Dertusia*, and received considerable reinforcements from *Genoa*, so that the number of their vessels amounted to seventy sail, they entered into a new treaty with *Baldwin*, promising to defend all the coasts of *Syria* southwards from the City of *Sidon*, the king at the same time stipulating to grant them a third part of the customs of *Azotus*, *Cæsarea*, and *Ptolemais*, and to allow them a street in *Jerusalem*, and another in *Joppa*. These great privileges were owing to the signal services performed by their numerous fleet at the siege of *Ptolemais* or *Aco*, which, though looked upon as impregnable, was obliged to surrender to the Christians in the

The Genoese began to coin their own money.
A. D. 1102.

¹ CAFFAR. Annal. Genuens. l. 1. Chron. Januens. FOLIET. ut supra. ² FOLIET. ibid.

A. D.
1105.

last year of the consulship of *Embriacus*. *William of Tyre* adds, that *Baldwin* was so sensible of the advantage of the alliance of the republic, that upon the taking of the city he gave several private estates to many particular persons among the *Genoese*^a. As the republic had likewise received many favours from *Beaumont* prince of *Antioch*, particularly a full immunity over all his principality, and a street and church in his capital, with a right of jurisdiction over their own citizens, the following year they welcomed the prince into their city with the greatest honours upon his return from *France* with his bride *Constantia*, the daughter of king *Philip*. At the same time they were employed in fitting out another fleet of sixty, or, according to some, seventy galleys, which the year after sailed to *Syria*, where it continued almost three years, during which time they forced *Gibell* to surrender; and, in conjunction with the crusards, reduced *Tripoli*, after a long siege. According to *Cussarus*, the year following after the election of the four quadriennial consuls, they sent another fleet of twenty-two galleys to *Palestine*, which, in conjunction with the christian army, took *Baruto*, after a siege of two months. About the same time they also reduced *Malmistra*, which concluded their military expeditions in *Syria* during the first holy war.

A. D.

THE *Genoese*, having now no foreign enemy to contend with, began to renew their disputes with their neighbours the *Pisans*; and, as a check upon these rivals, they fortified *Porto Venere*, situated on the western confines of their territory, near the mouth of the river *Macra*. When they first formed themselves into a republic, many cities and towns of their territory at the same time assumed an independence, and, being claimed by no sovereign were governed by their own separate councils and determinations; so that the dominions of the republic in *Italy* were, for a considerable time, almost bounded by the walls of their city. The great success that attended their arms in *Asia*, now began to awaken their ambition; they, therefore, resolved to reduce all the old marquise under their dominion; and at the same time that they rebuilt *Porto Venere*, they conquered *Lavagna* and its small territory. Soon after, many towns and districts voluntarily submitted to the republic, which, now abounding in wealth, exacted no taxes or tribute from its new subjects, but afforded them protection from the petty insults of their neighbours.

^a GUL. TYR. de bell. sac. l. 11. FOLIET. ut supra. ^v CAP. FAR. Annal. Chron. JACOB DE VARAGINE. FOLIET.

DURING the following quadriennial consulship nothing memorable appears to have been transacted by the *Genoese*. At the next election they made a small alteration in the form of government, and chose eight supreme magistrates for four years, four of whom were to govern the first two years, and the other four during the remaining time. In the first year of this consulship, according to the *Genoese* writers, pope *Gelasius* the second, had recourse to the protection of the republic against the emperor *Henry* the fifth, and was conducted by their galleys from *Gueta* to *Provence*, after having stopt at *Genoa*, where, in the month of *October*, he consecrated the church of *St. Laurence* *. Other cotemporary writers, however, make no mention of the pope's arrival at *Genoa*; but, on the contrary, tell us, that he stopt some time at *Pisa*, and was honourably entertained by that republic †.

A. D.
1118.

A FEW months after a new war broke out betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans*, on account of the island of *Corfica*, which had been lately invaded by a *Pisan* fleet. According to *Cassarius*, hostilities were commenced by the *Genoese*, who with a fleet of sixteen galleys, in the month of *May*, surprising the *Pisans* in a port of *Sardinia*, obtained a complete victory, and a very rich booty. The *Pisans* tell us, that the year following their archbishop embarked on board their fleet, and defeated the *Genoese* in *Porto Venere*, which seems scarce to agree with the account of *Cassarius*, who relates that his countrymen fitted out a most formidable fleet, consisting of no less than eighty galleys, with sixty-eight other vessels, on board of which were embarked twenty-two thousand horse and foot, five thousand of whom were clad in complete armour of polished steel, as bright as snow. The *Pisans*, he says, upon sight of this armament, which appeared before their city, were so terrified, that they immediately submitted to the terms of peace prescribed by the *Genoese*, restored *Corfica*, and resigned all pretensions to the inauguration of the bishops of that island.

A new war betwixt them and the Pisans.
A. D.
1119.

THIS peace, however, was of very short continuance; for two years after the *Pisans*, not able to bear the hard conditions imposed upon them, imprudently renewed the war. The *Genoese*, who some months before had been employed in an expedition in the *Apennines*, where they made several conquests, immediately marched with their army into the territories of the *Pisans*, which they ravaged, and carried off one thousand captives, whom they imprisoned at *Genoa*. At

A. D.
1121.

* Idem ibid. † FALCO. BENEVENT. CHRON. PANDULF. in vit. GELAS. II. Chron. S. Monast. Cassin. ap MURATOR.

A. D.
1123.

sea likewise they made prizes of two rich vessels belonging to the *Pisans*, who in their annals make no mention of these losses; but give an account of six *Genoese* gallies taken by them in the river *Arno* *. The historians of each republic appear to have been solicitous only to narrate the advantages and victories of their countrymen, and to have sacredly abstained from staining their glory by mentioning their losses and defeats. The disputes between the two republics troubling the repose of *Italy*, pope *Calixtus*, who had assembled a general council at the *Lateran* church the following year, summoned the two parties to *Rome*, to decide the controversy about the consecration of the *Corfican* bishops. The affair being left to the arbitration of twelve archbishops and twelve bishops, it was at last decided, that the right of the consecration of the *Corfican* bishops should for the future be reserved to the popes.

By this selfish determination the pope rather inflamed than quieted the discords; for tho' the *Genoese* declared themselves satisfied with the sentence, yet the *Pisans* were highly enraged. Their archbishop immediately pulled off his ring and mitre, and threw them at the feet of the pope, who kicked them from him in great disdain. Their deputies also left *Rome* without taking leave; and the year after the war was renewed with greater animosity than before. The *Genoese* gained several advantages over the *Pisans*; recovered from them the castle of *St. Angelo* in *Corfica*; and took twenty-two of their vessels richly laden from *Sardinia*, which had been deserted by their convoy of nine gallies, though the *Genoese* attacked them only with seven. The *Pisan* historians, however, tell us, that the following year their republic fitted out a fleet of eighty gallies, and recovered *St. Angelo*; which, as to the taking of the castle, may be probable, as the *Genoese* make mention of recovering it again from the *Pisans*; but the strength of their fleet seems not to agree with the account of *Caffarus*, who was this year consul, and relates, that the *Genoese* kept the *Pisan* coasts blocked up for a great part of the summer with ten gallies; and that in the month of *September* hearing that eight *Pisan* gallies had sailed from the *Arno*, they went in pursuit of them with seven; but not meeting with them, they sailed to *Piombino*, which they took and plundered, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants prisoners to *Genoa* *.

* *CAFFARUS*. Annal. Chron. Var. *Pisan*.
supra. FOLLET. Chion. Januens. JACOB DE VARAG.

* *CAFFARUS*. ut.

THE war still continuing, the *Genoese* the next year failed with a numerous fleet up the *Arno*, landed their forces in the territory of the *Pisans*, and after some slight skirmishes failed to *Piombino*, which they again made themselves masters of; and from thence proceeded to *Corsica*, where they took three hundred *Pisans* prisoners, and recovered the castle of *St. Angela*. This *far Caffarus*; but according to *Volateranus*, the *Genoese* besieged the city of *Pisa* a whole year, and reduced the *Pisans* to the greatest distress; which account the *Pisan* historians alledge is a meer fable, without any foundation^b. Two years after the *Genoese* made themselves masters of *Montalto*; and the following summer they attacked the *Pisans* with sixteen galleys in the harbour of *Messina*, and as the *Messinians* gave assistance to their enemies, they even took possession of their city, which, however, they quitted at the entreaty of king *Roger*^c. Pope *Honorius* dying a few months after, the succession to the papal chair was disputed by *Innocent* and *Anaclet*, who were both elected on the same day. The king of *Sicily* and the *Romans* having declared for *Anaclet*, *Innocent* was obliged to quit *Rome*, and to go to *France*, to implore the assistance of the *French* king and the emperor: but before he left *Italy*, he prevailed upon the *Genoese* and *Pisans* to agree to a truce till his return from *France*. The *Genoese* in the mean time reduced the inhabitants of *St. Remo*, where they built a strong castle, and obliged the communities of *Ventimiglia*, *Bajardo*, and *Poipino* to swear allegiance to the republic of *Genoa* and the bishop *Syrus*, who that same year had been consecrated by the pope. About two years after, the pope having prevailed on the emperor *Lotharius* II. to march into *Italy* to his assistance against *Anaclet*, returned himself to *Pisa*, where he continued several months, and at length mediated a peace betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans*. To prevent any future disputes about consecrating the *Corsican* bishops, he erected the see of *Genoa* into an archbishopric, and subjected to its jurisdiction three of the bishops of *Corsica*, leaving the other three bishoprics of that island under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of *Pisa*. The *Genoese* the same year sent eight galleys to *Rome* to the assistance of the emperor and the pope against the party of *Anaclet*; and as the city of *Lavagna* had revolted, the consuls marched with an army, and obliged it again to submit to the republic.

THE following year the *Genoese*, to the seven old corporations or companies added a new one, and for every company chose two consuls. Having now no enemy to contend with

The Genoese invaded the territories of Pisa.

A. D. 1126.

A. D. 1130.

A peace concluded betwixt the two republics. A. D. 1130.

^b FOLIET.

^c CA FAR. Annal. Chron. Januens.

The Genoese turn their arms against the Moors of Africa and Spain, who by their piracies disturbed the trade of the Mediterranean : they were very successful during the four following years in their expeditions against the infidels, from whom they took many rich prizes. Having cleared the Me-

A. D. 1134. *diterranean sea of those pirates, the year after they obtained a golden bull from the emperor Conrad the third, confirming their privilege of coining money ; in gratitude for which fa-*

A. D. 1139. *vour they decreed, that the name of Conrad should be stamped upon their money ; and, calling in the bruneti, published a new coin. A few months after the Ventimiglians revolting, the Genoese the following year invested their city by sea and land, and quickly obliged it to surrender, having at the same time reduced the whole county, and obliging all those under its jurisdiction, again to renew their allegiance with the republic. During the two following years the Genoese were not engaged in any enterprize of importance ; but the year after they took Montpellier, which they restored to its proprietor, who, in return for their assistance, granted them a settlement in that city, with a small territory in Tholouse, and an exemption from all duties in his dominions^d. The Genoese, about the same time sent ambassadors to Rome, who, after long solicitation, at length obtained from pope Lucius the second, a remission of the annual tribute of a pound of gold for the island of Corsica, with many other privileges, and a confirmation of all their rights in Syria^e.*

As the Moors again infested the Mediterranean, the Genoese about two years after fitted out a fleet of twenty-two galleys, and six other vessels, and sent them under the command of Caffarus and Oberto Torre to Minorca. Caffarus, landing his troops at the port of Furnelles, ravaged a great part of the island, and on the fourth day after returned with the booty to the port, when he was almost surpris'd by three hundred Moorish horse, with a large body of foot : though he had only one hundred horse, yet he immediately attacked the enemy, and, after an obstinate dispute, repulsed them and pursued them eight miles. He afterwards took and plundered the chief city of the island ; and, embarking his troops with the booty, he sail'd over to the coast of Granada, and in the harbour of Almeria seized a great many Moorish ships. Having then landed his troops, he invested the city, which struck the Moors with so great a panic, that they immediately offered a large sum of money to the Genoese, on condition that they would quit their territories. The offer being accepted,

A. D. 1146.

^d Idem ibid.

^e FOLLET.

part of the money was directly paid, and hostages given till the remainder of the sum should be collected. The king in the mean time absconding with his treasure, the *Moors* elected another chief, who promised to fulfil the engagements of his predecessor; but the time limited for the payment elapsing, the *Genoese*, who now despaired of taking the city, ravaged the country in its neighbourhood, and in the beginning of winter returned to *Genoa*.

THE *Moors* of *Granada*, about this time, making frequent irruptions into *Castile*, the king of *Spain* earnestly solicited pope *Eugenius* the third to interest himself in his behalf. The pope, accordingly for that purpose, the following year sent a legate to *Genoa*, whose endeavours being seconded by the archbishop, the *Genoese* were persuaded to lay aside their domestic dissensions, which even then began to disturb the tranquility of the republic, and with great ardor made immense preparations for an expedition against the infidels. The women having even contributed to the expence of the armament, about four months after the first resolution, a powerful fleet was equipped, consisting of sixty-four gallies and one hundred and sixty-three transport vessels, which sailed to *Almeria*, under the command of six of the consuls. The *Genoese*, after their arrival upon the coast of *Granada*, being joined by a few gallies and troops belonging to the count of *Barcelona*, immediately invested *Almeria*; and being reinforced by the arrival of the king of *Spain*, with one thousand foot and four hundred horse, they quickly made a breach in the wall, and, on the eighteenth of *October*, took the city by storm, when, 'tis said, twenty thousand *Moors* were slain, and ten thousand made captives, who were afterwards carried to *Genoa*. The booty of the city, with the money paid by the *Moors* who ransomed themselves, was computed at ninety thousand crowns of gold, the greatest part of which was distributed by the consuls to the soldiers and mariners.

They take
Almeria.
A. D.
1147.

ALMERIA being thus reduced, the *Genoese* left a garrison of one thousand men in the city, and sailed with the rest of their forces to *Barcelona*, where, at the entreaty of the count, they fixed their winter station, in order to assist him the following year in an expedition against *Tortosa*. Accordingly, in the beginning of *July*, having received considerable supplies from *Genoa*, they sailed up the *Ebro*, and being joined by the counts of *Barcelona* and *Montpelier*, and by several *English* knights templars, they invested the city, which they quickly made themselves masters of by storm. The citadel, however, did not surrender till near six months after, as the *Genoese*, during the siege had been deserted by all their allies.

Make
themselves
masters of
Tortosa.
A. D.
1148.

allies. Upon the reduction of the place, the count of *Barcelona*, who had remained after the desertion of his troops, granted a third part of the city and all the booty to the *Genoese*, who returned in a triumphant manner in the beginning of the following year to *Genoa* ^f.

DURING the remaining part of the year, and the four following annual consulships, the *Genoese* were engaged in no enterprize of importance, which is attributed by *Folieta* partly to their opulence and internal divisions, and to their apprehension of their arrival of the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, whose fierce and impetuous disposition had alarmed all *Italy*, as he had been threatening for two or three years utterly to destroy those *Italian* cities that should refuse obedience to his commands. *Caffarus* informs us, that about this period the whole state seemed to be seized with a lethargy; so that the consuls who were chosen at the following election, with difficulty were prevailed upon, by the most pressing entreaties of the archbishop, to accept of the consulship. Having at length entered upon the magistracy, they immediately ordered a great many new gallies to be built, and caused the others to be repaired: they likewise applied themselves to discharge the public debts, which in a short time they partly accomplished. Before the expiration of their consulship, the emperor *Frederic* arriving with an army at *Ronkalia*, in the plains of *Lombardy*, they sent their archdeacon and the historian *Caffarus* to his camp, to take the oath of allegiance to him in the name of the republic. *Caffarus* has even omitted to give us any detail of his embassy, and only mentions that they were received with great honour by the emperor, with whom they had many secret conferences, in which he was very liberal of his promises to the republic. But we are informed by *Folieta*, that *Frederic*, who wanted to make use of the *Genoese* naval forces in his expeditions in *Italy*, concluded nothing absolutely with the ambassadors, hoping by keeping the republic in suspense to prevail with it to second his designs. His expectations, however, were disappointed; for the following consuls refused to agree to his demand, or to send hostages to his camp for their fidelity. The *Genoese*, apprehensive of his resentment, which they heard he openly expressed against them, immediately began to prepare for their defence, and to fortify the city with great ardour. By their vigorous measures the emperor was deterred from advancing into their territories, and declared himself satisfied with their oath of allegiance.

A. D.
1135.

^f Idem ut supra. CAFFAR. Annal. Chron. Januens.

THE consuls, in the mean time, redeemed all the mortgages upon the revenues of the republic, and concluded an alliance with the *Greek* emperor, who promised to pay a large subsidy yearly to the republic, granted the *Genoese* a street and church in *Constantinople*, and lowered the duties on commerce to them forty *per cent.* through all his dominions. They probably obtained these advantageous terms by refusing to concur with the emperor *Frederic*; for we find a few years after the *Greek* emperor rejected the offered alliance of the *Pisans*, because they would not agree to abandon the interests of the emperor of *Germany* ⁸. During the same consulship, the *Genoese* established their authority in their *Italian* territories upon a more certain foundation, and sent an ambassador to the pope to make a complaint against the king of *Jerusalem*, the prince of *Antioch*, and the count of *Tripoli*, who had infringed the privileges of their subjects in their dominions. *Adrian* the fourth, who was then at *Benevento*, having considered the remonstrances of the *Genoese*, immediately wrote to the three eastern princes, threatening them with excommunication, if they did not without delay restore the subjects of the republic to their privileges.

THE following consuls sent an embassy to *William* the first king of *Sicily*, with whom they concluded a treaty of commerce, and prevailed with him to expel all the provincial and *French* merchants from his dominions; which he was easily persuaded to, as one *Bernard*, a *French* pirate, had seized and plundered many vessels belonging to his subjects ^b. The year after, the count of *Ventimiglia* at length voluntarily submitted to the republic; and upon taking the oath of allegiance, received the investiture of all his estates from the consuls. While the *Genoese* were thus occupied in extending their commerce and aggrandizing their state, they were again alarmed with the news of the emperor's arrival in *Italy* in a hostile manner, attended by a formidable army, composed of different nations. *Frederic*, by besieging and reducing *Milan*, struck a terror into all the cities of *Lombardy*, who immediately submitted, acknowledged themselves tributary to him, and renounced the regalia, or rights of sovereignty, which they had assumed. The *Genoese*, however, still absolutely refused to renounce their regalia, or to give him hostages, insisting that they had been exempted from tribute by former emperors, in consideration of defending the coasts of the *Mediterranean* betwixt *Rome* and *Barcelona* from the ravages

A. D.
1156.

A. D.
1158.

⁸ Chron. Var. *Pisan.* *CAFFAR.* Annal.
CAFFAR. Annal.

^b FOLIET. l. 1.

of the infidels. The citizens in the mean time, being firmly resolved to oppose the emperor's demands, both men and women, young and old, wrought at the walls, the foundations of which had been extended, and begun about four years before, without intermission; so that in eight days they completed what by any other city of *Italy* would have been reckoned the work of twelve months. The emperor, finding them inflexibly bent upon defending their liberty, and considering the great difficulty of attacking their city, which was strongly garrisoned and open to the sea, consented to a treaty with them, and upon promising them his protection, received their oath of fidelity, and a present of one thousand two hundred marks¹.

As the emperor still continued in *Lombardy*, and became every day more formidable, the *Genoese* thought proper the following year to complete the wall of their city, which we are told by *Caffarus* and *Folieta* extended 5520 feet, and was ornamented with 1070 merlans, but at the same time comprehended only one half of the city, which towards the sea was naturally fortified by steep precipices. The factions of the city were by this time become very violent, so that the two parties sometimes committed hostilities against each other; but by the prudence of the following consuls, *Caffarus* informs us, they were greatly suppressed. The suspension of their civil animosities was perhaps chiefly owing to their being engaged anew in foreign expeditions; for we find the next year one of the consuls, *Oberto Spinola*, sailed with five gal-

They oblige the Moors
of Spain
to agree to
a peace.

lies to *Spain*, and obliged one of the *Moorish* kings, whose subjects had lately infested the trade of the republic, to agree to a peace for fifteen years; in which treaty it was stipulated, that he should pay a certain sum yearly to the *Genoese*, and allow them the freedom of trade in his dominions.

A. D. 1161. A few months after the return of the consul, *Alexander* the third arrived at *Genoa*, in his way to *France*, being obliged to leave *Italy* on account of the protection granted by the emperor to the anti-pope *Victor*. The pope, in return for the kind reception he met with from the *Genoese*, enlarged the privileges of their see, and, according to *Folieta*, created the archbishop perpetual legate of the provinces beyond sea.

A. D. 1162. WHILE *Alexander* was preparing for his departure from *Genoa*, the emperor *Frederic* on the first of *March* obliged the city of *Milan* to surrender, after a long siege of several months; and being highly irritated against the inhabitants, on account of their breach of faith, he entirely destroyed the

¹ Idem ibid.

city, and obliged them to live in four towns, at two miles distance from each other. This example of severity struck a new panic into all the states of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, whom he again summoned to his court at *Pavia*. The *Genoese* deputies, being privately urged by his courtiers to submit quietly to his demands, they declared their willingness to obey, but insisted that the emperor, in return, ought to distinguish them above the other cities of *Italy*. *Frederic*, being pleased with their ready compliance, accordingly entered into a treaty with them, by which he confirmed their privileges, and extended their jurisdiction over all the coast of *Liguria*, from the city of *Monaco* to the river *Macra*, great part of which had hitherto been subject to different marquises, who had never acknowledged their authority. The *Genoese*, for these favours, promised to assist the emperor with their fleets and forces in all his expeditions^k.

THE republic had no sooner concluded this treaty with the emperor, than it was engaged in a new war with the *Pisans*, which was occasioned by a quarrel betwixt the subjects of the two republics at *Constantinople*. According to *Cassarius*, one thousand *Pisans*, being assisted by some *Venetians* and *Greeks*, attacked three hundred *Genoese* in their quarter, and after an obstinate dispute drove them from the city, and killed some of those they took prisoners in cold blood. The *Genoese* immediately declared war against the *Pisans*, and hostilities commenced betwixt the two republics with various success; but the emperor interposing his authority, deputies from both states waited upon him at *Turin*, and in the end of the year agreed to a truce till his return from *Germany*. About two years after, the emperor returning to *Italy*, deputies immediately waited upon him from *Genoa* and *Pisa*, for negotiating a peace, which, however, was interrupted upon the following account. One *Barisso*, a judge or governor of one of the four provinces of *Sardinia*, by the persuasion of the *Genoese*, who had a great party in that island, sent an ambassador to *Frederic*, asking the crown of *Sardinia*, offering to pay him an annual quit rent, and to pay him directly four thousand marks of silver. *The emperor, who grasped at every opportunity of extending his dominion over the *Italians*, readily hearkened to this proposal; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Pisans*, who insisted with great warmth that the sovereignty of *Sardinia* belonged to them, he created *Barisso* king of the island, and solemnly put the crown upon his head

A new war between the Genoese and Pisans

^k Idem ut supra. SIGON. in regn. Ital. l. 13. JUSTINIANI. AN. 1162.

A. D.
1164.

in the church of St. Syrus in *Pavia*. The *Genoese*, in opposition to the *Pisans*, strenuously alledged, that *Sardinia* belonged to them; and, as *Barisso* wanted money, they payed the four thousand marks for him to the emperor, and upon his return to *Genoa* lent him other considerable sums, which he promised to pay before he landed on the island. The *Genoese* accordingly accompanied him thither; but perceiving he had some intrigues with the *Sardinians* and *Pisans*, they would not allow him to land till the money was payed. After various delays, finding the *Sardinians* intended only to deceive them, they carried back the king to *Genoa*, and committed him a prisoner to some nobles.

THE civil dissensions at the same time were very violent in the city. Tumults and skirmishes were very frequent; and in the month of *November*, one of the consuls was murdered at his country seat by the plebeians. The following consuls, immediately after their election, applied themselves to put a stop to the civil discords, and obliged all the citizens to go unarmed, and agree to a truce during their consulship. As the *Pisans*, about the same time, were accused of violating the truce which had hitherto subsisted, by plundering a *Genoese* vessel which had been shipwrecked on the coast of *Sardinia*, the consuls of the two republics appeared before one of the emperor's chaplains at *Porto Venere*, whom *Frederic* had appointed arbitrator of their differences. After long debates, the conferences were broke off without any effect, and hostilities were renewed with great animosity, and mutual damage to each republic. The *Genoese* made a descent upon *Sardinia*, which was almost wholly under the dominion of the *Pisans*, who surprised and burnt *Albenga* and another town in the *Genoese* territories. The war continued with various success to each of the parties for ten years, during which time the *Genoese* consuls, with great difficulty, could suppress their domestic factions. Six of the chiefs of each party having agreed to fight single combats, the consuls granted them permission, and a day was appointed to decide their quarrel; but the combatants, with many other citizens, being then assembled in the archbishop's palace, where the sacred relicks were produced, the serious exhortations of the prelate had such an effect, that both parties dropt their animosities, and embraced as friends. The archbishop of *Meniz*, in the mean time, who was chancellor of the empire in *Italy*, was persuaded by the *Pisans* to grant them the investiture of *Sardinia*. The *Genoese*, to occasion a diversion to their enemies, entered into an alliance with the *Lucchese*; and the *Pisans*, on the other hand, concluded a treaty with the *Florentines*: but all

all parties at length being weary of the war, they referred their disputes to the arbitration of the emperor, who had returned a fifth time to *Italy*, and was then at *Pavia*. *Frederic*, after considering the claims of both republics, principals in the war, divided the island of *Sardinia* betwixt them, without any regard to the investiture formerly given to *Barisso*, who was still a prisoner in *Genoa*, though we are informed by the continuator of *Cassarus*, that a few years before he had been carried to *Sardinia*, and had made a second unsuccessful attempt to raise the money he owed to the *Genoese*. By this peace, the *Genoese* were likewise ordered to demolish a castle which they had built against the *Pisans*; and these last were prohibited from coining false *Lucchese* money¹.

The emperor mediates a peace betwixt them.
A. D. 1175.

As the saladin of *Egypt*, about this time, was threatening to attack the Christians in *Palestine*, the *Genoese*, two years after the peace with the *Pisans*, concluded an alliance with him, by which he promised not to molest their territories in *Syria*, provided the republic should give no assistance to his enemies^m. During the nine following years the *Genoese* enjoyed great tranquillity, the violence of their factions being moderated by the prudence of the consuls. They were, in the mean time, obliged to send a body of troops against some towns in their eastern and western territory, which had committed several outrages against their neighbours. The consequence of these disturbances was the submission of the city of *Nice*, which put itself under the protection of the republic. The following year the animosities which had formerly disturbed the state, were again revived, on account of the murder of one of the consuls, and two other nobles. The assassins being discovered were banished the city, and their houses and all their effects were destroyed. The *Pisans* about the same time, in violation of the late treaty, having attacked the *Genoese* merchants in *Sardinia*, and expelled them from the district of *Calariis*, the republic immediately raised an army, and fitted out a strong fleet, which they sent to *Porto Venere*, with the intention of revenging the insult: however, at the intercession of the emperor's son *Henry*, they recalled their land forces; but *Fulco di Castello*, with ten galleys, sailed to *Corfica*, and destroyed a castle which had been erected on the coast by the *Pisans*.

A. D. 1177.

A. D. 1178.

In the mean time, news arriving in *Italy* that the saladin of *Egypt* had taken *Jerusalem*, and entirely defeated the Christians, who had lost all their territories in *Syria*, except *Tripoli*, *Tyre*, and *Antiach*, *Clement* the third, who, the following year

The Christians lose Jerusalem, and almost all their territories in Syria.

¹ Idem ibid.

^m FOLIET. l. 2.

year was promoted to the pontificate, published indulgences over all *Christendom* for a new crusade against the infidels; and that the dispute betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans* might not interrupt the sacred expedition, he prevailed upon the two republics to agree to a peace. The city of *Genoa* being likewise in great confusion by the violence of the two opposite factions, who were continually skirmishing with each other, the pope interested himself also in their disputes; and by means of a cardinal legate persuaded the two parties to agree to an amicable accommodation, which, however, was of very short continuance; for the next year hostilities were again renewed, and with great difficulty quelled by the consuls. The kings of *France* and *England*, in the mean time, making immense preparations for a new expedition to the *Holy Land*, and requesting the assistance of the *Genoese*, the republic sent an ambassador to *England*, and another to *France*, declaring their great readiness to second the enterprizes of the crusaders.

The Genoese send a fleet to Syria. At the same time several of the consuls sailed from *Genoa* with a large body of horse and foot, who assisted at the siege of *Acon*, which, two years after, was taken chiefly by means of the battering engines that they brought with them, and constructed after their arrival". The year following another fleet of crusaders and pilgrims sailed from *Genoa*.

A. D.
1189.

THE factions in the mean time disturbing the city, and becoming every day more violent, the consuls at length resolved to imitate some other states of *Italy*, and to commit the government of the republic to a foreigner. Accordingly, after mature deliberation, *Manegold de Tetocio*, a citizen of *Brescia*, of great reputation for prudence and justice, was chosen podesta. The daring insolence of the factions may be easily perceived from the behaviour of *Fulco di Castello*, who, with some of his family, soon after broke into the room where the podesta and consuls were assembled, and killed *Lanfranc Piper*, one of the consuls. *Manegold* next day called a general council; and after addressing the people, he put on his armour, and went with some forces to the palace of *Fulco*, which he ordered to be directly razed. The assassins escaped punishment by abandoning their native country, and taking refuge in *Placenza*.

A. D.
1193.

As the succession to the kingdom of *Naples* was at this time disputed betwixt the emperor *Henry*, and *Tancred*, a royal bastard, the *Genoese* entered into a treaty with *Henry*, who, on condition that they would assist him against his compe-

" Idem ut supra. ROGER. Hoveden. Annal. Angl.

itor, confirmed to them the privileges granted by former kings of *Sicily*, and besides gave them the city of *Syracuse*, with a large territory in that island. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the podesta immediately fitted out a fleet of thirty-three galleys, which in the end of summer sailed to the coast of *Naples*; but the emperor being prevented by sickness from prosecuting the war, a few weeks after the fleet returned to *Genoa*, without having been engaged in any action °.

THE *Genoese*, finding no good effects from the alteration of the form of government, the following year restored the consuls, who enjoyed, however, a mere shadow of authority, the violence of the factions filling the whole city with confusion and anarchy. The chiefs of the opposite parties assaulted each others houses and towers with battering engines, while their partizans were continually engaged in skirmishing; so that the consuls, at length intimidated, renounced their office, and hid themselves in their houses. These tumults continued near three years, till the arrival of *Marcoald*, seneschal of the emperor, who seeing lest the civil dissensions would prevent the equipping of a fleet for the *Sicilian* expedition, called a general assembly of the people, and prevailed with them to suspend their animosities, and to chuse *Oberto d'Olivano*, a nobleman of *Pavia*, of a distinguished character, as the podesta for the remaining part of the year, and the year following P.

A. D.
1191.

HENRY soon after arrived at *Genoa*, and declaring, that if *Sicily* was conquered, it would wholly belong to the republic, as he intended to spend his life in *Germany*, he cajoled the *Genoese* to espouse his interests with ardor; so that in the month of *August* the podesta, having appointed a vicar to govern in his absence, sailed with a numerous fleet to *Naples*, and from thence to *Sicily*; where he performed many signal services to the emperor. A quarrel happening betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans* at *Messina*, in which the *Genoese* were worsted, the disgrace so affected him, that he sickened and died; but his successor in command still continuing to assist the *Germans*, they at last made themselves masters of the whole island of *Sicily*. Henry, however, who was noted for his perfidy and tyrannical disposition, instead of fulfilling his engagements to the *Genoese*, deprived them of all their former privileges in *Sicily*; prohibited, under pain of death, any of their subjects from taking the title of consul in his king-

A. D.
1194.

° CAFFAR. Annal. l. 3. P Idem ibid. SIGON. in regn. Ital. RITICES de regn. Neap. & Sicil. in fol.

dom; and threatened, if they should express any resentment, to destroy their city.

THE *Genoese* immediately quitted *Sicily* and returned home, when *James Munerius* of *Milan* was chosen *podesta* for the ensuing year. During his government, the *Genoese* were employed in repressing the insults of the *Pisans*, who in a piratical manner took many of their ships, and rebuilt the castle which had been formerly destroyed in *Corfuca*. The republic, during the two following years, was governed by the same *podesta*, namely *Drusus Marcellinus*, a nobleman of *Milan*, of great activity and resolution, who, being assisted by eight colleagues, exerted himself both against the *Pisans* and the seditious nobles. He ordered all the towers of the city, which were the chief receptacles of the factious, to be lowered to the measure of eighty feet; and by punishing some criminals of note, struck a terror into all offenders. He was succeeded in authority by another noble citizen of *Milan*, *Albert de Mandello*, who, being likewise assisted with eight colleagues, governed the republic with great prudence and success. His successor was *Beltram Christian* of *Pavia*, who was assisted by six rectors; and, in the beginning of his government, sent eight galleys to meet and convoy the ships returning from the *Levant*. As the inhabitants of *Ventimiglia* that year revolted, the *Genoese* invested their city by land and sea for two months; but, from some treachery in the army, the siege proving unsuccessful, it was raised in the end of *August*, when the troops returned to *Genoa*. Two years after, however, the *Ventimiglians* came and voluntarily submitted to the consuls, to whom the government of the republic was again committed.

Ventimiglia
revolts,
and is be-
sieged
without
success.

A. D.

1199.

UPON the expiration of their consulship, the *Genoese* again chose a *podesta*, named *Guifredottus Grassellus*, a nobleman of *Milan*, who governed the republic three years. As a proof of the great extent of the *Genoese* commerce at this period, *Foliet* informs us, that the republic obtained several privileges from the king of *Armenia*, who besides granted them a church, and a certain district, in three of his cities¹. The new *podesta*, desirous of putting an end to the piratic war, which from the quarrel at *Messina*, had now subsisted near eight years betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans*, had a conference with several *Pisan* deputies for a peace. An accommodation, however, could not be effected, and hostilities still continued, to the mutual damage of both republics. After the conferences, the *podesta* entered into treaty with the marquisses of *Gavi*, who, upon receiving a large sum of money, and

A. D.

1202.

¹ FOLIET. l. 3.

being

being created citizens of *Genoa*, resigned their whole territories, situated in the *Alpes Cottiae*, to the republic¹. *Guifredottus*, in the last two years of his government, was engaged in quelling the factions among the nobles, and accommodating some particular differences betwixt several towns and districts of the territories of the republic. He was likewise attentive to prosecute the war against the *Pisans*, who had seized *Syracuse*, and expelled the bishop and a great many of the inhabitants. Great numbers of the *Genoese* ships having assembled at *Crete*, in their return from the *Levant*, a resolution was formed by their commanders to attack *Syracuse*, which they accordingly made themselves masters of by assault; and, putting the *Pisans* to death, restored the bishop and inhabitants, but gave the command of the city to one of their own citizens.

TOWARDS the end of this government, the *Genoese* attacked and seized a *Venetian* ship returning from *Constantinople*, loaded with wealth and very many precious relicks, among which was the real cross presented by the empress *Helena* to her son. The *Genoese* annalists assign no reason for this rupture with the *Venetians*: perhaps the republic of *Genoa* espoused the interests of *Alexis Commines*, who the year before had been expelled by the *Venetians* and crusards from the throne of *Constantinople*, which he had usurped from his brother². However it be, we find the *Genoese* the following year, when *Fulco di Castello*, by the interest of his faction, had caused himself to be elected podesta, again attacked the *Venetians* in the *Archipelago*, and took from them two rich ships, on board of one of which were upwards of nine hundred men³. At the same time they gave assistance to the count of *Tripoli* against the *Turks* in *Syria*, and relieved the city of *Syracuse*, which was besieged by the *Pisans*, who venturing a naval engagement were entirely defeated, and lost about twenty vessels. This was one of the most considerable actions that had been done for several years; for though there was great rivalry and enmity betwixt the two republics, yet the war was carried on without⁴ any general plan by both of them, who were chiefly intent upon extending their commerce. The military expeditions seem to have been most frequently undertaken by private adventurers, and the whole operations of a summer to have been confined to the taking of a few trading vessels and galleys. The war continued in this manner for three

Hostilities
betwixt
the Geno-
ese and
Venetians
A. D.
1204.

¹ Idem ibid. CAFFAR. Annal. Gen. l. 4. Chron. Januens.
² Vide NICET. hist. Isaac Ang. ³ CAFFAR. l. 4.

years longer, when a truce was agreed to, which the year after was converted into a perpetual peace.

The Venetians expelled from the island of Crete. THE consuls, in the mean time, were again restored, and the island of *Crete* was taken from the *Venetians* by a noble *Genoese*, *Henry* count of *Malea*, by some called *Malta*, who, having received considerable reinforcements from *Genoa*, defeated the *Venetian* fleet, and took *Raynerius Dandulus*, the doge and admiral, prisoner, who died a few days after^u. As the *Venetians*, however, made great preparations for recovering the island, the *Genoese*, though again at war with the *Pisans*, who in a few months had violated the peace, fitted out a formidable fleet in support of count *Henry*; and to defray the expence of the armament, imposed a new tax for six years. Mean while the emperor *Otho* the fourth arriving in *Italy*, by his mediation a cessation of hostilities was again agreed to betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans* for two years. The republic the following year elected *Raynerius*, or *Renatus Cotta*, a citizen of *Milan*, podesta, who began his government with appointing a board of eight nobles to prosecute a war against the *Marfilians*, who had countenanced some of their subjects in depredations upon the trade of the *Genoese*. The *Marfilians*, being quickly distressed by the *Genoese* armaments, in the end of the year sent ten of their nobles to *Genoa*, who prevailed on the republic to grant them a peace for twenty-one years. The *Genoese*, at the same time, were obliged to punish the insolence of the inhabitants of *Nice*, who, though they had formerly put themselves under the protection of the republic, now piratically seized the *Genoese* ships. The same podesta enlarged the territories of the republic by purchasing *Corvaria*, ordered the marquis of *Gavi*, who had revolted, to be imprisoned for ten years, and caused some public roads to be made for the conveniency of inland commerce. The following year the *Genoese* again committed the government to consuls, who were so successful as to conclude a truce with the *Pisans* for five years, and with the *Venetians* for three (A).

A. D.
1207.

A. D.
1211.

BE-

^u Chron. Januens. ap. MURATOR. t. 9. col. 44. CAFFAR. Annal. An. 1206. FOLIET. ^w Annal. CAFFAR. FOLIET. l. 3.

(A) The continuator of *Cassarius* relates, that one *Nicolas*, a German boy, arrived this year at *Genoa* in the habit of a pilgrim, followed by upwards of seven thousand men, women, and children, who had taken the cross with the intention of proceeding to *Syria*, being actuated by a superstitious opinion that

BEFORE the expiration of the truce with the *Venetians*, the *Genoese* enlarged their territories by the acquisition of the estates of the marquis of *Caretto*, who resigned them voluntarily to the republic : they likewise fortified the castle of *Monaco*, and made several alterations in the state of the revenue, which they ordered to be farmed annually. Soon after they received the submission of the *Niceans* ; and being informed that some *Venetian*, *Pisan*, and *Provençal* gallies, had sailed from *Constantinople*, and seized several *Genoese* ships in *Sicily*, they ordered preparations to be made for an expedition to the *Levant* ; but the year after, hearing that the *Venetians* were making no warlike preparations in *Romania*, they likewise deferred their armament.

A. D.
1215.

ACCORDING to *Foliet*, the *Genoese* about this time sent an embassy to the king of *Armenia*, who confirmed to them their privileges in his dominions, particularly the freedom of jurisdiction. Though they always insisted on a free jurisdiction in foreign countries, yet, what is remarkable, this year they introduced a new establishment at home, and for the first time committed the decision of civil causes to five foreign judges *. The following year the government of the republic was again committed to a podesta ; and by the intercession of pope *Honorius* the third, who was very desirous of forming a third general crusade to the *Holy Land*, a peace was concluded betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans* ; which, not many months after, was followed by an accommodation betwixt the republic and the *Venetians*. The *Genoese*, about the same time, conducted a great many *French* barons to the *Holy Land* ; and the year after, sent ten gallies to the assistance of the Christians at the siege of *Damiata* in *Egypt*.

A. D.
1216.

THE two following years were spent in expensive and ineffectual expeditions against the *Ventimiglians*, who, being assisted by the *Provençals*, made many sallies against the besiegers, in which they were generally successful ; but the entrance of their harbour being at length blocked up, they were obliged to surrender at discretion to the podesta, who generously granted them a pardon. Soon after the submission of the *Ventimiglians*, the *Genoese* having received some injury

The Ven-
timiglians
again re-
volt.

A. D.
1220.

* Annal. CASSAR. FOLIET. l. 3.

that the sea was to be dried up, to allow them to walk directly to *Jerusalem*. The consuls ordered them immediately to quit the city ; but as they had no

home, many of them, who laid aside the thoughts of their pilgrimage, were allowed to continue. *Cassar. Annal. Chron. Januens. Foliet.*

from

from the *Pisans* in *Acon*, which is not particularized by their historians, after a sharp engagement drove the *Pisans* from the city : but their enemies being countenanced by the king of *Jerusalem*, they themselves retired from *Acon*, with all their effects, to *Berytus*.

- A. D. 1224. As the *Genoese* about this period had enlarged their territory even beyond the skirts of the *Appennines*, either by purchases or the voluntary submission of the proprietors, their opulence and grandeur began to give great jealousy to their neighbours in the plains of *Lombardy*, particularly the inhabitants of *Alexandria* and *Tortona*; who, under pretence that the proprietors of those territories were their feudatories, declared war against the republic, which continued for two years with various success. The immoderate expence of this war, and the arrival of the emperor *Frederic* the second at *Cremona*, tempted the inhabitants of *Savona* and *Albenga* the following year to revolt, and to put themselves under the protection of the count of *Savoy*, the imperial vicar in *Italy*. But the republic not being so much exhausted as they expected, and the emperor neglecting to give them any assistance, they were obliged the year after again to submit to the *Genoese*, who about the same time concluded a peace with *Tortona* and *Alexandria*, by the mediation of the inhabitants of *Milan*. The republic was no sooner freed from foreign wars than the domestic dissensions again revived, it being discovered that a society had been secretly formed by many of the nobility for dividing among themselves all the offices of the state, to the exclusion of the other citizens. The podestà, however, found means of pacifying the opposite parties, as the republic was still threatened with a renewal of the war with the *Alexandrians*, who appeared dissatisfied with the late accommodation, and the following year treacherously surprised *Capriata*. This war, however, was at length terminated two years after, by arbitration of three of the clergy, who adjudged *Capriata* to the republic.

THE *Genoese* being now freed from all apprehensions of disturbances in *Italy*, the next year sent several embassies to the *Levant*, to renew their alliances with the eastern princes. They likewise sent a fleet to *Spain* against *Muleassès*, king of *Murcia*, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, had plundered the *Genoese* merchants in his dominions. The fleet acted in conjunction with the forces of another Moorish king, then at war with *Muleassès*, and by its formidable appearance procured for the republic the friendship of the king of *Seville*. Towards the end of the year, their deputies appeared at the general diet held by the emperor in *Ravenna*, and ex-

ceeded

The Genoese send a fleet against the Moors of Spain.

A. D. 1231.

ceeded in splendor and magnificence the ambassadors of all the other *Italian* states. Though they professed great attachment to the emperor, yet they excused themselves from submitting to his mandate, prohibiting them from taking a *podesta* from the revolted cities of *Lombardy*, by alledging that they had already, in the month of *September*, chosen *Pagan de Petra Sancta*, a nobleman of *Milan*, *podesta* for the ensuing year. *Frederic* was no sooner informed that the *Genoese* had received their *podesta* from *Milan*, than he ordered all their merchants in *Naples* and *Sicily* to be imprisoned, and those in *Syria* and *Tunis* to be expelled, and their effects seized. The *Genoese* were greatly alarmed and irritated by these proceedings, and immediately sent ambassadors to the confederated cities of *Lombardy*, with whom they proposed to enter into an alliance. The *podesta*, however, privately sent an ambassador to the emperor; but *Frederic* rejecting all accommodation, the republic with great ardor fitted out several galleys, and dispatched them to *Tunis* and the *Levant*. The emperor's troops in the *Holy Land* about the same time being almost all cut off by the infidels, and the *Genoese* quickly becoming masters of the sea, *Frederic*, in the end of the year, willingly hearkened to an accommodation, and restored the *Genoese* to all their former privileges.

A rupture
betwixt
them and
the emperor
A. D.
1232.

THE republic, during the two following years, was engaged in quelling an insurrection of the peasants, and assisting the king of *Ceuta* on the coast of *Africa* against the *Spanish* crusards. Tho' the *Spaniards* were repulsed by the assistance of the *Genoese* admiral, yet the *Moorish* king, instead of fulfilling his engagements to the republic, assaulted their galleys, and burnt the houses and merchandize of the *Genoese* in the city. He excused himself the following year to the ambassador of the republic, by alledging that the citizens, without his permission, had quarrelled with the sailors; but still deferring to fulfil his engagements, the ambassador declared war against him, and retired to *Spain*, where he died. His successor, assembling all the *Genoese* ships on the *Spanish* coasts, returned before *Ceuta*, and by his vigorous assaults quickly obliged the *Moors* to offer an honourable accommodation.

Frederic
consents
to an ac-
commoda-
tion.

A. D.
1233.

NOTHING remarkable happened during the three following years, excepting the conclusion of a peace and alliance betwixt the *Genoese* and *Venetians* for nine years, by the mediation of the pope, and the revolt of *Savona*, *Albenga*, and *Ventimiglia*, which were soon obliged to return to their obedience. The following year, however, *Savona* and *Albenga* again revolted, with several marquisses in their neighbourhood,

Savona
and *Al-*
benga re-
vols.

hood, at the instigation of the emperor, who being offended that the *Genoese* refused to take the oath of homage to him, made large promises of assistance to the rebels. On account of this new revolt the *Genoese* fitted out thirteen gallies, which quickly reduced all the western coast, excepting *Albenga* and *Savona*, while the podesta repulsed *Oberto Pallavicini*, the emperor's vicar, who had made an incursion into the territories of the republic.

As the animosities which had long subsisted betwixt the emperor and the pope now broke out into an open rupture, the *Genoese*, who were soothed by *Gregory*, and irritated by *Frederic*, espoused the party of the former, and this year entered into the confederacy of the *Lombard* cities, and allowed the pope's legate to preach a crusade against the emperor in *Genoa* ^x. This fatal dissention betwixt the emperor and the pope, about the extent of their jurisdiction, divided all *Italy* into two opposite factions, which long persecuted each other with the most rancorous animosity. Though *Genoa* at first declared unanimously for the pope and the confederates, many of the noble citizens, and powerful families, however, soon privately embraced the party of the emperor, and afterwards openly espousing his interest, retired to *Savona*, which they made their head-quarters. *Savona*, in the mean time, having received a *German* garrison, the *Genoese* troops the following spring did not think proper to invest the city; but after plundering its territories, returned to *Genoa*. Soon after their return the podesta, having discovered a letter of the emperor to several of the nobles inclosed in a cake of wax, he immediately ordered their houses, which were too strong to be taken by assault, to be invested, and equipped twenty-seven gallies, which about the end of *April* sailed from *Genoa*, with a great number of prelates, for the council of *Rome*. By the imprudence of the admiral, who refused to sail round *Corfica*, a few weeks after they fell in with the imperial and *Pisan* fleet, and after a sharp engagement were almost all taken or sunk, five of the whole number only escaping ^y.

THE news of this disgrace struck the *Genoese* with consternation; their vigour, however, was not thereby abated, for they immediately ordered fifty-two gallies to be put upon the stocks, and commanded all their subjects to be ready to take arms at a moment's warning. Many of these gallies, about three months after, were completed, and sailed out to attack the emperor's fleet, which had appeared off the harbour. The

^x CASSAR. Annal. An. 1240.

^y Idem ibid. An. 1241.

VILLAM. l. 6. c. 20. ANTON. l. 19. c. 4.

imperial admiral, who was a *Genoese*, declined an engagement, but soon after entered the harbour during the night, and unsuccessfully attempted to destroy the shipping. Many of the imperial party, who were distinguished by the name of *Mascaratì*, having by this time been expelled the city by the other faction, who were called *Rampini*, *Pallavicini*, at the request of the exiles, again invaded the *Genoese* territories, but was quickly obliged to retire ². The following podesta, who was a citizen of *Brescia*, notwithstanding the distresses of the republic, entered upon his office with great spirit; and hearing that the emperor had been solicited by *William Spinula* to invade the *Genoese* territories, he surprised and destroyed many of the castles belonging to that nobleman. Being informed soon after that the emperor was making immense preparations, with intention of entirely destroying the *Genoese* naval force, which he found the greatest interruption to his designs, he with great dispatch fitted out eighty-three galleys, and sixteen other vessels, and gave orders through the whole *Genoese* territory that all should be ready with arms and provisions to man the fleet. The enemy carefully shunned all summer to encounter with this formidable armament; and in the end of the year, after they had lost several vessels near *Corfica*, retired to *Sicily* ².

THE following spring the *Genoese*, being under no apprehension from the Imperialists, resolved, if possible, to reduce *Savona*, and invested the city for several weeks; but the emperor, having ordered his bastard son *Hentz*, or *Henry*, whom he had created king of *Sardinia*, to sail to the relief of the besieged, the podesta, on the nineteenth of *April*, made a general assault, but without success, which obliged him to raise the siege. A few months after, when the troops were allowed to go to the country on account of the vintage, the *Pisan* and imperial fleets, to the number of one hundred and thirty-five sail, appeared off the city; but upon the appearance of the *Genoese* galleys they immediately retired.

A. D.
1243.

POPE *Innocent* the fourth, a native of *Genoa*, about this time being promoted to the papal chair, the *Genoese* expressed the greatest demonstrations of joy; and the following year, being informed that he was in danger of being taken a prisoner by the emperor, they conducted him by sea to *Genoa* with twenty-two galleys, where he continued about three months, and then proceeded by land to *France*. The *Genoese* the following year were not engaged in any remarkable expedition: they conducted their trading fleet in safety from the *Levant*,

A. D.
1244.

² FOLLET. Hist. Gen. l. 4. Chron. Januens. ut supra CAFFAR. Annal. An. 1242.

and destroyed several *Pisan* gallies, which had endeavoured to intercept them; but on the sixteenth of *December*, the greatest part of their gallies were sunk or dashed to pieces by a most violent storm, which also broke down part of the mole. Being informed that their enemies intended to take advantage of this calamity, with great ardour and dispatch they repaired their shattered vessels, so that in a few months they were again able to put to sea with a formidable fleet, and could even spare sixteen new gallies, which were hired by *St. Lewis* to conduct him to the *Holy Land*. The following year they made another unsuccessful attempt to reduce the *Mascharati*, or rebels of *Savona*, *Albenga*, and some other places of the western coast, or *Riviera*.

The emperor intends to besiege Genoa, but is defeated before Parma. As the naval preparations the next year were again renewed, for the passage of *St. Lewis*, *Frederic* was apprehensive lest the *Genoese* intended to make a conquest of the island of *Sicily*: he accordingly ordered *Pallavicini* to march with a large body of forces into their territory, and sent for twenty-five gallies from *Naples* to assist the *Pisan* fleet in blocking up the harbour, proposing to command in person against the city: but soon after, being entirely defeated by the garrison of *Parma*, which city he had besieged near two years, all his schemes were baffled, and the *Genoese* were freed from their apprehensions of a siege. Their inveterate enemy, being entirely humbled by the loss of his army and treasure at *Parma*, the *Genoese* a few months after sent a fleet to *France*, which, according to agreement, conducted *St. Lewis* to *Egypt*.

The city of Savona submits to the republic. As the emperor died two years after, about the middle of *December*, the *Genoese* the following spring marched with a powerful army against the rebels of *Savona* and *Albenga*, who were now in the utmost consternation. Upon the approach of the army, they sent deputies to the *podesta* begging a peace, which with some difficulty was at length granted them, by the intercession of the counts of *Lavagna*, the pope's nephews, who were connected by friendship and alliances with many of the *Mascharati*; and the year before, by their unwearied entreaties, had softened the other party, and prevailed upon them to refer all their differences to the arbitration of their uncle *Innocent* ^b. Soon after the submission and reconciliation of the rebels, two *Venetian* deputies arrived at *Porto Venere*, and renewed the alliance betwixt the two republics for ten years. Though the *Mascharati*, who with all the other Imperialists began to be distinguished by the name of *Gibellines*, were now

^b Idem ibid.

restored to their native country, yet it happened otherwise to almost all of that faction in *Italy*; for the pope, now returning from *France*, the *Guelfs*, who had been the greatest sufferers during the war, began to retaliate the injuries they had formerly received from the other party.

THE *Genoese*, about two years after, according to the terms of accommodation made with the rebels, filled up the ditch of *Savona* with the ruins of the walls, which were entirely levelled with the ground; and during the three following years, in conjunction with the *Florentines* and *Lucchese*, with whom they had concluded an alliance, they so distressed the *Pisans*, that they obliged them to offer very disadvantageous terms of peace. That republic, however, prevailed on the *Florentines* and *Lucchese* to agree to a separate peace, absolutely refusing any accommodation with the *Genoese*, unless they would renounce the alliance, concluded a few months before with the marquis of *Calais* in *Sardinia*, who had put one of his towns into their possession, on condition of receiving a *Genoese* lady for his wife, and being protected from the judge of *Arborea*, who was supported by the *Pisans*.

A. D.
1253.

THE following year is remarkable for a new alteration in the form of government, which the *Genoese* annalists only slightly mention, without assigning any reasons of so memorable a transaction. When the podesta, according to custom, should have entered upon his office, part of the nobility raised a furious sedition; and calling out that they would have a captain of the people, they were immediately seconded by the commons, who, in a tumultuous manner, directly chose *William Buccanigra* captain for ten years. If he should die within that time, one of his brothers was appointed to succeed him, and next day thirty-two of the people were chosen by the title of Ancients, to assist him as a council. The captain and his council soon after nominated a podesta, who now became an inferior officer.

IN the second year of his government, a rupture happening betwixt the *Genoese* and *Venetians*, *Alexander* the fourth, who had succeeded *Innocent*, ordered the two republics and the *Pisans* to send their deputies to *Rome*, to treat of an accommodation. This dispute, which engaged the *Genoese* in many ruinous wars, that in the end quite enervated and exhausted the republic, was first occasioned in *Acon*, by a quarrel betwixt a *Venetian* and *Genoese*, which last being struck by his antagonist, excited his countrymen to revenge the affront. The *Genoese* accordingly attacked the *Venetians*, and seized almost all their ships in the harbour, which the *Venetian* doge being informed of, he made loud complaints to the republic.

A rupture
betwixt
the Geno-
ese and
Venetians
A. D.
1258.

An accom-
modation
concluded
betwixt
them at
Rome.

A congress was appointed this year at *Bologna*, for accommodating the difference; but the *Genoese* delaying to send their deputies, the *Venetians* privately fitted out several galleys, and sent them with their trading fleet to *Syria*. The *Genoese*, having intelligence of this armament, sent likewise armed vessels with their *Levant* fleet; and upon hearing that more galleys had gone from *Venice*, they immediately ordered a second squadron to sail to *Syria*. The pope, in the mean time, interesting himself in the dispute, prevailed with the *Genoese*, *Venetian*, and *Pisan* deputies at *Rome*, to agree to an accommodation: but in the same month, or according to *Foliet*, on the same day that this treaty was concluded, the *Venetian* fleet in *Syria*, being joined by the *Pisan*, *Provençal*, and *Marsilian* galleys, amounting in all to eighty sail, entirely defeated the *Genoese*, who lost twenty-five galleys, and were obliged to abandon *Acon*. Though the treaty of peace was nevertheless put in execution, yet this unfortunate engagement heightened the rivalry and animosity betwixt both republics, which broke out with greater violence afterwards.

BUCCANIGRA, in the mean time, abusing his authority, and governing in an insolent and arbitrary manner, a conspiracy was formed against him by the nobility, which, however, served only to establish his dominion more securely, and to encrease his arrogance; for their design being discovered, the * following year many of them were obliged to fly from *Genoa*, and a larger revenue and guard was assigned to the captain.

A. D. 1261. Two years after *Michael Palæologus*, recovering *Constantinople* from the *Latins*, who had possessed it about sixty years, the *Genoese* immediately sent an embassy to him, offering him their assistance to expel the *Venetians* from the islands of the *Archipelago*. An alliance was accordingly concluded betwixt him and the republic, who being put in possession of the city of *Smyrna*, and, according to some, of the island of *Chios*, and *Pera*, one of the suburbs of *Constantinople*, sent a fleet of ten galleys and six ships to the *Archipelago*, which enabled the emperor to frustrate the efforts of the *Venetians*. The pope, who favoured the *Latins*, immediately denounced a sentence of excommunication against the *Genoese*, as violaters of the treaty lately concluded at *Rome*.

THE following year is remarkable for the deposition of *Buccanigra*, whose despotic and oppressive government had rendered him odious to the whole republic. In the end of *May*, a numerous party of the nobility and commons seized

* *Idem* ut supra. *FOLIET. Hist. l. 4. NERICUS. l. 3. SPOND. Annal.*

all the gates of the city, whilst another body marched against the captain, who, being deserted by his guard, and his brother being killed, was forced to resign his authority, which was conferred on a podesta for the remaining part of the year. The republic, during the following year, was likewise governed by a podesta, who, having received many accusations against the *Genoese* commanders in the *Archipelago*, where by their infamous proceedings they had dishonoured the republic, before he resigned his government, obliged all the masters of ships to give security for their behaviour, and appointed a board of three nobles to punish those who had committed any injuries in *Romania*. His successor was intent upon prosecuting the war against the *Venetians*; and, in the month of *June*, sent a fleet of twenty-two galleys and two large ships, towards the *Archipelago*, which engaged and defeated the enemy off *Durazzo*.

THE city, in the mean time, was thrown into the utmost confusion, by the ambition of the *Spinulæ*, the *Auriæ*, the *Grimaldi*, and the *Flischi*, which four families, exceeding the other nobles greatly in wealth and number of dependants, had been endeavouring for several years to seize the supreme authority. The *Spinulæ* and *Auriæ* were the chiefs of the *Gibelline* faction, and the other two families were at the head of the *Guelphs*. *Oberto Spinula* having persuaded his faction, that the only means to suppress the *Guelphs* was to confer the supreme authority upon a *Gibelline*, on the first of *October*, at midnight, he surprised and imprisoned the podesta, and proclaimed himself to be proclaimed captain of the republic by his followers. Next day he endeavoured to have his authority confirmed in a legal assembly; but finding the other party more powerful than he expected, he willingly hearkened to an accommodation; by which it was stipulated, that he should not be punished for what he had done; and that *Guido Spinula* and *Nicolas Auria* should govern the city for the ensuing year. They behaved, during their government, with so much moderation and mildness, that upon the expiration of their office they received universal applause. The year following the government was again committed to a podesta, who was a native of *Parma*. As the war still continued with the *Venetians*, the republic, in the month of *April*, sent a fleet of twenty-seven galleys to *Sicily*, under the command of *Lanfranc Barbarini*, who allowed his whole fleet to be seized by the enemy, by basely declining an engagement, and chaining his vessels together near the shore, so that they could make no resistance. Upon his return to *Genoa*, he was fined and banished, and the command of another fleet of

A. D.
1264.

A. D.
1266.

twenty-five galleys was given to *Oberto Auria*, a young man of great reputation, who in his cruise took several vessels from the enemy, and plundered and burnt a town on the coast of *Crete*. Some inconsiderable advantages were gained during the summer by the private adventurers.

The Genoese enter into an alliance with Charles king of Naples.

A. D. 1269.

A. D. 1270.

THE following year the *Genoese* were absolved from the sentence of excommunication, and were solicited by the pope, and the kings of *France* and *Naples*, to agree to an accommodation with the *Venetians*. The proposal of peace was not, however, acceptable to the republic, which at the same time carried on the war in a languid manner, and only sent one fleet to *Syria* of twenty-five galleys, five of which were taken by the *Venetians* before *Acon*. The year following the young *Conradin*, grandson of the late emperor *Frederic*, being defeated and taken prisoner by *Charles* of *Anjou*, who a few years before, by the assistance of the pope, had made a conquest of *Naples*, the *Genoese* the year after entered into an alliance with *Charles*. About the same time, they concluded another treaty with *St. Lewis*, and promised to furnish him with a great number of galleys and transports for another expedition against the infidels. The fleet, consisting partly of vessels of two decks, accordingly sailed from *Genoa* the year following, having on board upwards of ten thousand *Genoese*, some of whom were designed for navigating the royal galleys. This expedition was very fatal to the *Genoese*; for the *French* king, and great part of the army, died of an epidemical distemper before the city; and upon their return, in the end of *November*, many more perished in a storm in the port of *Tarapani*, which destroyed several of their galleys. This dreadful calamity was heightened by the rapacity of king *Charles*, who, instead of relieving the distressed, seized all that was saved of the wreck, as belonging to his exchequer.

MEAN while not only the city, but even the whole territory of the republic, was filled with dissention and strife, which tempted *Oberto Spinula* to renew his ambitious design of seizing the sovereign authority. At the election of a podesta in *Ventimiglia*, one of the family of the *Grimaldi* had, by fraudulent means, procured the dignity, and forcibly expelled his competitor, who having recourse to the *Gibelline* faction in *Genoa*, returned with an armed force to *Ventimiglia*, where he was a second time repulsed, and many of his followers made prisoners. *Grimaldi* refusing absolutely to set his prisoners at liberty, *Oberto Spinula* and *Oberto Auria*, on the twenty-eighth of *October*, assembled the people, and persuaded them to declare them captains of the republic, with an unlimited authority, having on the same day seized the podesta,

deſta, and defeated the *Guelf* faction, which had attempted to oppoſe their deſigns. They afterwards compelled the whole city to take the oath of fidelity to them, and arbitrarily baniſhed ſome of the chief citizens, who they ſuſpected would never cordially ſubmit to the new government. To ſooth the commons, and retain their affection, they created a new magiſtrate, who was called abbot of the people; and alſo allowed a podeſta to be elected for the following year: however, they dropped the office of podeſta the year after, when they were alarmed with the news that the exiles, by the perſuaſion of cardinal *Flifci*, had entered into a treaty with the king of *Naples*, then at *Rome*, and promiſed to deliver up the city to him, on condition of recovering it by his aſſiſtance from the *Gibellines*.

THAT tyrannical and ambitious prince, without regard to his treaty with the republic, immediately cauſed all the *Genoeſe* merchants and their effects in his dominions to be ſeized, while the exiles returned from *Rome*, and in vain endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections in the eaſtern and weſtern *Riviera*. *Charles*, who was a favourite of the pope's, by whom he had been appointed vicar of *Tuſcany* the following year, ordered the *Alexandrians*, and the marquiſes of *Carceto* and *Saluces*, to invade the *Genoeſe* territories. The *Genoeſe*, having concluded a truce with the *Venetians*, exerted themſelves ſo vigorously in oppoſing their new enemies, that they prevented them from gaining any advantages of conſequence during the whole ſummer. The *Luccheſe*, and ſome other *Tuſcan* ſtates, who at firſt had baſely complied with *Charles*, even ſent ambaffadors to *Genoa*, excuſing their proceeding, and renewing their alliances. The year after, the republic concluded an alliance with the marquis of *Montferrat*, and the cities of *Aſti* and *Pavia*, againſt king *Charles*; and hearing that a *Provençal* fleet had made a deſcent upon *Corſica*, they immediately armed twenty-two gallies, and ſent them thither under the command of *Pignatarius*. The *Genoeſe* admiral, finding that the enemy had retired, ſailed to *Sicily*, attacked the city of *Trapani*, and burnt all the veſſels in the harbour. After continuing ſome time in the *Sicilian* ſeas, and taking ſeveral of their ſhips, he ſailed to *Naples*, where he cauſed all his gallies to row after each other cloſe by the ſhore, and in the king's preſence to tear the enſigns of *France*, and to throw them into the ſea. After his return to *Genoa*, forty *Provençal* gallies made their appearance before the harbour, but retired in the evening, and in their courſe to *Naples* pillaged the iſland before *Porto Venere*. The exiles in the mean time, by the intereſt of cardinal *Flifci*, prevailed

A. D.
1272.

A. D.
1276.

on the pope to excommunicate the republic, which it was alleged had seized some of the cardinal's revenues. Two years after, however, *Innocent* the fifth, who succeeded *Gregory*, having received an embassy from the republic, prevailed on the king of *Naples* to agree to a peace. He died immediately after, and was succeeded by cardinal *Filisci*, who survived his election about a month, but before his death absolved the republic from the sentence of excommunication. In consequence of the peace, the exiles were restored, when the count of *Lavagna*, one of them, sold his extensive territories to the republic.

THE following year, the republic likewise made several large purchases of estates within their territory; and the two captains, having discovered that the exiles who had returned, were endeavouring to raise new disturbances, condemned a great many nobles of the *Guelph* faction to perpetual banishment. These exiles, the year after, entered into a new confederacy with their friends in the city against the ruling faction, and in the end of *March*, having assembled one thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, surprised *Chiavari*, where they committed all manner of hostilities. Upon the approach, however, of *Oberto Auria*, with a large body of horse and foot, next day they abandoned the place, and retired to the valley of *Trebia*, where they dispersed. The captain, having destroyed several castles belonging to them, returned to *Genoa*; and to protect the republic from their future insults, sent to *Pavia*, and hired a body of auxiliaries. Two years after, the *Venetians* violated the truce with the republic, by attacking several of their rich ships in their passage to *Constantinople*. The war, however, was not then renewed betwixt the two republics; for the *Genoese*, proving victorious, generously set at liberty the aggressors, who appear not to have been countenanced by their government.

A. D.
1281.

A new
war be-
twixt
them and
the Pisans.

A. D.
1282.

THE following year the *Genoese* were solicited, by the restless and ambitious king of *Sicily*, to join him and the *Venetians* in an expedition against the *Greek* emperor, whom pope *Martin*, in complaisance to king *Charles*, had excommunicated with all his subjects, as schismatics. The *Genoese* excused themselves from entering into an alliance with the king; and immediately sent a galley to *Constantinople*, to inform the emperor of the intended invasion, which *Charles* was prevented from executing by the famous revolt of *Sicily*, that happened the year after in the end of *March*. While *Charles* was ruining his army in a vain attempt to reduce *Messina*, a new war broke out betwixt the *Genoese* and *Pisans*, which continued about five years with great animosity, till the *Pisans*, whose

whose power and wealth were then quite exhausted, submitted to the terms prescribed by the *Genoese*. The rupture was first occasioned by the revolt of one of the four judges of *Corfica*, who with great insolence plundered the *Genoese* in the island, and made incursions into the other judicatures. Finding himself, at length, unable to resist the *Genoese*, he fled to *Pisa*, and prevailed on the *Pisans*, by swearing fidelity to them, to espouse his cause. The *Genoese* in vain endeavoured to persuade the *Pisans* to desist; they therefore sent a considerable force towards the island in the month of *August*, which, however, did not then proceed, but stopped at *Porto Venere*, where the troops were set at liberty on account of the vintage: their troops in *Corfica* returned to *Italy* a few weeks after for the same reason, being still in hopes that the *Pisans* would not protect the judge. The *Genoese*, having thus imprudently laid aside their armament, the judge returned to *Corfica*, and recovered all his castles, and the *Pisans* made a descent upon the island of *Porto Venere*, which they plundered, and carried off the bell of the church. The war being now unavoidable, the *Genoese* resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour; and for that purpose they elected a council of fifteen persons, called the *Credentia*, to assist the captains, who immediately ordered one hundred and twenty galleys to be fitted out, and laid an embargo upon all shipping for ten months. The *Pisans* likewise made great preparations; so that the following year both parties put to sea with numerous and formidable fleets. The *Genoese* gained several considerable advantages, and took some rich prizes; but they, as well as the *Pisans*, seem to have avoided coming to any decisive action.

THE *Pisans*, being dissatisfied with the conduct of their commanders, to whose misbehaviour they imputed their losses, the following summer committed the supreme administration of their republic to *Albert Maurocenus*, a noble *Venetian*, in hopes thereby of engaging the *Venetians* to assist them in the war, as *Albert* was related to the doge, whose power and authority at that time was much more extensive than at present. The *Genoese*, in the beginning of *May*, having defeated twenty-four of their galleys, eight of which they had taken, the *Pisans* fitted out seventy-two galleys, and two other large vessels, to recover the honour of their arms, boasting that they intended to shoot silver arrows, and balls covered with scarlet, into *Genoa*. This formidable fleet accordingly soon after appeared before the city, when a considerable number of the *Genoese* galleys were absent. The *Genoese*, however, who before had ordered the militia of the eastern and western *Riviera* to be ready to embark, with great ardor equipped and armed in one

Maurocenus, a Venetian, chosen chief of the Pisan republic.

A. D.
1284.

The Pisans
routed
with the
loss of
16,000

afternoon fifty-eight galleys, and eight larger vessels, which a few days after, being joined by other thirty galleys that had returned from a cruise, sailed in quest of the enemy, whom they soon discovered near the island *Meloria*. A general engagement ensued, which ended in the total rout of the *Pisans*, sixteen thousand of whom were killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. Among the prisoners were the podesta *Maurocenus*, and a great part of the *Pisan* nobility. The *Genoese*, after this decisive action, which was fought on the sixth of *August*, returned home in triumph, with twenty-nine galleys taken from the enemy, and many thousand prisoners, so that it became a proverb in *Tuscany*, ‘Those that want to see *Pisa* must go to *Genoa*’.

THE *Guelfs* in *Tuscany* resolved to seize this opportunity of re-establishing their faction in *Pisa*. Accordingly the *Florentines*, the *Lucchese*, the *Siennese*, *Pistorians*, and other *Tuscan* states, concluded an alliance against the *Pisans* with the *Genoese* for thirty years. The *Pisans*, confounded with the news of this confederacy, immediately begged a peace: but their request being rejected by the *Genoese*, they conferred the sovereign power of their state upon count *Ugolino*, a *Guelf*, for ten years; which revolution satisfying the *Tuscan* states, they forthwith renounced their new alliance with the *Genoese*.

A. D.
1288.

A peace
concluded
with the
Pisans.

No military expeditions of consequence happened during the three following years. Besides taking a few *Pisan* ships, the *Genoese* made prizes of several *Venetian* and *Neapolitan* vessels laden with *Pisan* merchandize; and being informed that the sultan of *Egypt* had seized one of their ships in *Alexandria*, they sent six galleys to the *Levant*, which obliged him to make restitution. The year after, the government of the captains having expired, the people, in the month of *March*, chose *Oberto Spinola* and *Conrad Auriq*, the son of *Oberto*, captains of the republic for five years; but so great was the moderation of these nobles, that they would only accept of the government for three years. A few weeks after this election, a peace was concluded betwixt the republic and the *Pisans*, by means of the *Pisan* prisoners, who had been negotiating for thirteen months. This peace was very much against the inclination of *Ugolino*, the *Pisan* podesta, who, not daring openly to oppose the treaty, privately ordered the *Sardinian* corsairs still to continue hostilities against the *Genoese*; which so exasperated the *Pisans*, that in the month of *July*

^d CAPPIA R. Annal. l. 10. VILLANI. Hist. l. 7. c. 91. FOLIET. Hist. l. 5.

they rose against him, and imprisoned him, with his children, in a tower, where they died of hunger.

THE *Genoese* the following year sent a fleet to the relief of *Tripoli* against the sultan of *Egypt*; but the Christians, with all their auxiliaries, not being able to defend the city, the *Genoese* conducted as many of the inhabitants as they could to the island of *Cyprus*. About the same time they sent another fleet to *Corfica*, which recovered all the places in that island that had revolted during the *Pisan* war. Mean while, the *Grimaldi* and several other noble *Guelf* families formed a conspiracy against the captains of the republic, which, after they had plotted six months, they endeavoured to put in execution on the first of *January*, by assaulting the house of the abbot of the people. After a sharp dispute they were obliged to submit, and four of them only being banished, the others were generously pardoned. Before this conspiracy broke out, the republic had renewed the war with the *Pisans*, who, contrary to the articles of the late peace, had delayed to deliver up the castle of *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*. They had, however, offered full satisfaction and security to the *Genoese*, if they would indulge them with the delay of twelve months; but the republic, unreasonably rejecting their request, again chose a *Credentia* of fourteen persons, and concluding an alliance with the *Lucchese*, in conjunction with them attacked the harbour of *Pisa*, situated at the mouth of the *Arno*. After ravaging the *Pisan* territory in that neighbourhood, they destroyed all the towers that secured the harbour, and returned in the end of the year to *Genoa*, carrying with them several pieces of the chain of the harbour, which near three hundred years after were to be seen as trophies of their victory, hanging in different parts of the city.

A. D.
1289.

A new
rupture
with the
Pisans.

THE *Genoese*, in the mean time, according to their usual fickleness, being dissatisfied with the government of the captains, and longing for a new form of administration, *Oberto Auria*, the father of *Conrad*, consulting with several others, drew up a new plan of government, by which it was ordained, that the captain of the republic, for the future, should always be a foreigner, elected annually; and that one half of the counsellors and *antiani*, and all others in office, should be chosen from the nobles, and the other half from the people. The captains accordingly the following year, at the feast of *Simon and Jude*, peaceably resigned their office; and *Lanfranc de Suardis*, a nobleman of *Bergamo*, was chosen captain of the republic. The new captain exerted himself vigorously in prosecuting the *Pisan* war; but the *Pisans*, being assisted by the *Catalans*, recovered the island of *Ilba*, which was the chief

A. D.
1290.

scene of the transactions during the summer (B). As the Christians this year had been totally expelled from *Syria*, the following captain allowed *Manuel Facharia* and *Theodosius Auria* to enter into the service of the church, with twenty galleys, to defend the island of *Cyprus* from the infidels, tho' at first he had resolved to fine them for having made an agreement with the see of *Rome* without his permission. The *Genoese*, at the same time, having taken a *Catalan* ship of three decks carrying corn to *Pisa*, the captain, being afraid of the resentment of the famous *Roger di Loria*, immediately excused the proceeding to the viceroy of *Sicily*, and made good the damage to the *Catalans*.

A. D. 1292. THE injuries which the *Genoese* daily received from the *Catalans*, did not yet provoke them to declare war against them, though they were at this time earnestly solicited by the count of *Artois*, the apostolic legate, and the *French* ambassador, to declare for the king of *Naples*, against the *Sicilians* and *Catalans*. The disputes in the city on this subject were so violent, that the nearest relations fought with each other in the streets, which served the captain with an argument for still adhering to a neutrality. The *French* ambassadors immediately left the city in great discontent, and upon their arrival in *France* caused several *Genoese* merchants to be arrested, who, nevertheless, were quickly after set at liberty, the *Genoese* having ordered a representation to be made to the *French* court. The *Genoese*, in the mean time, fitted out twenty-one galleys and five galleons, for the *Pisan* war; but the *Pisans* during the whole summer not appearing at sea, the fleet took only a few corsairs, and returned to *Genoa*.

THE great prosperity of the republic, which had now lumbled its once formidable rival, and flourished above all the states of *Italy*, began to awaken the jealousy of the *Venetians*, who considered the encreasing grandeur of the *Genoese* as a diminution of their own (C): they therefore resolved, without

(B) *Felice* informs us, that this year *Theodosius Auria* and *Ugolino Vivaldo*, with two galleys, fitted out at their own expence, passed the straits of *Gibraltar*, and sailed westward, in search of the *Indies*; but what afterwards became of them, he says, there is no account. *Foliet. l. 5. An. 1291.*

(C) At this period the *Genoese*

state seems to have been at its greatest height of power, opulence, and grandeur. All the cities and towns both in the eastern and western *Riviera*, with several other territories over the *Appennine* ridge, submitted to the republic, which, since the commencement of the last *Pisan* war, had armed 627 galleys. Seventy sail of trading vessels

without regarding the truce, to seize the first opportunity of renewing hostilities; and this summer four of their galleys sailing to *Cyprus*, and having on board the crews of two other galleys, attacked seven *Genoese* trading vessels, returning from the *Archipelago*. The *Genoese*, being hailed by the *Venetians*, went on board their galleys, and satisfied them who they were, and where they were bound; but perceiving them preparing for an engagement, they returned immediately to their own vessels, and received the attack of the enemy with resolution. After a short dispute they took the *Venetian* galleys, and killed three hundred of their men: however, after blaming them for violating the truce, they directly set them at liberty, and returned to *Genoa*. To prevent a rupture, the republic sent two *Dominican* friars to *Venice*; and a conference being agreed to, four ambassadors of each state assembled at *Cremona*, to terminate all differences; but the *Venetians*, shewing no desire of an accommodation, the *Genoese* deputies, at the end of three months, protested that they were ready to observe the truce, and returned to *Genoa*. The republic, still desirous of avoiding a war, in the beginning of *January* sent another ambassador, with a public notary, to *Venice*, who made the same protestation before the doge.

A rupture betwixt the Genoese and the Venetians.
A. D.
1293.

THE *Venetians* still declined giving any satisfaction; and a few months after some of their galleys took three *Genoese* vessels, and committed hostilities against the subjects of the republic in different parts. The *Genoese*, roused at length, determined to have recourse to force; and the captains of twenty of their trading vessels, having unladed their merchandize at *Pera*, chose *Nicholas Spinula*, the resident at *Constantinople*, for their admiral, and went in quest of the *Venetian* galleys: however, they first sent two *Franciscans* to demand restitution of the late captures. Their request being denied, they soon after attacked the *Venetian* fleet, consisting of thirty-two galleys, and gained a complete victory, taking twenty-five, or, according to some, thirty of the enemy's ships. This engagement thoroughly animated each republic to prosecute the war. The *Venetians* immediately laid an embargo on all their shipping, and proposed an alliance against the *Genoese* with the *Catalans* and *Sicilians*; and likewise with the cities of *Treviso*, *Padua*, *Ferrara*, and *Cremona*. The *Genoese* in the mean time, without soliciting any foreign alliance,

A. D.
1294.

The Genoese take thirty Venetian galleys.

vessels belonged to *Genoa*, and a greater number to the maritime cities of their territory. Their woollen and silken manu-

factures were very considerable, and the revenues of the republic very large. *Foliet. Caffar.*
l. 10.

made

made great preparations against the enemy : they ordered all their subjects to return home, laid an embargo on their shipping, and committed the management of the war to a council or *Credentia*, who caused several new galleys to be built, so that the fleet amounted to two hundred sail.

A. D.
1295.

THAT the war might not be interrupted by their domestic factions, a reconciliation was effected in the month of *January*, betwixt the *Mascearati* and *Ranpini*, by the mediation of the archbishop *James de Varagine*, who mentions the rejoicings on that account in the end of his chronicle. *Boniface* the eighth, in the mean time, being informed of the great warlike preparations of each republic, ordered both states to observe a truce, under the pain of excommunication, till *Midsummer*, and for three or four months endeavoured to effect an accommodation at *Rome*. The endeavours of the pope proving fruitless, the *Genoese*, upon the conclusion of the truce, prepared for the expedition with the greatest ardor, the council being even obliged to hinder many volunteers from embarking. As the *Venetians* had threatened to appear before *Genoa*, the captain and the *Credentia* wrote to them that they would save them one half of the voyage, and would meet them off *Sicily*. *Oberto Auria*, the admiral, accordingly in the end of summer, sailed from *Genoa* with one hundred and sixty-five galleys, on board of which were said to be forty-five thousand men. He continued eighteen days on the coasts of *Sicily*, waiting for the enemy, who having never appeared, he returned to *Genoa* in a triumphant manner before autumn.

A violent
sedition in
the city.

A. D.
1296.

THIS successful commencement of the war was soon followed by a most violent sedition in the city. A few days after *Christmas*, the two factions attacked each other in the streets, with such fury and animosity, that many were killed and wounded. Many houses were burned, and the cathedral church was not even spared, its roof being totally burned down, in hopes of expelling one of the parties that had seized the people. These disturbances continued without intermission till the seventh of *February*, when the *Grimaldi* and *Flischi* being at length expelled, *Conrad Spinola* and *Conrad Auria*, the sons of the two *Obertos*, were chosen captains of the republic.

TRANQUILITY being thus again established, the *Genoese* renewed their preparations for the war. The *Venetians*, however, seem to have taken the advantage of the dissensions of their enemy, and this summer surprised *Pera* at *Constantinople*, and another city not far from *Smyrna*. After the *Genoese* fleet had returned from an unsuccessful cruise, they put to sea

sea with their galleys, and likewise took a great many *Genoese* vessels on the coasts of *Sicily*. The year after their fleet sailed into the *Euxine* sea, and took the city of *Theodosia* or *Cassa*, in *Crim Tartary*, which had long been subject to the *Genoese*. The republic, being exasperated by these and many other losses, which, though not mentioned by the *Genoese*, are particularized by the *Venetian* writers, the following year fitted out a formidable fleet of seventy-eight, or, according to the *Venetians*, of eighty-five galleys, which, in the end of summer, sailed into the *Adriatic*, under the command of *Lamba Auria*, one of the captains, who was resolved, if he did not meet with the enemy's fleet, to proceed to *Venice*. On the third of *September*, having discovered the *Venetian* fleet, consisting of ninety-five sail, near the island of *Curzola*, on the coast of *Dalmatia*, he boldly attacked the enemy; and, after a desperate and bloody action, gained a complete victory, taking sixty-five, or, according to *Stella*, eighty-five of their galleys. The *Genoese* give no account of their own loss; but *Dandulus* informs us, that in the beginning of the engagement they lost ten galleys; and adds, what appears improbable, that though they gained the victory, they suffered as much as the *Venetians* (D). The admiral having pillaged *Curzola*, and burnt all the enemy's galleys he had taken, excepting eighteen, returned with seven thousand prisoners to *Genoa*, where he was received by the whole city with the greatest transports of joy^f. This decisive action *Peace con-* was followed a few months after by a peace betwixt the two *cluded.* republics, which was concluded on the twenty-fifth of *May*, A. D. 1299. by the mediation of *Matthew Visconti* of *Milan*^g.

THE *Pisans*, being apprehensive that the *Genoese* would now turn their whole force against them, purchased a truce for twenty-seven years from the republic, by paying 135,000 *Genoese* pounds for the expences of the war, resigning all they possessed in *Corfica*, and delivering up the city *Jurritana* in *Sardinia*. A few weeks after the conclusion of the peace, the captains resigned their office, when the government of the republic was again committed to a foreign *podesta*. During

• FOLIET. l. 6. Chron. JAC. DE VARAGINE. ANDR. DAN-
DULI. Chron. Venet. ap MURATOR. t. 12. p. 405. ^f Chron.
Venet. ut supra. Annal. Genuens. GEORG. STELLÆ, ap MURAT.
t. 17. col. 935. FOLIET. ^g Chron. Venet.

(D) According to *Villani*, the *Genoese* fleet in this action consisted of 110 galleys, and that of the *Venetians* of 120 sail, 70 of which were taken during the engagement. *Villan.* l. 8. c. 24. ap *Murat.* t. 13.

his administration, the *Grimaldi* entered the harbour in the night with five galleys, and immediately dispersed their followers through the streets, in hopes of surprising the other faction; but the citizens assembling at the sound of the alarm bell, they were repulsed, and many of them taken prisoners. As the republic at this time favoured the king of *Sicily* against the *Neapolitans*, *Boniface*, on the eleventh of *November*, denounced a sentence of excommunication against the *Genoese*; but the following year the sentence was removed, upon the conclusion of a peace betwixt them and the king of *Naples*.

THE republic for the four following years enjoyed great tranquility; but the year after the civil dissensions were again renewed. The great power of the family of *Spinula* had now raised the jealousy of the family of *Auria*, which being perceived by the *Guelfs*, who had been restored upon the conclusion of a peace with the king of *Naples*¹, they excited the *Aurie* to take arms against their rivals to their own confusion; for, after a bloody dispute, *Opicio Spinula* remained conqueror. Next day all the chiefs of the opposite faction were banished, and *Opicio Spinula* and *Bernabo Auria*, who alone of all his family adhered to *Spinula*, were declared captains of the people. The exiles the following year having made an incursion into the *Genoese* territories, and seized *Tabia* and *Oneglia*, *Bernabo Auria* marched against them; but, instead of proceeding to hostilities, he concluded an accommodation; and the *Aurie* and *Grimaldi* being restored, in the end of *December*, they took the oath of fidelity to the captains.

A fresh
commotion
in the city.

A. D.
1306.

THIS reconciliation, however, was of very short continuance; for *Spinula* having given his daughter in marriage to the marquis of *Montferrat*, raised a new jealousy against himself. The nobles of the opposite faction persuaded *Bernabo Auria* to give his daughter in marriage to the marquis of *Saluzzo*; and soon after the families of *Auria* and *Grimaldi* distinguished themselves by wearing cloaths of the same fashion and same colour, which was interpreted by *Opicio* as the mark of a secret conspiracy against his government. To anticipate their designs, he attacked them on the twenty-fifth of *August*, and again expelled them from the city. His resentment was next turned against his colleague *Bernabo*, who had rivalled him in his alliance with the marquis of *Saluzzo*. The next year, in the month of *November*, his uncle *Edward* seized *Bernabo* while he was attending at a council, and con-

A. D.
1309.

¹ VILLANI, l. 8. c. 46.

ducted him with a body of armed men to prison. About a month after *Bernabo* was deposed, and *Opicio* was declared sole and perpetual governor of the republic. *Bernabo* soon after escaped, and joined the exiles, who had seized *Albenga*, *Andoria*, and several other places, and daily became more powerful by the continual concourse of the partisans of the *Guelf* faction.

OPICIO was very diligent in making preparations to oppose them; and the following year, on the tenth of *June*, being informed that they were approaching the city with a large body of forces, he marched out against them with five hundred horse and ten thousand foot. A battle was fought within four miles of the city, when *Opicio* was entirely defeated, and obliged to fly to *Gavi*. The victors entered the city in triumph; and having destroyed the houses of *Opicio* and two of his relations, they chose twelve governors of the republic, six nobles and six commoners, who, with the abbot of the people, assumed the supreme administration. *Spinula*, in the mean time, with his son-in-law, arrived in the suburbs with six hundred horse and about eight thousand foot, in hopes of raising an insurrection in his favour; but being disappointed, he took and destroyed *Montaldo* and *Vultabia*, while one of his relations, who was in possession of *Monaco*, fitted out a galley to cruise against the *Genoese*. This vessel, however, was quickly taken, and the crew hanged; and *Francis Flisco*, the general of the republic, ravaged the territories belonging to *Opicio*. After both parties had glutted their resentment, a reconciliation was effected in the month of *July*, when *Spinula*, who was condemned to two years exile, received a very large sum for the damage done to his estates.

A. D.
1310.

As the emperor *Henry* the seventh about this time entered *Italy*, *Opicio* the following year waited upon him in *Asti*, begging his assistance to be restored to his native country. *Henry* at the same time receiving an embassy from the republic, resolved to visit the city, in order to put an end to the disturbances: he accordingly arrived at *Genoa* on the twenty-first of *October*, accompanied with *Opicio* and six hundred *German* horse, being received five miles without the gates by the nobles, clergy, and people, who were clothed with the greatest magnificence in silk and embroidery. The *Genoese* were so charmed with the amiable character of *Henry*, who was one of the best princes that ever existed, that they submitted all their differences to his decision, gave him a donative of sixty thousand florins, and even chose him governor of the republic for 20 years^k. How the *Genoese*, who were

A. D.
1311.

The emperor Henry the seventh chosen governor of the republic for twenty years.

^k ALBERT MUSSAT. Hist. Aug. FOLIET. l. 6. STELLA ANNAL.

so jealous of their liberty, could so inconsiderately subject themselves to a foreign dominion, is not easily to be accounted for. It was probably owing to the inveterate animosity of the two factions, who would rather see the state dishonoured or ruined, than suffer each other to enjoy the supreme administration.

A. D. 1312. THE emperor dying the following year in *August*, and the vicar whom he had appointed to govern *Genoa*, a few months after going to *Pisa*, the dissensions in the city again revived with greater violence than ever. The *Gibellines*, immediately after the departure of the vicar, expelled the chiefs of the *Guelfs* from the city, and committed the government to twenty-four of their own faction, twelve of whom were nobles, and twelve commoners. A dissention, however, quickly arose betwixt the families of *Spinula* and *Auria*, which the following year, notwithstanding the endeavours of the podesta, who was a foreigner, broke out into an open rupture. Both parties fought in the streets for twenty-four days without intermission; they raised battering engines against each others houses, and filled the city with blood. The *Spinulae* at length, finding their rivals supported by the *Guelfs* as well as *Gibellines*, in the end of the year thought proper to quit the city, and retired to their territories in the *Appennines*, where the war continued during the two following years with various success. The *Spinulae* the year after made offers of accommodation, which were rejected with disdain by the *Auria*: but the *Flischi* and *Grimaldi*, whose chief aim was to weaken the *Gibellines*, privately entered into an agreement with the exiles, and on the fifteenth of *September* admitted them in the night into the city unarmed. The *Auria* still refused a reconciliation, and a few days after left the city, with many followers, which encouraging the *Guelfs* to take arms, on the tenth of *December* they declared *Charles Flisco* and *Gaspar Grimaldi* captains of the republic, who nevertheless allowed the podesta the shadow of supreme authority.

A. D. 1318. THE family of *Spinula*, alarmed at this revolution, a few hours after again quitted the city, which was very acceptable to the *Guelfs*, who were solicitous to establish their authority through all the territories of the republic. The cities of *Albenga* and *Savona*, however, declared for the *Gibelline* exiles, who, having made an alliance with *Visconti* of *Milan*, *Canis Scaliger* of *Verona*, and with the marquisses of *Clavexana*, *Ceva*, and *Caretto*, and the counts of *Ventimiglia*, fortified *Savona*, which they made their head-quarters. Having formed a large army at *Gavi*, composed chiefly of the *Lombard* auxiliaries, under the command of *Marc Visconti*, they passed the straits of the *Appennines*, and on the twenty-fifth of *March* in-

vested

vested *Genoa*. After the siege had continued three months, the *Guelfs*, finding themselves greatly distressed, solicited the assistance of *Robert* king of *Naples*, who immediately sent them by sea twelve hundred horse, and a few days after arrived himself with twenty-five galleys, and a strong reinforcement. The *Genoese* received him as their deliverer, and on the twenty-seventh of *July* conferred upon him, and pope of *Naples* *John* the twenty-second, the sovereignty of their state for ten years. The *Guelfs* of *Florence*, *Bologna*, and *Sienna*, encouraged by this new revolution, likewise entered into an alliance with the besieged, and sent them about eleven hundred horse. The garrison, being now very numerous, on the eighth of *August* sallied out on the besiegers; but were repulsed with the loss of three hundred men. The besieged being routed afterwards in several other skirmishes, the king at length resolved to attack the posts of the besiegers by sea, and on the fourth of *February* embarked fourteen thousand foot, and eight hundred and thirty horse, who, after a desperate engagement, repulsed the enemy from the shore, while the king in person attacked their encampments towards the mountains, and drove them from thence. The *Gibellines*, finding their attempts thus frustrated, were struck with a panic, and at night retreated with precipitation, leaving their arms and baggage, and in their flight even abandoning their wives and children, many of whom perished in the snow.

A. D.
1319.

THE siege being raised, the *Guelfs* ravaged all the country abandoned by the *Gibellines*; and the king of *Naples*, a few weeks after, sailed with several galleys to *Avignon* to visit the pope. After his departure, the *Gibellines*, who were in possession of almost all the western *Riviera*, and all the territories of the republic beyond the *Appennines*, and were privately assisted by the emperor of *Constantinople*, the *Venetians*, *Pisans*, and *Lucchese*, fitted out a fleet at *Savona*, and in the month of *August* again invested *Genoa* by sea and land¹. The siege continued during the whole following year with various losses to both parties. The *Guelfs* made an excursion as far as *Albenga*, which was ravaged by their *Provençal* and *Neapolitan* auxiliaries: they likewise destroyed the palaces of the *Aurice* and *Spinulae*, and other *Gibellines* in the city, while the besiegers, being joined by forty galleys of the king of *Sicily*, commanded the sea, and took and destroyed several of the enemy's ships. In the month of *August*, the famous *Castruccio Castracani* of *Lucca*, entered the eastern *Riviera*, with five hundred horse

A. D.
1320.

¹ FOLIET. STELLÆ, Annal. ut supra, VILLANI. l. 9. c. 85, 88, 90, 92, 93, 95, 96.

and upwards of twelve thousand foot, with a design of assisting the besiegers; but the *Florentine Guelfs*, in his absence, invading the *Lucchese*, he was obliged to return in a few weeks to defend his own territories, having only taken a few places in the *Riviera*.

A. D. 1322. THE *Gibellines* at length, wearied with the slow progress of the siege, in the beginning of *January* withdrew part of their army and invested *Noli*, which, after a most vigorous defence, surrendered on the sixth of *February*. The castle, though battered daily by the engines of the besiegers, did not capitulate till the sixth of *April*. The *Genoese*, in the mean time, had made an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the place by sea, and had several times attacked the posts, which were still held by the *Gibellines* on the rocky mountains commanding *Genoa*. The city was not only harassed by the enemies from without, but exposed also to the rapine of many of its own inhabitants, who became quite licentious, and, under pretence of defending their country, plundered without controul, the king's vicar not having authority to put the laws in execution. To put a stop to the disorders, a committee was appointed of ten of the chiefs of the people, who executed summary justice upon all offenders. The besieged soon after were greatly comforted with the pope's bull, granting indulgencies to all who should take the cross against the *Visconti* of *Milan* and their adherents. The bull being published on the first day of *Lent*, was ostentatiously hung up in view of the *Gibellines*, who in a very short time tore it to pieces with arrows and stones. To exasperate the pope against them, it was in this manner sent to *Avignon*.

A. D. 1323. THE *Gibellines* were now in possession of some of the suburbs; but their confederates in *Lombardy*, being hard pressed by the crusaders, and the besieged receiving reinforcements by sea, the whole year was spent in daily skirmishes, their country being ruined by both parties, while neither gained any superiority. The following year, about the middle of *February*, the besieged sallied out into the valley of *Bisagno*, and, after a desperate engagement, seized a post on a hill in that neighbourhood, which struck the *Gibellines* with such consternation, that they immediately abandoned the suburbs. A few months after, the pope offered his mediation to reconcile the two parties; but the conferences held for that purpose only served to inflame the dissensions; and the deputies, after attending two months at his court, returned in the beginning of *November*. Hostilities still continuing in the neighbourhood of the city, the king of *Naples*, with his queen and many nobles, in the end of *April*, entered the harbour with forty-five gallees.

Having abolished several congregations, or tribunals that were looked upon as unconstitutional, and procured a prolongation of his government for six years more after the expiration of the first term, he proceeded on his voyage to *Naples*.

NOTHING remarkable happened during the two following years. The hostilities were carried on in a languid manner, and the ruin and desolation occasioned by the war cooling the animosities of the two parties, who began to treat each other with marks of generosity, they mutually restored the captives without ransom; and when their fleets met at sea, instead of engaging, they saluted each other as friends^m. The commerce of both parties being now less interrupted, *Frederic*, king of *Sicily*, the following year gave leave to the *Guelfs* to trade freely in his dominions. *Castruccio*, in the mean time, having repulsed the *Florentines*, and secured his own territories, again entered the eastern *Riviera*, and took possession of some places belonging to the *Guelfs*, who were struck with consternation upon hearing that the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had arrived in *Italy*. They expected that he would enter their territories with an army in behalf of the other faction. *Lewis*, however, having held an assembly of the *Gibellines*, proceeded to *Pisa*, where he was received by *Castruccio*, whom he created a duke; and in the end of *December* went with him to *Rome*. Next year both parties were chiefly engaged in sending succours to their respective allies. The *Guelfs*, in the month of *July*, sent about forty galleys to the assistance of *Robert*, king of *Naples*, who was apprehensive of being attacked by the emperor, in conjunction with *Frederic* of *Sicily* and the *Gibelline* party. The *Genoese* exiles, at the same time, sent thirty-three galleys to the assistance of the emperor; but he being obliged to abandon *Rome*, and *Castruccio* dying a few weeks after, the intended expedition against *Naples* never took place.

DURING the two following years, hostilities were continued betwixt both parties, chiefly at sea, where the advantage was generally in favour of the *Gibellines*. The king of *France*, about this time, likewise offered his mediation for a peace; but though each faction sent their deputies to the *French* court, the conferences broke off without any accommodation. A violent dissension, in the mean time, arising in the city betwixt the people and the nobles, on account of an exile who had been concealed in a nobleman's house, the nobles, finding the people supported by the *Flisci* and *Grimaldi*, declared that they would rather deliver the city to the *Gibellines*

A. D.
1327.

A. D.
1330.

^m STELLÆ Annal. An. 1325, 26.

A. D.
1331.

than to the mob. This dissention weakening the *Guelf* faction, at length made them think of a reconciliation. Accordingly the following year, on the first of *March*, a truce was agreed to betwixt both parties for four months; and, on the second of *September*, a perpetual peace was concluded by the mediation of the king of *Naples*, by which it was stipulated, that the exiles should be allowed to return to the city; that the republic should be governed by the king's vicar; and all offices of the state equally divided betwixt the *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*.

SUCH was the conclusion of this most ruinous war, by which the *Genoese* coast, formerly adorned with palaces and vineyards, was now reduced to the appearance of a barren waste. So great was the general desolation, that, according to *Petrarch*, the spectators that sailed along were struck with astonishment and horror^a. *Villani*, a cotemporary author, relates, that it was supposed by the learned, that greater exploits had not been performed at the siege of *Troy*; and that the damage and losses sustained by each party were sufficient to have purchased a kingdom, the *Genoese* republic, he assures us, being in his time the richest and most powerful state in *Christendom*^o. The annalist *Stella* informs us, that before the war the most extravagant profusion and luxury prevailed among the *Genoese*; but that towards the end, many noble families were reduced to poverty and indigence; so that about a hundred years afterwards it became a fashion for the nobles to live in a plain manner, without any show or magnificence.

The Catalans invade the coasts of the Genoese.

A. D.
1332.

THE accommodation betwixt the two parties was in a great measure owing to their apprehension of a foreign enemy. The *Catalans*, who had long disturbed the *Genoese* trade, this year made preparations for invading their territories, in hopes of making advantage of the divisions of the republic. They actually arrived in the end of *July* with forty galleys at *Monaco*, from whence, being repulsed with loss, they sailed to *Savona*, and from thence to *Genoa*, being more formidable in appearance than in reality. After burning a monastery, and some houses in *Chiavari*, and destroying the vines at *Porto Venere*, they retired in *September* towards *Pisa*. The *Genoese* the following year returned the visit with forty-five galleys to *Catalonia*, where they took and destroyed a great many of the enemy's ships, and made several descents upon the coasts. Hostilities likewise continued during the two years following, to the great detriment of the *Catalans*,

^a PETRARCH. ap BLOND. d. 2. l. 9. p. 351.
c. 115. ap MURATOR, t. 13.

^o VILLANI, l. 9.

who in the end were so reduced that they durst not appear at sea.

THOUGH the *Genoese* were now under no apprehension from any foreign enemy, yet the jealousies and animosities of the two factions prevented them from enjoying tranquillity. The *Gibellines* imagined they perceived great partiality in the king's vicar towards the *Guelfs*, and on that account held several conferences to consult about their own security. Upon the arrival of a new vicar, of a rigid and severe disposition, who, according to *Foliet*, was commissioned by the king to foment the dissensions, the conferences of the *Gibellines* became more frequent, which served the vicar and the *Guelfs* with a pretext for attacking them on the twenty-fourth of *February*. The assailants, however, met with a vigorous resistance; and the *Gibellines*, having fortified several places of the city, immediately sent to *Savona* and the two *Rivieras* for assistance. The moderate of both parties, with the sixteen abbots of the people, in vain endeavoured to compose the differences. The *Gibellines*, who had taken arms, being soon joined by their friends from the country, obliged their enemies to abandon the city, when they behaved with great moderation, allowing the king's vicar, with his guard of one hundred and thirty horse, to depart unmolested, and prohibiting by proclamation, any of the *Guelf* faction from being injured, who had a mind to continue in the city. On the ninth of *March*, *Raphael Auria*, who had lately been admiral of the king of *Sicily*, and *Galeotto Spinula*, were chosen captains of the republic for two years,* and the government was settled on them, and a foreign podesta, with an abbot of the people, and ancients †.

A. D.
1335.

THE new governors immediately fitted out seven galleys against the *Catalans*, which returned a few months after with a great many ships, taken from the enemy on the coasts of *Sicily*, *Barbary*, and *Catalonia*. The *Catalans*, affected by these losses in the beginning of the following year, agreed to a truce, which soon after was converted into a treaty of peace. The *Guelf* exiles, in the mean time, having seized *Monaco*, fitted out a considerable fleet, which, cruising along the coast of *Italy*, attacked both friends and enemies without distinction. The captains of the republic, having armed several galleys for the defence of the coasts, next year, on the twenty-fifth of *March*, obtained a prolongation of their government for three years, with the supreme authority, the office of podesta ing dropt, and the abbot of the people left to their nomination. The year after, both parties suspending their private animosi-

A peace
betwixt
the Geno-
ese and
Catalans.
A. D.
1336.

* STELLÆ Annal. FOLIET. l. 7. VILLANI, l. II. c. 24.

ties, sent two fleets of twenty galleys each into the *German* ocean, to the assistance of the king of *France*, who was engaged in a war with *Edward* the third, king of *England*.

THIS naval expedition proved very memorable to the *Genoese*, and was the occasion of a most remarkable revolution in their form of government. The sailors of the fleet the following year, thinking themselves injured by their officers, whom they accused of defrauding them of their pay, proceeded to an open mutiny, and having expelled the admiral and the other commanders, seized the galleys. The king of *France*, who was chosen arbitrator, deciding in favour of the officers, and imprisoning sixteen of the chiefs of the mutineers, several of the sailors immediately left the fleet, and returned to *Genoa*, where they went round the coasts repeating their mutinous complaints, which were greedily hearkened to, upon a false report that the mutineers, who had been imprisoned, were broke upon the wheel. The sailors belonging to *Savona*, and the three vallies of *Genoa*, having at length warmed the resentment of the people against the nobles, about the middle of *September* surprised *Savona*, and committed the government of the city to two rectors of their own choosing, who were assisted with a council of twenty artificers, and as many sailors. The factious spirit spreading to *Genoa*, the *Genoese* insisted in a tumultuous manner on having an abbot of their own choosing; and twenty of the people, with the consent of the captains, accordingly assembled for that purpose. While the mob were impatiently expecting their decision, a forward mechanic, who was looked upon as a fool, leaped up on a bench, and called out 'Let *Simon Buccanigra* be abbot.' He was instantly seconded by his audience, who surrounded *Buccanigra*, and compelled him to accept of a sword, as the badge of his office. The twenty electors, terrified with their noise, immediately broke up their assembly, and joined in the common voice. *Buccanigra* having at length quieted their clamours, thanked them for the honour they intended him; but as none of his family had condescended to be abbots, he desired them to choose another, and returned the sword. They were for a moment mute; but quickly called out with greater impetuosity than before, 'Be lord! Be lord!' The captains then alarmed, under pretence of preventing disturbances, begged him to acquiesce with the people. *Buccanigra* accordingly declared, that he was ready to be abbot, or lord, or whatever they pleased, when the mob, with one common voice, bawled out, 'Be lord! Be lord! not abbot!' He again addressed them, and said, he perceived their intention, that he should be lord with

The Genoese in a tumultuous manner create a duke.

A. D.

1339.

with the two captains : but they loudly answered, ' No ! ' which being repeated several times, they at length cried out, ' Let him be duke ! Let him be duke ! ' The commons, having thus transferred the government from the nobles to one of their own body, vainly imagined that they might now, without restraint, commit the greatest enormities, and immediately began to plunder the houses of the nobility ; when *Buccanigra* with great steadiness opposed their fury, and at length quieted them by causing some of the chief rioters to be executed on the spot. A few days after, however, he connived at a second riot, when the mob burnt all the books belonging to the custom-house, and the public registers of debts. He was at this time solemnly confirmed in his office during life ; and fifteen counsellors, or officials, were elected from the commons, to assist him in the administration ; when a decree likewise passed disqualifying any of the *Guelf* faction from being elected duke ¹.

ALMOST all the subjects of the republic quietly submitted to the new governor ; but the nobility with great reluctance, *Some nobles, who had conspired against him, were publicly executed as traitors. The Genoese, gainst him, in the mean time, having been insulted by the Turks in the Black Sea, assembled all their force in those parts, and attacked the infidels, whom they entirely defeated, taking eleven of their vessels, and, according to Villani, killing six thousand of their men. This advantage was counterbalanced by the loss of six galleys, worth two hundred thousand florins, which were taken by the English on the coast of Brittany.* As the king of *Castile* was at this time at war with the *Moors* of *Granada*, who were assisted by the infidels in *Barbary*, the duke the following year sent twenty galleys into the service of the king of *Spain*, under the command of his brother, whom he created an admiral. At the same time he armed another fleet for the assistance of the inhabitants of *Albenga*, who were attacked by the marquis of *Final*. He not only obliged the marquis to raise the siege ; but, being a strenuous assertor of his own dignity and that of the republic, compelled him likewise to come and ask pardon at *Genoa*, and to deliver *Final* and all his castles to the republic.

THE duke was now in possession of all the territories of the republic, excepting *Ventimiglia* and *Monaco*, which were held by the four chief families of the nobles and the other exiles. Some of

Some nobles, who had conspired against him, were publicly executed as traitors. The Genoese, gainst him, in the mean time, having been insulted by the Turks in the Black Sea, assembled all their force in those parts, and attacked the infidels, whom they entirely defeated, taking eleven of their vessels, and, according to Villani, killing six thousand of their men. This advantage was counterbalanced by the loss of six galleys, worth two hundred thousand florins, which were taken by the English on the coast of Brittany.
A. D.
1340.

A. D.
1342.

¹ *Iidem* ut supra.
nal. An. 1340.

² VILLANI, l. II. c. 116. STELLÆ An-

A. D.
1344.

the family of *Auria*, however, the following year prevailed on the inhabitants of the valley of *Oneglia* to revolt; but the podesta, who was a native of *Ugubio*, marching against them with a body of troops, they were quickly obliged to submit. The exiles, still continuing to promote disaffection, the year after several persons were discovered who had undertaken to betray *Genoa*, *Cervi*, *Noli*, and *Taxaroli*, to the lords of *Milan*. The traitors were put to a cruel death; and, as the exiles at *Monaco* had fitted out some vessels to disturb the *Genoesse* trade, the duke the following spring armed six galleys for the defence of the coasts, three of which proceeded to *Monaco*, where they seized one of the piratical galleys. The *Genoesse*, in the mean time, in conjunction with the galleys of the pope and the *Venetians*, took *Smyrna* from the infidels; but in the *Black Sea* they suffered a great loss by the treachery of the *Tartars*, who, being baffled in the siege of *Cassa* in *Crim Tartary*, pretended a desire of peace, which gave them an opportunity of surprising the *Genoesse*, who had again ventured to trade in their dominions.

Buccanigra resigns
the government,
and retires
to Pisa.

A. D.
1345.

DURING these transactions the exiles had assembled a considerable army, and advanced into the valley of *Polsevena*, with the intention of besieging the city. As it was reported that many of the nobles and people favoured their design, and several towns in the valley, upon their approach expelling the podestas, the city was struck with consternation, and the duke sent to the nobility, desiring their advice and assistance. A council was accordingly formed of six nobles and six commoners, for the government of the city; but the exiles, in the mean time, advancing into the suburbs, frequent conferences were held betwixt both parties, when it was agreed that the duke should dismiss his guard of 700 men, and the exiles be admitted without arms into the city. *Buccanigra*, alarmed at this treaty, after accusing the *Genoesse* of violating their engagements to him, resigned his office; and a few days after retired to *Pisa* with his family and relations, taking with him, according to *Villani*, upwards of one hundred thousand florins of gold. On *Christmas-Day* the hired guards departed, and the treaty was concluded; but it being perceived that the exiles, contrary to the stipulation, designed to enter the city armed, the gates were immediately shut, and in the evening a new duke was elected, with the concurrence of the nobility. The duke, whose name was *John de Muria*, or, according to some, *de Valente*, immediately declared that he would accept of no other revenue, than what was sufficient to defray the expence of his table, and desired to be bound by articles like the duke of *Venice*.

Venice. About a fortnight after the council for the war ordered the arms of the nobility to be delivered up, which freeing the people from their apprehensions of a surprize, they sallied out upon the exiles, and drove them from the suburbs. The pope, and the lord of *Milan*, soon after offering their mediation, in the month of *July* a peace was concluded, by which all the exiles, excepting eleven of the chiefs, were allowed to return to *Genoa*, and be restored to their possessions.

SEVERAL of the exiles disdained to accept of these terms, and still keeping possession of *Monaco* and *Roccabruna*, the following year armed thirty gallies, and assembled a body of ten thousand foot. The *Genoese*, being informed of these preparations, fitted out twenty-nine gallies by private subscription; but the exiles, instead of hazarding an engagement, ordered their fleet to retire to *Marseilles*, and afterwards allowed their forces to sail to the assistance of the king of *France* against the *English* in *Flanders*, from whence they never returned, the greatest part of them being slain in the battle of *Cressy*. The fleet of the republic, returning from *Monaco*, proceeded on a voyage to the *Black Sea*, to protect the *Genoese* merchants in those parts. On their way thither they obliged the count of *Fondi* to raise the siege of *Terracina*, which city voluntarily submitted to the republic. From thence they sailed to the island *Negropont*, where they were solicited, by the dauphin of *Vienne*, to join him in an expedition against the isle of *Chios*, which the *Greek* emperor, according to *Stella*, had lately taken from the *Genoese*, though at that time it was held independant either of *Genoa* or *Constantinople*. The *Genoese* admiral rejected the dauphin's proposal, and sailed immediately to *Chios*, which he quickly reduced: he afterwards made himself master of both the *Fo- The Genoese re-*
zixæ on the *Asiatic* coast, though there was a large army of *ducs the*
Turks in the neighbourhood; and on the ninth of *November* island of
returned with great reputation to *Genoa*, where a decree pas- *Chios.*
sed, appropriating all the revenues of the conquered places, *Chios.*
for twenty years, to those who had fitted out the gallies, ordaining likewise, that if the debt was not paid before that term, that they should enjoy the revenues for ever; but that the sovereignty should be vested in the republic. The *Genoese* were not disturbed either with foreign or domestic wars, during the remaining part of the government of the duke, who died about four years after in the beginning of *January*, greatly regretted on account of his disinterestedness and public spirit.

A. D.
1346.

A. D.
1350.

A new
war with
the Vene-
tians.

A FEW days after the death of *John de Murta*, the merchants assembled in the church of *St. George*, and chose *John de Valente* as duke, who was assisted by a council composed of an equal number of nobles and commoners. One *Luke Facio* had assembled two thousand men in another part of the city, with the design of usurping the government by force; but being informed of the election of *Valente*, he dismissed his followers, and came and submitted to the duke. A few months after his election, a new war broke out betwixt the republic and the *Venetians*, the causes of which are not mentioned by the *Genoese* annalists; but the *Venetians* relate, that they were obliged to fit out a fleet to vindicate their liberty of commerce in the *Black Sea*, where the *Genoese* had seized a great many of their ships. This fleet, which consisted of thirty-five galleys, upon their arrival at *Negropont*, found fourteen *Genoese* trading vessels in the harbour of *Castro*, ten of which they immediately seized, and instead of entering the *Black Sea* returned to *Venice*. About two months after, four of the *Genoese* ships that had escaped, being joined by five others at *Chios*, returned to *Castro*, which they took by storm and plundered, carrying off with them next day twenty-three *Venetian* ships.

The Ge-
noese de-
feat the
united fleets
of the Ve-
netians,
Greeks,
and Cata-
lans.

A. D.
1352.

THE war, having thus commenced without any formal declaration, the *Venetians* immediately entered into an alliance with the king of *Arragon*, and the emperor of *Constantinople*, against the *Genoese*; and the year following, in the end of *October*, each of the allies sent a fleet to sea, which when united consisted of eighty-nine sail, forty-five of which belonged to the *Venetians*, and thirty to the *Catalans*. The *Genoese* fleet, of sixty-six galleys, in the mean time had sailed to the *Archipelago*, and after an unsuccessful attempt upon *Negropont*, proceeded to *Pera*, where, on the ninth of *March*, they came to a general engagement with the enemy, which continued during the whole night with great animosity, notwithstanding a furious wind and heavy rain. The *Venetian* writers say, that neither party could claim the victory; but the *Genoese* relate that it was decisive in their favour, they having lost only about seven hundred men, and the *Venetians* and *Catalans* four thousand. In the beginning of the engagement they lost thirteen galleys; but recovered ten of them afterwards, and took thirty *Venetian* and eighteen *Catalan* vessels, the *Greeks* remaining only distant spectators of the action.

THE following year was likewise memorable for another general naval engagement off *Sardinia*; in which the *Genoese*, on the twenty-eighth of *August*, were entirely defeated by the superior fleet of the allies, and lost forty-one of their gallies. Upon the return of the nineteen remaining gallies to *Genoa*, the city was filled with terror and confusion. The two opposite factions with great animosity threw the blame of the miscarriage on each other; so that the council, being apprehensive of a civil war, thought proper to confer the government of the republic on *John Visconti*, archbishop and lord of *Milan* (E). *John de Valente* accordingly resigned his office; and the tumults being quieted by the arrival of the marquis *Palavicini*, the archbishop's vicar, the *Genoese* again applied themselves to repair their fleet. The following spring, they gave the command of thirty-five gallies to *Paganus Auria*, who had distinguished himself by the victory off *Pera*. The admiral, after cruising along the coast of *Catalonia*, entered the *Venetian* gulph, and sailed as far as *Istria*, plundering *Parento*, and taking many of the enemy's ships. In his return, on the fourth of *November*, he surprised the *Venetian* fleet in a harbour on the coast of the *Morea*, and, with little resistance, made himself master of thirty-five gallies, and thirty-four smaller vessels, carrying with him to *Genoa* 5400 prisoners, among whom was the *Venetian* admiral. This loss so affected the *Venetians*, that the following year they made proposals of peace, which, by the mediation of *Mapheo*, *Bernabo*, and *Galeas Visconti*, the nephews of the late archbishop, was concluded on the first of *June*; when, according to the *Venetian* chronicle, the navigation of the *Black Sea* was declared free to each republic. A few weeks before, the *Genoese* had sent fifteen gallies against the *African* corsairs, which fleet took and plundered *Tripoli*, and returned to *Genoa* with an immense booty, and a great number of captives.

THE peace with the *Venetians* was soon followed with another revolution in *Genoa*, which was owing to the ambition of the *Visconti*, who attempted to exceed the terms of

They are defeated by the Venetians.

A. D.
1353.

A. D.
1355.

Peace concluded.

Chron. *Veget.* *STELLÆ Annal.*

(E) The annalist *Stella* relates, that the archbishop made the *Genoese* a present of a curious machine, which, by striking a bell, distinguished every hour of the day and night. About the same time, *Francis Gataluxi*, a noble *Genoese*, having assisted the *Greek* emperor, *Paleologus*, to expel the usurper *Cantacuzenus*, received the emperor's sister in marriage, and the island of *Lesbos*, or *Mytelene*, for himself and his posterity. *Stella, An. 1355.*

the convention with the republic. One of the nobles, who had been most active in opposing their demands, being summoned to appear at *Milan*, instead of obeying the command, spirited up the nobles to take arms against the governor, who, however, was vigorously defended by the people. During their skirmish, *Simon Buccanigra*, who had returned from *Pisa*, attacked the governor's palace with two hundred men, whom he had persuaded to support his private interest. According to *Folietta*, the people who opposed the nobles acted in concert with *Buccanigra*, who, being admitted into the palace, immediately ordered the alarm bell to be rung, which strengthened his party, and obliged the nobles to retire. Next day, which was the fifteenth of *November*, *Simon* was again in a tumultuous manner chosen duke; when he banished the most wealthy and powerful of the nobles, ordered those that remained to deliver up their arms, and ordained, that, for the future, no nobleman should enjoy any office in the commonwealth, or command any galley, or trading vessel. He likewise concluded an alliance with the marquis of *Montferrat* against the *Visconti*; and appointing his brother general of the troops, carried the hostilities into the *Milanese*, even almost to the gates of *Milan*. *Buccanigra*, during the five following years, governed the republic in great tranquility, being assisted by *Nicolas de Caneto*, a wealthy *Guelf* commoner, and *Leonard de Montaldo*, a *Gibbeline*, of a very active disposition, who had raised his fortune in his service. However, the year following, in the month of *October*, a conspiracy against him was discovered, in which many of the commons, as well as nobles, were concerned. The conspirators were banished into *Lombardy*; but a few weeks after, a second conspiracy being discovered, one of the conspirators, who was to have been elected duke, was publicly beheaded before the palace. Notwithstanding this vigilance and severity, the duke, a few months after, was cut off by poison, which was administered to him at the country-seat of one of the nobles, where he dined with the king of *Cyprus*, who had come to *Europe* to ask the assistance of the christian princes against the *Turks*.

UPON the death of *Buccanigra*, which happened on the fourteenth of *March*, his three brothers were immediately imprisoned, and the people proceeded to the election of a successor. They at first chose twenty citizens, who elected other sixty: these sixty nominated forty, by whom twenty-one others were elected, who chose ten electors. These last ten, on the same day, chose *Gabriel Adorno*, a commoner of the *Gibelline* faction, as duke, who had acquired a great reputation

Buccanigra again
chosen duke

A. D.
1356.

He is poisoned.

A. D.
1363.

Gabriel Adorno
chosen duke

putation for prudence and disinterestedness; this last part of his character he soon forfeited. Next day six counsellors were elected to assist in the administration; and the late duke, who by his arbitrary behaviour had lost his popularity, was buried in a private manner, not one honouring his funeral with his attendance. The nobility being still excluded from all offices, many of them enrolled themselves as commoners; but the four chief noble families, with many others who were in exile, formed new designs for recovering their ancient grandeur in concert with the nobles in the city, and having entered into an alliance with the *Visconti* of Milan, two years after they invaded the territories of the republic. The marquis of *Final* at the same time revolted, but was quickly obliged to submit; and the rebels were repulsed from *Saffello* by the troops of the republic, commanded by the duke's son-in law. *Ambrose Visconti*, however, in the beginning of *December*, advanced as far as *Chiavari*, filling all with consternation; and the *Guelfs* in the city prompted one *Leonard de Montaldo* to raise an insurrection. *Leonard's* attempt upon the palace proving fruitless, he was obliged to fly to *Pisa*, which in some measure disconcerted the schemes of the rebels under *Visconti*, who, nevertheless, in the following spring, advanced into the valley of *Bisagno*, and even to the walls of the city. *Leonard*, at the same time, joining them with reinforcements from *Pisa*, they surrounded the city on all sides, which obliged the duke to enter into a treaty with the *Visconti*, to whom he promised to pay yearly four thousand crowns of gold, to furnish them with four hundred cross-bowmen, and to allow the noble exiles to return to *Genoa*, *Leonard de Montaldo*, with the other exiles, being banished for two years.

A. D.
1366.

THOUGH by this treaty tranquility was again restored, yet *Adorno*, by his avarice and extortion, soon alienated the affections of the people, and gave occasion for new disturbances. About four years after they assembled in the church *He is ex-* of *St. Mary*, with the two vicars of the city, and from thence *pelled from* in a tumultuous manner rushed to the palace, the gates of *the palace*. which they immediately set fire to, which obliged the duke *A. D.* to retire with precipitation by a private passage. The people, *1370.* being masters of the palace, chose *Dominic Fulgosio* for duke, *Dominic* who was assisted by a council of commoners. The new duke, *Fulgosio* who was elected on the thirteenth of *August*, in order to *se-* *chosen duke* cure the possessions of his dignity, the following year imprisoned *Gabriel Adorno* in the castle of *Vultabio*, and ordered two citizens, who were accused of conspiring against the government, to be beheaded before the palace. About the
same

same time, he likewise sent ten gallies against the pirates of the island of *Malta*, and the city of *Maxaria* in *Sicily*, who were quickly extirpated by the *Genoese*, and all their stores and wealth carried to *Genoa*.

A rupture
betwixt
the Geno-
ese and the
Cypriots.
A. D.
1372.

THE year after a rupture happened betwixt the republic and the *Cypriots*, which, according to *Folietta* and *Stella*, was owing to a dispute about precedency betwixt the *Venetian* *ba-julus* and the *Genoese* consul, at the coronation of the young king of *Cyprus*. Each nation supported their claim in a tumultuous manner; but the dispute being decided, by the king's uncles, in favour of the *Venetians*, the *Genoese* resolved to assert their right by open force, and for that purpose came to the palace next day with arms under their cloaths. The *Venetians*, having secret notice of their intention, accused them of a design against the king's life; and the arms being found upon them, they were immediately put to death without any trial, which was likewise the fate of all the other *Genoese* in the island, except one who escaped grievously wounded. The republic, inflamed with resentment against the *Cypriots* and *Venetians*, decreed a large fleet to revenge the indignity, and in the mean time sent seven gallies to *Cyprus*, under the command of *Domianus Cataneus*, who sailed from *Genoa* in *March*, and upon his arrival at the island quickly alarmed the *Cypriots*, by his frequent descents upon their coasts. He cunningly created factions and divisions among the nobles, by plundering and burning the estates of some, and sparing those of others. On the sixteenth of *June* he took *Nicosia*, and a few days after made himself master of *Paphos*.

THE duke, in the mean time, made great preparations at *Genoa* for the conquest of the island: he raised, by a general tax, about one hundred and four thousand florins, and equipped thirty gallies, and a great number of transport ships, on board of which were embarked a large body of horse and foot, with many very large battering engines. This fleet, in which were many noble volunteers, arrived at *Cyprus* in the beginning of *October*, under the command of *Peter Fulgoso*, the duke's brother, who a few days after made himself master of *Famagosta*, the capital of the island, when he ordered some of the grandees, concerned in the massacre of the *Genoese*, to be put to death. He soon after reduced the whole island, and took one of the king's uncles, with two sons of another uncle, and sixty nobles and knights, prisoners. He afterwards restored all his conquests, except *Famagosta*, to the king, who promised to pay annually, for a certain term of years, 40,000 florins to the *Genoese*. As a security

A. D.
1373.

curty for the performance of the treaty, the king's uncle and his two cousins above-mentioned, with several nobles, were sent the following year on board sixteen gallies to *Genoa*. The admiral continued a year longer at *Cyprus*, when appointing a garrison in *Famagosta*, and leaving five gallies for the defence of the island, he set sail for *Genoa*, where he was received with the greatest honours. A present was made him of 10,000 florins; he and his eldest sons were exempted from all taxes during their lives; and an anniversary solemnity was appointed to be held on the tenth of *October*, the day on which *Famagosta* surrendered.

THE *Genoese* seem now to have claimed the exclusive privilege of trading to *Cyprus* " ; and the following year appear to have intended also to appropriate to themselves the trade with the *Greeks*. It was probably with this view that they espoused the interest of *Andronicus*, who had been imprisoned for a conspiracy against his father *Paleologus*, or *Calojoannes*, emperor of *Constantinople*. The old emperor favouring the *Venetians*, the *Genoese* entered into a correspondence with *Andronicus*, and by force placed him upon the throne, persuading him likewise to give his beautiful sister as a concubine to the *Turkish* bey, to procure his friendship. *Calojoannes*, with his empress and children, were thrust into prison, and all the *Venetian* merchants at *Constantinople* were also plundered and imprisoned. The *Genoese*, as a reward for their services, obtained the island of *Tenedos* from the unnatural usurper; but the *Greek* governor, being faithful to the dethroned emperor, at his desire, surrendered the island to the *Venetians*, by whose assistance, the following year he was again restored to his throne ".

A. D.
1376.

HOSTILITIES, in the mean time, had commenced betwixt both republics. The *Genoese* had concluded an alliance with the king of *Hungary*, the duke of *Austria*, the lord of *Padua*, and the patriarch of *Aquileia*, which the *Venetians* being informed of, immediately entered into a treaty with *Bernabo Visconti* of *Milan*, and the young king of *Cyprus*, who married *Bernabo's* daughter *Valentina*. The bride the year after was conducted by twelve gallies to *Cyprus*, which fleet likewise gave assistance to the king, who for several months had been besieging *Famagosta*, in conjunction with the *Venetians*. The *Genoese*, being wholly intent upon prosecuting the war, granted a pardon to all the exiles, and sent ten

A war betwixt them and the Venetians.
A. D.
1377.

" ANDREA DAND. Chron. Venet. ap MURAT. t. 12. col. 443.
" BLOND. d. 2. l. 10. NEBIENS. Hist. Gen. FOLIEP. STELLÆ Annal. ut supra. SABEL. d. 2. l. 5. JUSTIN. Hist. Venet. l. 5.
gallies

A. D.
1378.

gallies to the relief of *Famagosta*, which, however, in their passage, venturing to attack fourteen *Venetian* gallies, were entirely defeated, with the loss of five of their number. The marquis of *Final*, in the mean time, by the persuasion of the *Visconti*, revolted from the republic, and seized *Albenga*, *Noli*, and the castle of *Final*.

THESE losses filled the city of *Genoa* with murmuring and confusion, which inspired several of the wealthy and ambitious citizens with the design of causing a revolution. They therefore encreased the panic, by publishing false intelligence; and having written to the duke that the *Visconti* were passing the *Apennines* with a powerful army, and that the *Venetians* had arrived with a numerous fleet at *Porto Venere*, they procured an order for the people to arm, and next morning, being the seventeenth of *June*, attacked the palace and seized the duke. A few hours after, *Nicolas Guarco* was chosen his successor, who having selected one half of his council from the nobles, subscribed, according to custom, the articles of capitulation, by which *Fulgoso* and his brother *Peter*, though accused of no misconduct, were condemned to perpetual banishment; so deceitful and transient is popular favour! The new duke concluded a peace with the *Catalans*, and recovered *Albenga* and the other places seized by the marquis of *Final*; while *Lucianus Auria*, who was appointed admiral in chief, sailed with seventeen gallies into the *Venetian* gulph, and being joined by three others at *Zara*, or *Jadra*, took several ships of the enemy. The *Venetian* authors mention only the transactions of their own fleet, which, about the same time, made several descents upon the coasts of *Dalmatia*, then under the dominion of the *Hungarians*.

The Genoese gain
a signal
victory
over the
Venetians

A. D.
1379.

The following year, on the fifth of *May*, the two fleets came to a general engagement off *Pola* in *Istria*, when the *Genoese* obtained a complete victory, and took fifteen of the enemy's gallies, with 2400 prisoners, whom they conducted to *Zara*. The particulars of the action are narrated differently by the historians of each republic; but they all agree that the victory was decisive in favour of the *Genoese*, who, however, lost their admiral *Auria*, who was greatly regretted: *Victor Pisanus*, the *Venetian* admiral, escaping to *Venice* with six, or, according to some, with four gallies, was immediately imprisoned, with all those who had returned with him. The *Genoese*, after their rejoicings for the victory, sent *Peter Auria* as admiral, with a reinforcement of fifteen gallies, to *Zara*, who was soon after joined by nine others, which in their passage had forced a small *Venetian* Squadron to retire from their coasts. The new admiral, in the beginning of *August*,

gust, sailed from Zara with forty-seven galleys, and many other smaller vessels, and coasting along *Dalmatia*, plundered several towns belonging to the enemy. On the sixteenth of the month, being joined by the *Paduan* troops and vessels, he stormed the city of *Chioggia*, situated on a small island commanding one of the entrances of the *Venetian* harbour, though strongly fortified, and garrisoned with upwards of three thousand men.

THE loss of *Chioggia*, according to the *Genoese* writers, struck the *Venetians* with consternation. They buried their most valuable effects, and amused the *Genoese* admiral with an offer of peace, while they sunk a large vessel in the chief channel that conducted to the city, and armed a great many boats with a small cannon in each, which was the first appearance of that destructive engine in *Italy*. The *Aquileians* and *Paduans*, in the mean time, cut off all supplies from the city by land, and the *Hungarians*, under *Charles of Durazzo*, attacked *Trieste*, which the *Venetian* writers acknowledge, though they make no mention of the offer of peace made to the admiral; who, by his extravagant terms, is said to have rendered the *Venetians* desperate, and by his too great confidence to have lost the opportunity of taking the city. He continued the siege, however, some months, while the *Genoese* surprised and cut off four thousand freebooters sent into their territory by the *Visconti*; and by their vigorous efforts in the *Archipelago*, obliged the *Greeks* to conclude a separate peace. The following year, about the middle of *January*, they sent a reinforcement of thirteen galleys to *Auria*, under the command of *Matthew Maruffus*. Before his arrival, however, *Auria* was killed by a cannon-ball, and the *Venetians*, being assisted by the *English*, drove the *Genoese* from one of the islands which they had seized, destroyed upwards of twenty of their galleys, and cut off the retreat of the others within the channel by stopping it up. By this means the *Genoese*, who were in *Chioggia*, were in their turn besieged, and on the twenty-second of *June* obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The enterprize against *Venice* proving thus unsuccessful, the *Genoese*, with the galleys that remained, sailed from thence, and took *Capo d'Istria*, *Pola*, and some other places on that coast. They were soon, however, obliged to retire, the *Venetians* becoming masters of the gulph, under the command of *Pisanus*, whom in their late desperate situation they had taken out of prison, and restored to his dignity.

DURING these transactions the *Genoese* had repulsed a body of horse, which had advanced as far as the valley of *Pulfevera*, and had likewise defeated several exiles who had attempted to

A peace
betwixt
the two
republics.
A. D.
1381.

approach the city with some forces, in hopes of causing a revolution. While the duke's brother was expelling the rebels from the eastern *Riviera*, the remains of the fleet from *Venice*, in the beginning of *January*, entered the harbour of *Genoa*, bringing home with them only a few relics, as the fruits of all their dangers and fatigues. All parties being now weary of the war, they submitted to the mediation of the count of *Savoy*, by whose endeavours, on the eighth of *August*, a treaty was concluded betwixt the two republics and their respective allies, excepting *Bernabo Visconti*, lord of *Milan*. By this treaty it was agreed, that the castle of *Tenedos* should be demolished, and that no settlement should ever be established in the island by either republic. The *Venetian* governor, however, absolutely refusing to evacuate the island, the *Genoese* the following year sequestered all the merchandize in their territories belonging to the *Florentines*, who had guaranteed the performance of the treaty, under a penalty of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats. The *Venetians*, having at length compelled the governor to submit, the fortresses of the island were demolished the year after in the presence of a *Genoese* syndic, and the goods of the *Florentines* were restored.

A. D.
1383.

THE peace soon proved almost as pernicious to the *Genoese* as the late war; for a few months after the factions in the city again revived, and tumults succeeding, the duke on the sixth of *April* was forced to abandon the palace, which was immediately possessed by two different parties, who chose no less than three dukes. Next day, however, two of them resigned in favour of *Leonard de Montaldo*, a lawyer, who had promoted the disturbances; and to prevail with the people to acquiesce in his favour, promised to resign the dignity in six months. The historian *Stella*, who was an eye-witness of this revolution, informs us, that the new duke acted with great prudence and moderation. He granted a pardon to his predecessor, with full liberty to return to *Genoa*: he lessened the taxes; and, as the young king of *Cyprus* had died some time before, he entered into a treaty with his uncle, who remained a hostage in *Genoa*, and was declared his successor. The new king, having granted *Favagosta* to the *Genoese* in perpetuity, and stipulated to pay a large annual tribute to the republic, embarked with his queen and retinue on board ten galleys, and on the second of *June* sailed for *Cyprus*. *Montaldo*, at the end of the six months, seemed to have forgot his promise of resigning the government; but his administration afterwards was so prudent and equitable, that he was even respected by all parties, and honoured also by foreign princes.

WHILE

WHILE he seemed thus firmly established in the government, he was seized with an epidemical fever; and, after three days illness, died on the fourteenth of *June*. As many people had fled from *Genoa*, on account of this contagious distemper, which carried off about nine hundred people weekly, *Antoniotto Adorno* next day was chosen duke without any disturbance. He at first followed the footsteps of his predecessor, retained his retinue and guards, and confirmed the same counsellors and rectors; but in the beginning of the following year, he imprisoned the late duke *Nicolas Guarco*, who had been betrayed into his hands by the marquisses of *Final*. Being of an aspiring disposition, he formed a design of making himself mediator in the grand schism of the church; and, in hopes of establishing the pope's court at *Genoa*, he offered his assistance to *Urban* the sixth, who was then closely besieged by the king of *Naples* at *Nocera*. *Urban* accordingly being conducted to *Genoa* about the middle of *September* by ten galleys, *Adorno* immediately wrote to the emperor, and to other christian princes, desiring to be appointed their vicar or proxy in terminating the schism; but, according to *Stella*, his request was rejected by all those potentates. *Urban* mortgaged some revenues of the bishopric of *Albenga* for the payment of sixty thousand crowns expended in fitting out the fleet that brought him from *Naples*, and granted indulgences to those who visited the church of *St. Laurence* in *Genoa*, as extensive as those pertaining to the church of *St. Mark* in *Venice*. The duke, however, not humouring his morose disposition as he expected, the year after he left *Genoa* about the middle of *December*, and went to *Lucca*.

A. D.
1384.

A. D.
1385.

SOON after the departure of *Urban*, a conspiracy was discovered against the duke. *Francis Raphael* and *Leonard Justiniani*, the sons of *Garibald*, who were the chief conspirators, immediately fled; but several others being apprehended, were put to the torture, fined in about eight thousand florins, and then transported to the distant provinces. Mean while, as it was reported that the king of *Tunis* was making preparations for attacking *Genoa*, the duke next year fitted out twelve galleys for an expedition against the *Moors*; and three others being equipped for *Manfred Chiaramonte*, admiral of *Sicily*, the fleet about *Midsummer* sailed under the command of the duke's brother to *Africa*, being joined also by five *Pisan* galleys in *Manfred's* pay. Having reduced the island of *Gerba*, or *Zerbi*, on the *African* coast, the *Genoese* resigned their share of the conquest to *Manfred*, for which they received thirty-six thousand florins. *Antoniotto*, encouraged by this success, exerted himself with greater activity; and the

A. D.
1387.

A. D.
1388

A. D.
1390.

following year, having prevailed with *Charles* the sixth of *France* to engage in an expedition against the *Moors*, he fitted out forty galleys and twenty large transports, and about the middle of *December* gave the command of the fleet to *John Centurio*, his relation. Many of the *English* nobility likewise engaged with great ardor in this expedition against the infidels; and a truce then subsisting betwixt that kingdom and *France*, they joined the *French* nobles and other forces under the command of the duke of *Bourbon*, the king's uncle, and marched with them to *Genoa*, where they embarked the following summer, and on the twenty-second of *July* landed in *Africa*, the *English* archers obliging the *Moorish* army to abandon the shore. They directly invested *Tunis*; but the city being strongly garrisoned, and their army greatly distressed by the sudden incursions of the *Moorish* light horse, they gladly hearkened to the offers of accommodation made by the infidels, and concluded a treaty with them; by which the *Moors* engaged not to make any descents on the coasts of *Italy* or *France*, on the islands of the *Mediterranean*, not to molest the christian traders, to pay forthwith ten thousand crowns of gold, and to restore all the christian captives *.

A. D.
1391.

BEFORE the fleet sailed from *Genoa*, *Antoniotto* had discovered a new conspiracy against himself. Not thinking it safe to irritate his rivals too much, he obliged the conspirators and their friends only to give security for their future fidelity, and banished them the city; but a few months after, finding that he had in a great measure lost his popularity, and that his rivals were acquiring more influence, in the beginning of *August* he embarked privately at his villa in the suburbs, and abandoned the government. Upon the news of his flight, the people immediately run to arms; but recovering from their surprize, on the same day they elected, in a peaceable manner, *James Fulgosio*, whose father had lately been duke. *Antoniotto*, soon repenting of his precipitate flight, in the beginning of the following year came by sea to *Sefto*, according to *Folietta*, desiring to be admitted into the city as a private citizen; which request, he says, was denied. *Stella*, however, relates, that he was driven back from *Sefto* by bad weather: and that he then formed a design, with the marquisses of *Final*, of recovering the government of the republic by force. The news of his preparations greatly alarmed the friends of the duke; but he himself appeared insensible of

* *Stallæ Annal. An. 1389, 1390. PAUL. ÆMIL. l. 9. in fin. NEBIENS. l. 4. FOLIET. l. 9. FROSSART. t. 4. c. 13. JUVENAL, in Carol. VI.*

the danger, and gave no orders for any defence. *Antoniotto* accordingly, on the fifth of *April*, entered the city without opposition, and the next day, being again declared duke, took possession of the palace, and entertained his predecessor at dinner with himself. A few months after, however, he was again in hazard of being expelled, having provoked the inhabitants of *Savona* to revolt, by giving assistance to those of *Signa*, with whom they were then at war. To stop the murmurs of the *Genoese*, he proceeded to violent measures, and caused two of the chiefs of the seditious to be put to death. Some others, the following year, being put to death and imprisoned, the disturbances increased; and *Antoniotto* having by open force in vain endeavoured to suppress the revolters, on the sixteenth of *June* was, at length, obliged to abandon the palace to *Antony de Montaldo*, who was created duke with great acclamations, though then only twenty-three years of age.

A. D.
1392.

THE confusion and tumults were increased by this revolution, and the year after began to spread into the neighbouring vallies, where the *Guelfs* and *Gibellines* with great animosity destroyed each other's possessions. *Antoniotto*, being again in hopes of recovering his dignity, appeared with an armed force before the city in the beginning of *June*, but was repulsed with considerable loss. The whole territories of the republic were now filled with anarchy and disorder, and the citizens were all in arms, and divided into several factions; one of which, on the fifteenth of *July*, expelled *Montaldo* from the palace, and chose *Peter Fulgosio* as duke, who in the evening thought proper to resign to his more powerful competitor *Clement de Premontorio*. Next day, however, the people declared that they would accept of neither, and began to propose the committing of the administration to the lord of *Milan*, or some other foreign prince. At length, ten electors chose *Francis Justiniani* duke for one year. The hostilities, nevertheless, still continuing in the city, suburbs, and neighbouring fortresses on the mountains, *Justiniani*, on the last of *August*, resigned the government, when *Antoniotto* in the afternoon broke into the city with five thousand men, and was immediately joined by two thousand friends in arms. After a long and bloody dispute he was repulsed, that same evening, by the followers of *Antony de Montaldo*, who was next day chosen duke for life. The malcontents of the valley of *Bisagno*, with the other two vallies, on the first of *January*, however, openly took arms against him; but about two months after they were forced to submit. Many of the *Guelfs* still continued in open rebellion; but, instead of attacking

A. D.
1393.
Great tumults in
Genoa
and its
territory.

A. D.
1394.

the city, assaulted the *Gibellines*, who were followers of *Antoniotto*, and exiles as well as themselves. His friends in the vallies and suburbs renewing their hostilities, *Montaldo*, seeing himself surrounded with difficulties, on the twenty-fourth of *May* at night, left the city, and abandoned the government. Next day the ten electors chose *Nicolas Zoalio* for duke, who being opposed by *Adorno*, *Guarco Fulgoso*, *Montaldo*, and their friends, about three months after resigned his dignity. Upon his resignation the other competitors again filled the city with tumults and mobbing, very few being killed, though each of the chiefs were attended by several hundred armed men. On the third of *September*, *Antoniotto Adorno* was again chosen duke, by artful means; which disgusted all the nobility, and exasperated *Montaldo* against him, to whom in the morning he had promised, as a means of restoring tranquility, not to accept of that dignity.

The
French
invade the
territories
of the re-
public.

By these continual dissensions the power of the republic began at length sensibly to decline, which excited the watchful ambition of the *French*, who attempted to make a conquest of its territory: they were, indeed, invited by some of the family of *Auria*, who, in conjunction with the marquisses of *Final*, conducted the *French* forces into the western *Riviera*. The invaders immediately seized *Diano*; but finding more difficulty in the enterprize than they expected, they soon after abandoned the place, and in the end of the year evacuated the *Genoese* territories^y. This invasion, however, did not suspend the civil dissensions; for hostilities continued during the whole following year betwixt the duke and the adherents of *Montaldo* and *Guarco*. Some of the *Grimaldi*, at the same time, seized the castle of *Monaco*, which, with *Porto Fino* and *Porto Venere*, became the head-quarters of the *Guelfs*, who, without joining the faction of *Montaldo*, declared themselves equally enemies to the duke. *Antoniotto*, according to *Stella*, had privately favoured the *French* invasion; and the following year, finding the power of his rivals increasing in consequence of the succours they received from *Galeas Visconti* of *Milan*, while cardinal *Flisco*, who had been general of the papal forces, arrived on the coast with twelve galleys to the assistance of the *Guelfs*, to put an end, if possible, to all their divisions, he resolved to give the dominion of the city and republic to the *French* king. After consulting with the nobles and commoners of both factions in the city, and with cardinal *Flisco*, who declared himself the protector of the *Guelfs*, with their consent, he sent an

A. D.
1396.

^y STELLÆ Annal. An. 1394. FOLIET. l. 9.

ambassy to *France*, with an offer of the sovereignty of the republic. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth of *October*, articles were agreed to betwixt the duke and council and the *French* deputies; by which the king of *France* and his successors were declared lords of *Genoa*, and all its territories, saving the rights of the empire. It was besides stipulated, that the king's vicar, who should not be an *Italian*, should govern according to the laws of the republic, with the advice of the council; and in all deliberations should have two votes, and be allowed a yearly revenue of about 7000 florins; that the council should consist of an equal number of nobles and commoners, of both factions, not less than six persons of each faction, and might give a decisive sentence even in the absence of the governor, in which case a *Gibel-line* should be president; that the king should have no authority to impose taxes on the *Genoese*; and when he should require any ships or troops from them, he should pay them out of his royal revenues; that the *Genoese* should reckon the friends and enemies of the king likewise their friends and enemies, excepting only the *Greek* emperor and the king of *Cyprus*; that the king should defend the republic against all its enemies, and recover all the territories and rights it had lost within four years and four months; for which purpose ten of the chief castles of the republic should be garrisoned with *French* soldiers, to be paid by the *Genoese*².

The sovereignty of the republic conferred on the king of France.

ABOUT four weeks after, *Antoniotto* made a solemn resignation of the government to the *French* deputies; but was, however, allowed to act as vicar till the following *March*, when the *French* governor arrived with two hundred horse, and a considerable body of foot. Before the conclusion of this treaty with the *French*, the inhabitants of *Savona* had put themselves under the protection of the duke of *Orleans*, who now resigned his right to the king; but for some weeks the *Savonese* refused to acknowledge the new governor: they, however, submitted in the end of *April*, and two months after, *Guarco* and *Montaldo*, with their followers, likewise acknowledging the governor, tranquility was quickly restored thro' all the *Genoese* territories; and, in order to prevent future disturbances, a captain of justice was appointed, whose authority in punishing delinquents was not restricted by the laws. As the plague was brought this summer to *Genoa* in a *Turkish* ship, and raged greatly in the city, the governor in the end of the year appointed a lieutenant, and returned to *Paris*.

A. D.
1397.

² STELLÆ Annal.

An insur-
rection
against the
French
governor.

A. D.
1398.

THE following summer the inhabitants of the three vallies took arms, under pretence that the king's vicar acted with partiality in favour of the *Guelfs*; and having surpris'd the city, were immediately joined by the *Gibellines*, who barricaded all the streets in their possession, and for several weeks daily assaulted the other party, obliging the *French* governor at length to retire to *Savona*. Each party sent for auxiliaries from the country; but *Caspar Cossa* arriving with three *Neapolitan* galleys, in his way to *France* with the pope's legate, prevailed on both to agree to an accommodation. About a fortnight after, hostilities were renewed with greater fury, each party setting fire to the houses of their adversaries. Peace was again embraced by both for a few days, when they ardently renewed their hostilities, which were followed by a third accommodation. This was again interrupted; but at length, on the fifth of *September*, a total cessation of arms was agreed to, which was confirmed by the king's governor. Though very few were killed during these tumults, yet the damage done to the city was computed at a million of florins.

A. D.
1399.

A FEW weeks after, *Colard de Callaville*, one of the *French* king's counsellors, arrived as governor; but the following year, in the beginning of *May*, he was likewise obliged to abandon the palace, to shun the fury of some of the populace, who had taken arms because the nobles were admitted into the council of state. The chiefs of the *Gibellines* protected the governor; and to appease the tumult, the council of ancients was new-modelled, and composed wholly of commons. However, at the following election, four months after, the nobles were again admitted into that council; but, to prevent the people from murmuring, on the first of *December* a new council was appointed, consisting of four tradesmen, called priors of the arts, with twelve artificers as assistants, upon whose deliberation the governor and council of the ancients had a negative. This new council was empowered to propose all matters for the public good to the governor, and was invested with the supreme direction of the city militia, who took the oath of fidelity to the priors, exclusive of all others. A few weeks after, however, some of the people attempted to expel the *French* governor; and about the middle of *January* raised such a tumult in the city, that he was obliged to abandon the palace. After the city had remained about ten days without a governor, the people chose *Baptist Buccanigra*, who took the title of captain of the king's guard. His authority, however, was disregarded by the factions, who continued skirmishing with each other;

A. D.
1400.

and

and about two months after, he also abandoned the palace, when the city was again without any government. In a few days, *Baptist de Franchis* succeeded to the government; but being unable to quell the tumults, quickly resigned. Many assemblies of the moderate citizens, mean time, were held for restoring tranquility, and in the end of *October*, *de Franchis* was again chosen governor; but acting with too great zeal in repressing the disorders, the people the following spring again took arms against him, and were with difficulty quieted: A few months after, a council of eight citizens being appointed, he was deposed by them, and the government committed to *Antony Jusliniani* and *George Adorno*, till the arrival of a new governor from *France*. The two governors, instead of granting a full pardon to all delinquents, which had been usual at every revolution, banished all murderers who could not be apprehended, for fifty years.

A. D.
1401.

ON the last day of *October* *John le Meingle*, surnamed *Boucicard*, a marshal of *France*, of great reputation, entered *Genoa* as governor, attended by one thousand horse and foot. Two days after he ordered *Baptist Buccanigra* and *Baptist de Franchis* to be seized, and sentenced them both to be beheaded in the evening before the palace, for having usurped the government without the king's permission. *Buccanigra* was accordingly beheaded; but the guards who attended the execution, fearing to be assaulted by the populace, were thrown into disorder, so that *de Franchis*, tho' his hands were tied, made his escape. *Boucicard*, by this example of severity, having struck a terror into all offenders, published a general pardon, from which seven persons only were excepted: he declared, however, that the rebels who should be guilty of the slightest crime, should be punished for their former rebellion; and, on this pretence, the following year executed several malcontents in the city and the valley of *Bisagno*. At the same time he ordered all the arms in the city and three vallies, excepting the swords and the common bows, to be brought to the palace: he likewise abolished the priors of the arts, established several taxes, prohibited the people from holding any assemblies, and sent three galleys to the relief of *Pamagosta*, which was then besieged by the king of *Cyprus*, assisted by a *Catalan* fleet. Having restored order and tranquility, he became at length so acceptable to the *Genoese*, that they sent an embassy to the king, and by their entreaties obtained that he should continue governor during life.

A. D.
1402.

^a Idem ibid. NEBIENS. l. 5. FOLLET. l. 9.

THE *Genoese* settled at *Pera*, mean while, at the desire of *Tamerlane*, erected his standard. After his conquest over *Rajaset*, however, he reduced *Smyrna*, and *Old* and *New Fozia*, for which the *Genoese* annalist assigns no reason; but, according to *Niem*, the governor of *Smyrna* had refused to raise the standard of the *Tartars*^b. The Greek emperor *Emmanuel*, who was then in *France*, soliciting assistance against the *Turks*, hearing of the victory of *Tamerlane*, the following January arrived at *Genoa*, in his way to *Constantinople*; and having obtained a present of three thousand florins from the *Genoese*, prevailed on them to fit out three galleys to act against the *Turks* in the *Archipelago*.

The Greek emperor asks the assistance of the Genoese.

A. D. 1403.

AFTER his departure, *Boucicard* resolved to go himself with a powerful fleet against the king of *Cyprus*. Having sent a new governor to *Corfica*, which now quietly submitted to the *Genoese*, he sailed from *Genoa*, on the fourth of *April*, with nine galleys, a large galleon and transport, and seven ships; and upon his arrival at *Cyprus*, obliged the king to agree to a peace, and to pay all the expences of the expedition. He sailed from thence to *Cilicia*, obliging the lord of *Candelorum* to agree to a perpetual alliance with the *French* and *Genoese*. He afterwards plundered *Berytus*; but an epidemical sickness seizing his fleet, he set sail for *Genoa*, being joined by a galley from *Chios*, and another belonging to the knights of *Rhodes*. Upon his arrival at the *Morca*, he fell in with a *Venetian* fleet of thirteen galleys, which, after accompanying him for some time, at length attacked him, and after a sharp dispute took three of his galleys, losing, however, one of their own. The *Venetian* writers accuse the *Genoese* of committing the first hostilities; but *Boucicard* the following year wrote to the doge and *Venetian* admiral, throwing the blame of the violation of the peace upon them, and offering to justify himself by single combat^c. During his absence some malcontents in the vallies had openly revolted against his lieutenant; and *Casanus Auria* and *Baptist de Franchis* had the impudence to publish a manifesto, declaring war against the republic. Upon his return the commotions were quieted, and a few months after the peace was renewed with the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1404.

ABOUT the same time *Boucicard* was put in possession of the castle of *Leghorn*, by *Gabriel Visconti*, lord of *Pisa*; who, imitating the *Genoese*, declared the *French* sovereigns of his

^b THEOD. A NIEM de Schism.

^c STELLÆ Annal. An.

1403. FOLIET. l. 9 Chron. Venet. ap MURATOR. t. 12. col. 517. NREBIENS. l. 4. SABEL. d. 2. l. 8. JUSTIN. l. 6.

territories, and erected their standard. The governor soon after sent subsidies to *Francis Carraria*, lord of *Padua*, *Verona*, and *Vincenza*, who, to defend himself against the *Visconti* of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*, likewise took the oath of homage to the *French* king. The *Genoese*, in the mean time, began secretly to murmur against the severity and rapacity of the *French*, who punished with the utmost rigour those who expressed the least dissatisfaction at the present government; and besides imposed the most grievous and oppressive taxes. The disaffection becoming general, and many people in the vallies the year after taking arms, and killing some of the tax-gatherers, and even the *podestas* of the towns, *Boucicard*, by abolishing some of the most heavy taxes, again restored tranquility.

A. D.
1405.

ABOUT two years after, his conduct being again censured for assisting the *Florentines* against the *Pisans*, who had revolted from their lord, to quiet the murmurs of the *Genoese* he made a present of *Leghorn* to the republic, who gave him twenty-six thousand florins, as an equivalent for the expences which that city had cost him. The *Florentines*, making themselves masters of *Pisa*, the *podesta* of *Sarzana*, rather than submit to the conquerors, sold that city to the *Genoese*, who by that means extended their frontier to the eastern side of the *Magra*. The year after, finding that the two contending popes wanted to prolong the schism, by rejecting all means of an accommodation, they imitated the example of the *French*, and renounced the authority of each of them. News soon after arriving, that the merchants settled at *Chios* had declared against the government of *Boucicard*, and, under pretence of a loan, had seized all the merchandize in the island, valued at fifteen thousand florins, their relations at *Genoa* the following year were imprisoned in the citadel which *Boucicard* had caused to be built; and *Conrad Auria* was sent with three galleys and three large transports to reduce the rebels. He arrived at *Chios* on the eighteenth of *June*, and in three days, having taken the suburbs of the city, he obliged the citizens again to acknowledge the *French* king, pardoning their revolt, and only banishing some of those who had promoted the insurrection.

A. D.
1408.

A. D.
1409.

BOUCICARD had now ruined the republic of *Pisa*, and enriched himself by the spoils of that state; for he had not only obtained *Leghorn* from *Gabriel Visconti*, but had persuaded him to betray *Pisa* to the *Florentine* army, and had afterwards executed him at *Genoa*, under pretence of plotting against his government, and seized his wealth as a lawful forfeiture. The *Genoese*, who at first had been struck dumb by

by his severity, no longer concealed their discontent, and complained that all his schemes tended only to the establishing of his private power, or the grandeur of the *French*, at the expence of the republic. He, however, disregarded their murmurs; and, thinking he had secured their submission, formed a design of seizing the *Milanese*, the possession of which dutchy was then contested by the two brothers *John Maria* and *Philip Maria Visconti*. He accordingly borrowed large sums of money at *Genoa*; and assembling five thousand horse, and about as many foot at *Gavi*, marched to the assistance of *John*, who was in possession of *Milan*. *Philip*, who resided at *Pavia*, was assisted by the marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Facinus Caris*, lord of *Alexandria*, who being at enmity with *Bonivard*, were persuaded by the exile *de Franchis* to march directly to *Genoa*. Upon the approach of their forces, the *Genoise* instantly took arms against the *French*, massacring all those who were not so fortunate as to save themselves in the castles. The marquis of *Montferrat* was then invited into the city, and the ninth of *September* declared captain of the republic. *Bonivard*, who in the mean time had obtained the government of *Milan*, hastened back with his army; but, upon hearing the strength of his opponents, he thought it was in vain to pass the *Apennines*.

The Ge-
noise re-
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declare the
marquis of
Montfer-
rat gover-
nor.

A. D.
1410.

GENOA still continued in arms under four *Gibelline* leaders; and the council of ancients, and all other officers of the republic being chosen from that faction, they disarmed the *Guelfs*, who, though they equally hated *Bonivard*, yet wanted to have a new governor from *France*. The *Genoise*, having expelled the *French* from the citadel, and the following year obliged the *Guelfs* in *Porto Fino*, to submit to the new government, on the twenty-first of *April* published a decree in a numerous council of three hundred *Gibellines*, appointing the marquis governor of the republic for five years. They now declared for *Ladislaus*, king of *Naples*, against the duke of *Anjou*; and *Ladislaus's* fleet acting in concert with the *Genoise* galleys, under the command of *Othobon Justiniano*, in the beginning of *June* they took *Ventimiglia* by storm, which had hitherto held out for the *French*. The admiral afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon *Porto Venere*, whilst the troops by land attacked several places held out by the *Flischi* in the eastern *Riviera*. Though the attempts of the land forces were likewise fruitless, yet in the end of the year the *Flischi* at length submitted to the marquis, who granted them a pardon, and restored to them their share in the bank of *St. George*, the proprietors of which had been

been established into a regulated society three years before (F).

A FEW months after, *Orlando Fulgoso* raised a fresh tumult in the city ; but was obliged to retire to *Suvona*, where he was murdered. About the same time, the French despairing of recovering *Genoa*, sold *Gavi*, *Montaldo* and *Palladio*, towns belonging to the republic, to *Facinus Canis* ; and *Porto Venere*, *l'Erice*, *Sergianello*, and *Falconello*, to the *Florentines*, who, the following year, bribed several of the discontented *Guelfs* to cause other towns belonging to the republic to revolt, and to submit to their dominion. Many of those who had entered into an unlawful correspondence with the *Florentines*, being discovered, were put to death as traitors ; and a fleet, which was ordered to repress the insults of the *Catalans*, sailed to *Porto Pifano* ; but, after some slight hostilities, was obliged to retire. The *Genoese*, however, taking four *Florentine* ships laden with corn, and three *English* vessels bound for *Florence* with cloth, to the amount of forty-eight thousand florins, they soon obliged their enemy to think of peace, which was concluded the following year at *Lucca* on the twenty-seventh of *April* ; when the *Florentines* agreed to restore all the places belonging to the *Genoese* republic. A few weeks before the conclusion of this treaty, the *Genoese*, with their usual fickleness, had renounced the authority of

A. D.
1411.

(F) The republic, for a long time, had contracted a great debt, the interest of which was paid to the creditors from the public revenues by certain citizens appointed by the duke to oversee every different tax. The debt and taxes encreasing, began to occasion great confusion, to avoid which, all the public creditors were at length formed into one body, by the title of the society of *St. George*, governed by eight directors chosen annually, not by the duke, but by the creditors. The directors and their assistants were also declared independent of the duke and council, with a right of determining absolutely all affairs relating to the society, the members of which were bound to

submit to their decisions ; and the governors of the republic, upon assuming the administration, took an oath never to violate their privileges. This society encreasing their stock by future loans to the government, became, about a hundred years after, so rich and powerful, as to purchase the whole island of *Corfica*, and many other territories of the state ; so that, according to *Foliet*, who then flourished, two different republics seemed included within the same walls. It may, however, be questioned, whether the grandeur of this company may not be reckoned one of the causes of the decline of the *Genoese* state. *Foliet. Hist. Gen. l. 9. An. 1407.*

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gain creat-
ed duke.

the marquis of *Montferrat*, and conferred the government of the republic on *George Adorno*, with the title of duke. The marquis having failed in an attempt upon *Savona*, came to an accommodation with the republic, which, as an equivalent for all his claims, agreed to pay him 24,500 florins, or crowns of gold.

THE city being now again freed from a foreign dominion, and being undisturbed by the factions, twelve chief citizens were chosen with full authority to compose a new form of government, in order to prevent any future intestine commotions. They accordingly published a great many salutary laws, ordaining, among other matters, that the duke, for the future, should be a citizen of *Genoa*, of fifty years of age, a *Gibelline* commoner, and a merchant. These prudent regulations were not, however, sufficient to repress the factious spirit of the *Genoese*. The following year, the family of *Guarco* attempted to surprise the palace; but were repulsed, and some of the rioters were banished. Notwithstanding their bad success, in the month of *December*, the family of *Montaldo* made a second insurrection against the duke; who, to put an end to the hostilities, which continued several days, consented to abdicate the government. His sons, however, interrupted the accommodation, and both parties, on *Christmas-day*, only concluded a short truce. The week after, they again took arms, and continued skirmishing till the sixth of *March*, when a peace was at length concluded; by which the duke agreed to resign upon honourable terms, being allowed a pension during life. On the twenty-eighth of *March*, he was succeeded by *Barnabas Goano*, doctor of laws, who was acceptable to both parties: so that the shares in the bank of *St. George* immediately rose forty four *per Cent.* *Barnabas* had not enjoyed his new dignity three months, when he was attacked by *George Adorno* and *Thomas Fulgoso*, with their followers, and obliged to abandon the palace. *Thomas Fulgoso* was then chosen duke, who soon after, to conciliate the affections of the people, eased them of several taxes, and mortgaged his own estate to the amount of sixty thousand florins, to pay off part of the public debt. Though he introduced great magnificence and splendor into his court, yet he gave an assiduous attention to the affairs of state. He conferred several chief commands upon his six brothers, by whose assistance he repressed an insurrection of the *Corficans*, and recovered several places, formerly belonging to the republic, from the marquis of *Malaspini*. He likewise agreed to a truce for ten years with the *French*; who, being invaded by an *English* army, and reduced to great distress, hired six hundred *Genoese* bowmen, eight gallies, and as many large ships.

One

One of these gallies was shipwrecked, and of the other seven three were taken by the *English*, being deserted by the *French* during the engagement.

ALTHOUGH the great services performed by the duke were very conspicuous, and universally acknowledged, yet the year following the families of *Montaldo*, *Guasco*, and *Adorno*, formed a design of expelling him from the government; and prevailed with the duke of *Milan*, the marquisses of *Montferrat* and *Final*, to favour their enterprize. On *Christmas-day* they appeared before the city with one thousand five hundred horse, and two thousand foot, expecting an insurrection in their favour; but being disappointed by the vigorous measures taken by the duke, they quickly retired towards the mountains, and seized *Gavi*. Having then declared *Feramo Adorno* duke, they soon after returned to the city, and seized several posts in its neighbourhood. During the whole summer, hostilities continued betwixt the two parties with various success, but generally in favour of the duke, who, by his vigilance and intrepidity, preserved peace and tranquility in the city; and on the last of *September* forced the rebels to retire to the mountains. *Feramo Adorno*, their duke, being thus frustrated before *Genoa*, reduced the territories of the republic beyond the *Appennines*, which, however, he was obliged to divide with his allies, giving the greatest share to the duke of *Milan*. Some commotions, in the mean time, happening in the eastern *Riviera*, the duke found it necessary to part with *Leghorn*, which he sold to the *Florentines* for a hundred and twenty thousand florins. The rebels, finding the duke's authority so firmly established, did not appear in arms during the two following years; in the last of which *Genoa* was again visited by an epidemical distemper, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

A. D.
1418.

A. D.
1420.

ALPHONSO of *Arragon*, in the mean time, having invaded *Corfica* with a fleet of thirteen large ships, and twenty-three gallies, on board of which were ten thousand men, took *Calvi*, and invested the town of *Boniface*, which was strongly situated on an abrupt rock, near a most commodious harbour, which run a mile into the land. The duke exerted himself with great vigour to save the place; and though *Genoa* was then almost desolate, by the death and flight of its inhabitants, he caused seven large ships to be fitted out, and furnished with stores and provisions for the besieged, raising thirty thousand crowns for that purpose, by pledging his plate and jewels to the bankers of *Lucca*. This small fleet sailed from *Genoa*, under the command of his younger brother, on the twentieth of *December*: though they found the

Alphonso
of Arra-
gon in-
vades
Corfica
without
success.

the mouth of the harbour blocked up, by five gallies chained to each other, batteries erected on the land, and the gallies within drawn up in a line, yet they boldly advanced, and, after a most furious engagement of seven hours, broke the chain, and proceeded to the town, where they continued five days, landing their stores: they again broke thro' the enemy's fleet, by throwing it into confusion by a small fireship. *Alphonso*, now despairing of taking the place, raised the siege, which encouraged the inhabitants of *Calvi*, in the beginning of the following year, to revolt and admit a *Genoese* garrison, tho' all the rest of the island was at this time independent of the republic, and governed by different lords^d.

A. D.
1421.

THE rebels, mean while, by their continual solicitations, again prevailed upon the duke of *Milan* to espouse their cause: he accordingly published a declaration of war against *Fulgosio*; and in the beginning of summer sent a powerful army, commanded by *Guido Torelli*, against *Genoa*. Another army marched into the western *Riviera*, under the command of the count of *Carmagniola*; but his troops meeting with greater opposition than he expected, he fitted out two gallies at *Final*, which were joined by seven others hired from the *Catalans*, in order to block up *Genoa* by sea. *Fulgosio*, though he was greatly distressed for want of money, immediately fitted out seven gallies, which, under the command of his brother *Baptist*, attacked the enemy, but were defeated with the loss of four gallies, in one of which was the admiral. The enemy, now becoming masters at sea, *Fulgosio* was obliged to enter into a treaty with the duke of *Milan*, promising to resign the government to him under certain conditions, as it was formerly granted to the king of *France*.

*The duke
of Milan
obtains the
govern-
ment of
Genoa.*

A. D.
1422.

The duke's army was accordingly admitted into the city, in the month of *November*, when the territory of *Sarsana*, and thirty thousand florins, were granted to *Fulgosio*, and fifteen thousand to his brother *Baptist*. *Carmagniola*, who commanded in the name of the duke of *Milan*, allowed the old council still to retain their authority, but persuaded them to submit to the duke without conditions. Twenty-four *Genoese* deputies accordingly went to *Milan* the following spring, and took the oath of fidelity to the duke, in the name of the republic. Soon after, four of the duke's counsellors arrived at *Genoa*, as deputy-governors; and on the last day of *March*, in the afternoon, took upon them the government by the express order of the duke, who, according to the usual custom, had consulted the stars on that occasion. The historian

^d FOLIET. l. 10. STELLÆ Annal.

Stella informs us, that he assisted as chancellor of the republic at the consultations of these governors, who, at the desire of the *Genoese*, on the fifth of *December*, were succeeded by the count of *Carmagniola*.

THE new governor insisted on having a revenue of thirty thousand florins, which had formerly been granted to *Boutcard*; and the following year he persuaded the *Genoese*, tho' with great difficulty, to fit out a large fleet to the assistance of *Jane* the second, queen of *Naples*, and her adopted son *Lewis* of *Anjou*, against *Alphonso* of *Aragon*, alledging, that it would be for the advantage of the republic to prevent the *Catalans* from possessing *Naples*. The *Genoese*, in consequence of their furious and most foolish dissensions, were now so greatly exhausted, that every armament distressed them: they seemed, however, at length voluntarily to comply with the desires of *Carmagniola*, finding themselves not in a condition to hazard a denial, and decreed two hundred thousand florins for the expedition. *Carmagniola* exerting himself with indefatigable assiduity, on the first of *December* a fleet of twenty-four gallies, thirteen ships, and one brigantine, was fit for sea, eight of the gallies being equipped in *Provence* by *Lewis* of *Anjou*. *Guido Torelli* arriving from *Milan*, and taking the chief command, *Carmagniola* was greatly disgusted, and many of the *Genoese* refused to embark. The fleet, nevertheless, in the end of the month sailed to *Naples*; and, after performing signal services to the queen, returned in the end of *May*, when the *Genoese*, much against their inclination, were obliged to send their flag as a trophy to *Milan*. A few months after *Carmagniola* abandoned the government, and withdrawing his effects, deserted the duke's service, and retired to *Piedmont*, and from thence to *Venice*, exciting that republic against his old master. He was succeeded in *Genoa* by *James Isolani* of *Bologna*, a cardinal deacon, whose revenue was settled at thirteen thousand florins.

THE *Florentines*, mean while, in concert with the *Venetians*, preparing for war against the duke of *Milan*, *Fulgosio* was persuaded by them to make an attempt upon *Genoa*. In the beginning of *April* he accordingly sailed from *Leghorn*, with twenty-four *Catalan* gallies, and appeared off the mole; but, being repulsed by the *Genoese*, he returned to the eastern *Riviera*, and took *Porto Fino*, *Sigefro*, and *Monella*, his fleet commanding all the coast. The *Genoese*, by the duke's order, fitted out eighteen gallies, and ten large ships, to oppose the invaders. Some land-forces were also assembled, and in the month of *June* *Opicino d'Alzate* arrived as commander in chief both by sea and land. Great things were expected

A. D.
1423.

A. D.
1424.

A. D.
1425.

A. D.
1426.

pected from his experience, and strict attention to a rigorous discipline. The whole season, nevertheless, passed off without any action of consequence : the duke did not even desire a speedy conclusion of the war, but wished to see the *Genoese* exhausted by their civil broils, in hopes of fixing more securely the yoke of servitude upon them. With this design, the year after, he allowed *Francis Spinula* and *Isnard Guarco* to seize several territories of the republic, as a security for the payment of twelve thousand five hundred florins, which they affirmed they had expended in the public service ; and having concluded a peace with the king of *Arragon*, and hired some of his gallies, he gave him in pledge the castles of *Porto Venere* and *l'Eryce* ; which proceedings greatly alarmed the *Genoese*.

A. D.
1427.

THE rebels, in the mean time, were allowed to strengthen their party in the eastern *Riviera*. In the beginning of *September*, about four hundred of them entered the city at night, under the command of one of *Fulgoso's* brothers, and seized some steeples ; but not being joined by any citizens, they retired next morning not without considerable loss. Tho' the citizens shewed no inclination to revolt, *Thomas* himself the following year, in the end of *July*, marched to the city with a small force, and, after continuing a few days in the suburbs, attempted the walls by scalade, but without success. He retired upon a report, that great succours were marching from *Lombardy* to the relief of the city ; but about the middle of *December* he again entered the suburbs, and for three days attempted to scale the walls ; but was always repulsed with loss, and in a sally from the city the greatest part of his followers were made prisoners. During these transactions, the duke of *Milan* again irritated the *Genoese*, by giving the city of *Ventimiglia* to *Charles Lomellino*, for ten years, in consideration of three thousand crowns which he had borrowed from him.

A. D.
1428.

THE following year *Bartholomeo de la Capra*, of *Cremona*, archbishop of *Milan*, arrived at *Genoa* as governor of the republic ; and soon after his arrival a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. The rebels, however, did not think proper to submit ; but the year after advanced as far as the valley of *Pulseggera*, and fifty-eight of them attempted to surprise the citadel of *Genoa* : they were discovered and repulsed after they had entered the outworks, a priest to whom they had trusted having betrayed them. *Nicolas Picinino*, about the same time, arriving from *Lombardy*, in the end of *November* they thought proper to retire. *Nicolas*, who was a soldier of fortune, and an experienced

rienced commander, advanced again the rebels, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and in the beginning of *February* drove them from some posts on the mountains: he then entered the valley of *Pulsevera*, and with great difficulty was prevented from extirpating the whole inhabitants. He pardoned them, however, at the entreaty of the council of ancients, but sent fifty-seven of their chiefs prisoners to *Lombardy*, obliged many others to give security for their future obedience, and took away all the bells from the churches, which had served only to excite them to rebellion. Having treated the other two valleys in the same manner, during the summer he recovered many places from the rebels; and, in the end of the year, being joined by one thousand *Genoese* bowmen, he marched to the relief of *Lucca*, and routed the *Florentine* army, which for several months had been besieging that city.

UPON this victory the *Lucchese* and *Siennese* entered into an alliance with the *Genoese* against the *Florentines*, the *Lucchese*, according to *Folieto*, agreeing to chuse annually a *Genoese* governor. *James Appiano*, lord of *Piombino*, soon after joined in this alliance, and put his self under the protection of the *Genoese*. The *Florentines*, in the mean time, had recourse for assistance to the *Venetians*, who again declared war against the duke of *Milan* and the *Genoese*, and sent a fleet of sixteen galleys and two large ships to infest the *Genoese* coasts. About the end of *August*, this fleet, on board of which were several *Genoese* exiles, having been joined by three *Florentine* galleys and two brigantines, advanced within a few miles of *Genoa*, when it was attacked by the *Genoese* admiral, who, after a long engagement, was entirely defeated, and taken prisoner, with the loss of nine galleys. A few weeks after, the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was then in alliance with the *Venetians*, sent *Barnabas Adorno*, an exile, with some forces into the western *Riviera*, where he took possession of some towns; but, on the ninth of *October*, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with almost all his forces, by *Nicolas Picinino*, who allowed his troops to plunder the country of the rebels, and to treat them with the greatest barbarity; and then marched into *Montferrat*, which he likewise plundered. The *Venetians*, in the mean time, sent a large armament against the *Genoese* settlement in the island of *Cibias*; but, after besieging the place two months, they were obliged to retire with the loss of near two thousand men.

THE following year, both the *Genoese* and the *Venetians* fitted out considerable fleets; but no action of great importance was performed by either of them; and the year after,

A peace
concluded.

A. D.

1433.

in the month of *May*, by the mediation of the marquiss of *Ferrara* and *Saluza*, a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, with their respective allies. Soon after the conclusion of this peace, the *Genoese*, being informed that the *Greeks* had surpris'd one of their settlements in *Lesser Tartary*, they immediately began to fit out a fleet for the protection of their trade in the *Black Sea*, the command of which was given to *Charles Lomellino*, who sail'd from *Genoa* in the month of *March*, with ten galleys and as many large ships, on board of which were upwards of six thousand troops. The *Genoese* admiral, upon his arrival in the *Black Sea*, quickly oblig'd the *Greeks* to surrender their late conquest; but afterwards, attacking an inland place belonging to the *Tartars*, he was surrounded by an immense multitude of that people, and with great difficulty escap'd with a few of his men.

A. D.

1435.

MEAN while, the queen of *Naples*, and her adopted son, *Lewis of Anjou*, both dying, *Alphonso of Arragon*, who was then in *Sicily*, resolv'd to make another attempt to obtain the kingdom of *Naples*, where he had a numerous party. Being put in possession of the castles of *Capua* by his friends, he invest'd *Gacta* by sea and land; but the city being zealous for the family of *Anjou*, and garrisoned partly by *Genoese*, his inveterate enemies, baffled all his efforts for several months. The republic being sollicit'd by the besieged, fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships, which sail'd to their relief, under the command of *Blasio Assereto*, one of the public notaries, who, on the fifth of *August*, came to an engagement off the island of *Ponza* with the fleet of *Alphonso*, tho' doubly superior to his own in number of ships and men. The battle continued from sun-rising to the evening, when the *Genoese* gained a most complete victory, all the enemy's ships being taken except one, *Alphonso*, with two of his brothers, and about one thousand *Spanish* and *Sicilian* barons, being made prisoners. The news of this victory fill'd the *Genoese* with the most extravagant joy, which, however, was soon turned into disappointment and dejection; for the duke would not allow them the satisfaction of seeing the chief prisoners; but order'd the fleet to return to *Savona*, from whence *Alphonso* and some others were conducted to *Milan*, where, in contempt of the republic, they were treated with the greatest honours, and set at liberty. *Philip* even enter'd into an alliance with *Alphonso*, and order'd the *Genoese* to fit out six ships to conduct him to *Naples*; which command they comply'd with, tho' hardly able to stifle their resentment and indignation. The historian *Stella* concludes his annals at this period,

Alphonso
of Arragon
defeated
and taken
prisoner
by the Ge-
noese.

period, with bitter complaints against the perfidy of the duke, who, he says, was the most capital enemy of their orphan republic. *Philip*, to appease the murmurs of the *Genoese*, with which he began to be alarmed, assured them, that he had prevailed with *Alphonso* to resign *Sardinia* to the republic; but, under pretence of transporting a garrison to the island, sending two thousand men to *Genoa*, the nobles were still more exasperated, and immediately formed a design to throw off his burthenful yoke.

ABOUT the end of *December* the whole city took arms, under the direction of *Francis Spinula*, who had commanded at the siege of *Gacta*, and having killed the governor in the tumult, quickly obliged the garrison to surrender. *Savona* directly followed the example of *Genoa*, and in a short time almost all the castles held by the duke in the territories of the republic, were reduced. Eight persons were then chosen, with full authority to regulate the form of the new government, provided they did not abolish the council of ancients, or any old laws. *Philip*, in the mean time, ordered *Picinino* to march with a powerful army against *Genoa*, which prompted the *Genoese*, without delay, to storm the citadel, and send to the *Venetians* and *Florentines* for assistance against their common enemy. *Picinino*, finding it impracticable to attempt *Genoa*, marched into the western *Riviera*, and besieged *Albenga*; while the *Genoese*, instead of continuing unanimous against the enemy of their republic, most imprudently renewed their former animosities. After long and warm contests, *Isnard Guarco* was declared duke; but seven days after he was expelled by *Thomas Fulgoso*, who had returned to the city, and, being supported by a great many friends, was restored to the government, in consequence of his former election. *Fulgoso* immediately sent succours to *Albenga*, the siege of which soon after was abandoned by *Picinino*. The *Genoese*, in the mean time, had recovered *Porto Venere* and *Vercye*; and, having concluded an alliance with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, had considerably reinforced their army with recruits from *Tuscany*.

THE following year *Philip*, in hopes of recovering *Genoa*, had recourse to fraud; and, by great promises to *Baptist Fulgoso*, persuaded him to seize the palace, and usurp the government. The duke was then at church; but being instantly joined by a great number of citizens, without difficulty he recovered the palace, and apprehended his brother, whom he pardoned and restored to his friendship, giving him the command of seven galleys ordered to assist the duke of *Anjou*, who the year after, in the beginning of *April*, entered the

The Genoese revolt from the duke of Milan.
A. D.
1436.

A. D.
1437.

harbour with five galleys from *Marfeilles*. The duke was received with the greatest honours, as king of *Naples*; and in the end of the month left *Genoa*, and proceeded to take possession of his new kingdom. After his departure, *Pelegrus Promontorius* sailed with four vessels against some *Catalan* pirates; but his forces mutinying for want of their pay, he was obliged to return before he could find out the enemy. The same admiral sailed the year after with seven ships to the assistance of the duke of *Anjou*, who, by means of the *Genoese* the following year, made himself master of the castles commanding the city of *Naples*. The eagerness with which the *Genoese* attached themselves to the party of *Renatus* of *Anjou*, at length disturbed the tranquility of their state.

A. D.
1438.

A. D.
1441.

A FEW months after the taking of the citadels of *Naples* from the *Catalans*, the republic entered into an alliance with pope *Eugenius* against *Alphonso*; and the pope having raised four thousand horse, *Fulgoso* ordered a fleet to be immediately prepared, appointing his brother as admiral. This nomination gave great offence to the nobility, especially to *John Antony Flisco*, who, failing in an attempt to create a tumult in the city, retired to his estate in the mountains, where, being assisted by *Philip Visconti*, he raised a considerable body of men, and invaded the territories of the republic. The coasts at the same time were harassed by the vessels of *Alphonso*, which were assisted by the marquis of *Final*. The duke exerted himself with great activity against his enemies; but the distress of the republic, preventing the intended voyage of the fleet, the pope exclaimed against him with great bitterness. The year after, *Alphonso* made himself master of *Naples*; and *Renatus*, despairing of his cause, returned in a *Genoese* ship to *Marfeilles*.

A. D.
1442.

A. D.
1443.

FLISCO still continuing in arms, and the discontents in the city being encreased, on account of the great funeral honours bestowed by the duke on his brother *Baptist*, great precautions were taken by *Fulgoso* to prevent any tumults. Being informed that *Flisco* had concerted a scheme with the malcontents to enter the city, on the tenth of *December*, by the steep rocks, which towards the sea served instead of a fortification, he ordered those passes to be lined by a guard. But the weather being extremely cold, and a strong west wind rendering the sea tempestuous, the soldiers concluded it would be impossible for the enemy to advance, and left their station. The wind immediately becoming favourable to *Flisco*, he embarked his troops in small boats, and in about three hours entered the city. *Fulgoso*, finding it impossible to make any effectual opposition, referred the decision of the

contest to sixteen citizens; but before any sentence could be given, he was expelled from the palace by *Elisco*, and the government of the city committed to eight of the chief citizens. About the middle of *January*, however, *Raphael Adorno* was created duke, and four citizens were, at the same time, vested with the power of establishing new laws.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, tranquility was not restored to the republic; for *Elisco*, remaining still discontented, retired from the city, and seizing the towns of *Recco* and *Porto Fino*, plundered the neighbouring territories. At the same time, *Peter Fulgoso*, being exasperated against the republic on account of the expulsion of his family from the government, fled to the duke of *Milan*, who put him in possession of *Novi*, from whence he made continual excursions against the subjects of the republic, and carried off a hundred and twenty *French* mules laden with merchandize and military stores for *France*. While the republic was exposed to the ravages of these two malcontents, its commerce by sea was disturbed by the *Catalan* vessels, which obliged the duke the following year to conclude a peace upon dishonourable terms with *Alphonso*, promising to present him annually with a basin of gold. Two years after, however, *Alphonso* insisting that the basin should be presented at a public audience in a full court, the *Genoese* renounced the late accommodation, and again prepared for hostilities.

Peace be-
tween the
Genoese
and Al-
phonso.
A. D.
1444.

ABOUT the same time, the equity and moderation of the duke disgusting his own family, who expected more licence under his government, they persuaded him that it would be for the advantage of the republic that he should resign the administration. The same day that he abdicated, they, in a tumultuous manner elected *Barnabas Adorno*; but *Janus Fulgoso*, a few weeks after, entered the harbour with a single galley, and being followed by eighty-five young men, made himself master of the palace, altho' *Barnabas* had received a guard of six hundred men from *Alphonso*. This is the account given us by *Foliet*; but *Monstrelet*, a cotemporary author, relates, that some of the family of *Fulgoso* and *Auria*, in the end of the foregoing year, arrived with five ships at *Marseilles*, and made an offer of the sovereignty of the republic to the king of *France*. While they were making an agreement with the king's deputies, *Janus Fulgoso*, assisted by some *French*, took possession of *Genoa*; but afterwards refused to deliver it to the *French* ambassadors, who retired disappointed, and seized *Final*.

A. D.
1447.

- JANUS* recalled *Peter Fulgoso* from banishment, and appointed him general of the city militia. As the marquis of *Final* made continual incursions into the territories of the republic, the duke assembled a considerable body of forces, which, in the beginning of the following year, marched against *Final*, two ships soon after being fitted out to annoy the enemy by sea, against whom the *Genoese* were so exasperated, that, according to *Folieto*, they ordered the money which belonged to them in their public funds to be confiscated. Mean while *Janus Fulgoso* dying, the city, as a testimony of their regard, ordered a public monument to be erected to him; and chose *Lodovico Fulgoso* as his successor, who the following spring ordered several galleys to be fitted out against the *Corfuan* and *Provençal* pirates. *Final* soon after being reduced, the citadel of the place was demolished, and the suburbs pillaged. The inhabitants of the city, however, upon taking the oath of fidelity to the *Genoese*, were pardoned, and the third part of the city, according to stipulation, was granted to *Marc Caretto*, who had assisted in the siege against *Galeotto* the marquis. After the reduction of *Final*, the duke published a severe edict against those who should bring from *Rome* any pontifical letters or rescripts contrary to the privileges of the republic; but, in the following year, finding that the citizens began to murmur against his government, he voluntarily resigned his dignity.
- A. D. 1450. THE supreme administration was again offered to *Thomas Fulgoso* at *Sarzana*; but he, excusing himself on account of his great age, advised the citizens to choose *Peter Fulgoso*, who was accordingly unanimously elected. *Peter* had raised his reputation by reducing *Final*; but he quickly gave great offence to the people by the rigour he used towards those who were suspected of disaffection to his government. The following year, he ordered a monk to be hanged before the church of *St. Francis*, on account of some reflections uttered by him against his administration, and caused a board to be hung to his feet with this inscription, ‘This man talked of what he ought not.’ The *French*, toward the end of the year, seizing *Final* and *Petra*, he sent considerable garrisons to the neighbouring places; and the following year, being informed that *Mahomet* the second was making immense preparations in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, he sent a reinforcement of nine hundred men to the garrison of *Pera*. The *Turks*, however, the year after making themselves masters of *Constantinople*, *Pera* was likewise obliged to surrender to them, which greatly confounded the *Genoese*; especially as *Alphonso*, about

about the same time, made himself master of part of *Corfica*. Despairing of being able to protect their settlements in that island, and in the *Black Sea*, they disposed of them to the society of *St. George*, which flourished at this time in a surprising manner, notwithstanding the distress and disasters of the republic.

ABOUT two years after, *Alphonso*, instigated by the malcontents and exiles, attacked *Genoa* by sea and land. The duke, being chiefly apprehensive of the disaffected within the city, resolved to make them discover themselves, and to quell them before he proceeded against the invaders: for this purpose he put a strong garrison in the palace, and pretended to go out of the city to view the enemy, retiring, however, by a private way into the castle. The opposite faction, believing him really gone, took arms and assaulted the palace; but being attacked from behind by *Peter*, they were routed and dispersed with great loss, and many of those who survived were publicly executed. The enemy, finding their friends in the city thus cut off, despaired of success, and retired in the beginning of winter, leaving on a few galleys upon the coasts. These ships the following year, by furnishing succours to the malcontents, created some disturbances in *Albenga* and the western *Riviera*, which at length induced the duke to think of resigning. He found himself every day less able to struggle against the power of *Alphonso*, who was obstinately bent upon deposing him from his dignity, and restoring the family of *Adorno*, and the other exiles. That his enemies, however, might have no reason to triumph, two years after he sent ambassadors to *France*, with an offer of the sovereignty of the republic to *Charles* the seventh, who agreed to the conditions formerly stipulated with *Charles* the sixth, and sent *John* of *Anjou*, titular duke of *Calabria*, to *Genoa*, who was put in possession of the city and fortresses. This revolution greatly exasperated *Alphonso*, who immediately fitted out a large fleet, which he sent against *Genoa*, while the rebels, by his assistance, invested the city by land; but the king dying in the end of *June*, the fleet dispersed, and the land forces were obliged to raise the siege.

ALL the resources of the exiles being now cut off, *Peter Fulgoso* began to regret the loss of his dignity, which he now perceived he had resigned with too great precipitation. He retired to *Novi*, which, with another town, had been mortgaged to him for money owing to him by the republic. Having demanded the payment of his money several times in a pressing manner, he at length began to threaten the republic, on which account his brothers and relations were ban-

Alphonso of Naples finds an army and fleet against Genoa.
A. D.
1455.

The Genoese conclude a convention for the dominion of their state on the king of France.
A. D.
1458.

A. D.
1459.

nished the city. The neighbourhood of the *French* being disagreeable to *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, *Peter* by his means was reconciled to *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, who promised to assist him to the utmost of his power, in expelling the *French* from *Italy*, being jealous lest they intended to invade his kingdom, which was now disjoined from *Arragon*. *Peter*, receiving considerable subsidies from him, the following spring he assembled a large body of forces, and being joined by *John Philip Flisco*, with his vassals, advanced within half a mile of the city. *Flisco* being soon after killed by a shot from the walls, great part of his army dispersed, which obliged him to retire to the eastern *Riviera*, where he seized some towns which, however, were quickly recovered by the *Genoese*.

THE governor, being now freed from any apprehensions of the rebels, made great preparations for the conquest of *Naples*, receiving sixty thousand crowns from the republic, and as much from the private citizens, with which he fitted out ten galleys and three large ships, which were to be joined by twelve galleys, equipping by his father *Renatus* at *Marseilles*. To avert these formidable preparations, *Ferdinand* pressed *Fulgosi* again to attempt the recovery of the city. *Peter* accordingly, having received a large sum of money from him, assembled a new army, and about the middle of *September* surprised the city, and entered with his forces within the outer wall. Next morning, after a long engagement with the *Anjou* party, he entered one of the gates of the inner wall with a few of his followers, who, being so imprudent as to leave the gate unguarded, were shut into the city; by which means *Peter*, being pursued through several streets on horseback, was at length taken prisoner, and died next day of his wounds. His followers, upon the news of his death, quickly dispersed; and a few weeks after the governor sailed with his fleet to *Naples*.

The Genoese revolt from the French.

A. D.
1460.

WHILE he was engaged the following year in his *Neapolitan* expedition, the *Genoese* artificers, alledging they were oppressed by the unequal method of raising the taxes, took arms for the redress of their grievances. The sedition was probably fomented privately by the family of *Adorno*, who, knowing the aversion of *Aeneas Sylvius*, or *Pius* the second, to the *French*, sent ambassadors to *Rome* to consult about the means of driving them from *Italy*[†]. While the people seemed inclined to an accommodation, *Prosper Adorno*, and *Paul Fulgosi* the archbishop, and brother of the late *Peter*, entered

[†] Comment. Pii. l. 5.

the city, and excited them to renew the hostilities: they accordingly drove the *French* into the castle, and by the persuasion of the archbishop *Paul*, who affected great moderation, chose *Prosper Adorno* duke. Having received some money and troops from the duke of *Milan*, they besieged the castle, the garrison of which struck a great terror into the citizens, by firing a great number of bombs among the houses in different quarters of the city. The king of *France*, in the mean time, sent a body of six thousand veteran troops, and a considerable fleet, under *Renatus of Anjou*, to the relief of the besieged; but after they had advanced to the city, they were repulsed by the archbishop, who slew fifteen of the most obstinate of them with his own hand. *Prosper*, who before the arrival of the *French*, had acted in an absurd and arbitrary manner, was now apprehensive lest the popular favour should be transferred to the archbishop, and therefore, after the victory, excluded him from the city. A skirmish betwixt the two parties immediately ensued, when *Adorno* was expelled from the palace, and *Spineta Fulgoso*, the archbishop's cousin, was elected duke. The *French*, in the mean time, abandoned the citadel, which was forthwith occupied by *Lodovico Fulgoso*, who two days after succeeded as duke. The archbishop, however, the following year, offended that others should reap the fruits of his fatigues, about the middle of *May* seized the government: this occasioned a new tumult among the citizens, who, dreading a governor of his impetuous and restless disposition, about a fortnight after obliged him to resign. Four rectors were then chosen from the body of artificers, who governed only a few days, and *Lodovico Fulgoso* was again restored to his dignity. About two years after, *Lodovico* was again expelled by the archbishop, who, according to *Follieta*, obtained from *Pius* the second, leave to administer a secular government.

A. D.
1463.

THE king of *France*, in the mean time, being apprehensive of an insurrection of his nobility, who were greatly discontented, and held frequent conferences together, resolved to secure the friendship of *Francis Sforza*, and resigned to him the city of *Savona*, with all his rights to the city and territory of *Genoa*; for which purpose he wrote to all the princes of *Italy*, prohibiting them, under the pain of his resentment, from assisting the *Genoese* against *Sforza*. *Francis* accordingly the following year took possession of *Savona*, and soon after *Albenga*, and the other towns in the eastern *Riviera* submitted to him. The archbishop, in the mean time, giving a full swing to his impetuous temper, harrassed the *Genoese* more than a conquering enemy. Having collected a

The Genoese submit to the duke of Milan.

A. D.

1464.

guard of ruffians, he openly murdered and plundered the most worthy citizens, by which means he quickly thinned the city, the inhabitants running into voluntary banishment. Many of the chief citizens retired to *Saona*; and, by their solicitations, persuaded *Sforza* to send an army against the archbishop, who, upon the approach of the duke's forces, abandoned the city and proceeded to sea with three galleys, to wait for an opportunity of recovering the government. The *Genoese*, with great joy, took the oath of fidelity to the duke of *Milan*, who was respected by all the *Italian* states, for his many civil and military virtues. His moderate government, at length, put an end to the commotions, tumults, ravages, banishments, murders, and other calamities, which, for a long course of years, had been gradually exhausting the miserable republic; so that before this revolution, the shares in the bank of *St. George* had fallen sixty-seven *per Cent*. He was so acceptable to the *Genoese*, that the society of *St. George* the year after voluntarily resigned to him the island of *Corfica*. Upon his death, which happened the following year, in the beginning of *March*, the *Genoese*, who deeply regretted his loss, renewed the convention with his son *Galeazzo*, whose principles and conduct were very opposite to those of his father.

GALEAZO, in the beginning of his government, disgusted the *Genoese* by treating their ambassadors with less regard than those of the *Florentines*; and five years after, he gave great offence to the republic by disdainingly to accept of the honours the chief counsellors intended him upon his visiting their city. They furnished public lodgings with great magnificence for him and his retinue, and provided valuable presents, among which were four golden bowls, each of twelve pounds weight. He entered the city, however, without any ceremony; and, after continuing three days in the castle, went away in such confusion and hurry, as tho' he had been flying from an enemy. A few months after his departure, *Sixtus* the fourth, a native of *Saona*, being chosen pope, the *Genoese* sent eight of their chief citizens to congratulate him upon his promotion; who were received by him in a courteous and respectful manner, and obtained from him a bull, granting them several distinguished privileges. The republic now declined with great precipitation, and quietly submitted to the oppressive government of *Galeazzo*, dreading the return of their domestic confusions, if they should attempt another revolution.

ABOUT four years after, their important settlement of *Cassa*, in *Crim Tartary*, fell into the hands of the *Turks*; which mis-

misfortune was owing to the avarice and villainy of the go- *The colony*
vernors of the colony. The city under the *Genoese* had be- *of Caffa*
come very considerable, and was at this period the center *taken by*
of a most extensive traffic. The emperor of the *Tartars,* *the Turks.*
sensible of the great advantage he reaped from that settle- A. D.
ment, ordered all the disputes of his subjects in the adjacent 1475-
districts to be terminated at *Cassa*, and allowed the *Genoese*
governors to have a negative in the election of the captain
of the province. The governors of the colony abused this
privilege, and expelled some captains who had been justly
elected to admit others from whom they had received large
bribes. The ejected captains immediately fled to the Grand
Seignior, whom they persuaded to send a fleet against *Cassa*
of four hundred and eighty sail, under the command of the
basha *Geduc Achmet*. The bashaw, in a few days, made
himself master of the place, when he sent fifteen hundred
youths as captives to *Constantinople*, ordered all the *Italians* to
quit the city, and seized one half of the possessions of those
that remained.

THE loss of *Cassa* was not so sensibly felt by the *Genoese*,
their domestic grievances being then their chief concern :
their minds were exasperated by the continual oppressions of
their governors ; and, instead of finding redress from *Galkazo*,
their deputies were treated by him with the utmost contempt.
He even ordered a canal to be made from the castle to the
sea through the middle of the city ; but being affrighted by
the commotions of the *Genoese*, he dropt the undertaking,
which would have ruined a great many fine palaces. Soon
after the hopes of the *Genoese* were revived, by the news of
the death of *Galkazo*, who was assassinated in the church of
St. Stephen at *Milan*, on the twenty-sixth of *December*. To
prevent any commotion during the minority of his son, who
was then only a boy, the *Genoese* chose a council of eight ci-
tizens, with an ample authority to punish any rioters. This
council soon after added a body of two hundred foot to the
ordinary guard of the governor. The families of *Guarco*,
Adorno, and *Filipo*, however, immediately began to raise com-
motions in the valleys, and not long after surprised the city
with a handful of men, when the governor, though at the
head of one thousand horse and foot, retired with great pre-
cipitation into the castle. Several persons were then ap-
pointed under the title of the presidents of the liberty of the
Genoese, who made great preparations for the defence of the
city. The regents of *Milan* mean while sent a considerable
army, under the command of *Robert Sansverino*, to recover
the city ; and having set *Prosper Adorno* at liberty, promised
him

A. D.
1476.

A. D.
1477.

him the perpetual government of the republic if he would join their forces. The army being likewise reinforced by the family of *Spinula* and their adherents, after an obstinate engagement defeated the rebels, and recovered the city. During these disturbances, the *Catalans* harrassed the coasts of the eastern *Riviera*; and soon after *Thomasin Fulgasio* endeavoured to raise an insurrection in *Corfica*. *Fulgasio*, however, was quickly reduced, and *Lodovica Rivarolo*, with six gallies, obliged the *Catalan* cruisers to retire from the coasts.

The Genoese
thrown off
his yoke.

A. D.
1478.

MEAN while, the government of *Milan* becoming jealous of *Prosper Adorno*, had formed a resolution to oblige him to resign the administration of the republic. *Prosper*, having intelligence of their design, the following year entered into an alliance with *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, and having received considerable subsidies from him, openly renounced the title of vicar of the duke, and was created rector of the republic, with absolute authority. About the same time, thirty-eight counsellors were elected, one half of whom were merchants, and the other tradesmen; and a decree passed, excluding the nobility from all public offices. Hostilities immediately commenced betwixt the forces of *Sforza* and those of the *Genoese*, which last were commanded by *Robert Sanseverino*, who, in the former commotion, had served the duke. Soon after, an army of fourteen thousand foot and two thousand horse arrived from *Lombardy*; but, after several skirmishes, it was at length entirely routed by the *Genoese*, who sold their prisoners as galley-slaves to the *Catalans*. This victory was no sooner gained than the factions in the city revived betwixt the families of *Adorno* and *Fulgasio*. After several disputes, *Prosper Adorno* was at last expelled from the city, and *Baptist Fulgasio* was created duke, with a council of eight citizens, whose authority was not limited by the laws*. The year following, the *Turks* having made a descent in *Calabria*, and seized *Otranto*, all *Italy* was struck with consternation. The *Genoese* immediately sent two gallies to the assistance of the king of *Naples*; and the year after hired twenty-four gallies to the pope, which assisted at the siege of *Otranto*, and performed many signal services in that expedition. A few months after the recovery of *Otranto*, the *Genoese*, by the persuasion of a *Franciscan* friar, sent four gallies to the *Archipelago*, in hopes of recovering the island of *Mytelene* from the *Turks*; but the enterprize proved unsuccessful.

A. D.
1482.

ABOUT two years after, *Baptist*, having rendered himself odious to the *Genoese* by his arrogance and pride, and besides, being suspected, or rather accused, of a design to subject the

republic to the emperor, and to receive it from him as a vicariate for himself and his posterity, his uncle *Paul*, who was now elevated to the dignity of cardinal, formed a party against him, and drawing him unwarily to his palace without any guards, forced him, by a threatening speech, to abdicate the government, and deliver up the castles, being solemnly declared next day his successor by the votes of three hundred citizens. *Baptist*, to alleviate his disgrace, addicted himself wholly to study, and composed, in the manner of *Valerius Maximus*, nine books of memorable actions and sayings; in which he inveighs with great bitterness against the perfidy of his uncle, accusing him of the most enormous crimes, and most scandalous vices ^b.

A. D.
1483.

THE cardinal had not enjoyed his new dignity many months when a war broke out betwixt the *Genoese* and *Florentines*, about the territory belonging to *Sarzana*, on the east side of the river *Magra*. *Augustine Fulgoso* had sold the city to the *Florentines*; but some quarrel afterwards happening betwixt him and that republic, he resigned the same city to the society of *St. George*, who immediately sent a strong garrison thither. The war, in the beginning, was carried on with great vigour by the *Genoese*; but their generals, allowing themselves to be bribed by the enemy, soon lost the fruits of their first successes. Hostilities continued betwixt the two republics all the following year; but in the beginning of the year after, a peace was concluded by the mediation of the pope, by which it was agreed that the *Florentines* should renounce all pretensions to *Sarzana*, and that the *Genoese* should transfer to them all their rights to *Pietra Santa*. This treaty was solemnly ratified by both parties; but the *Genoese*, having offended the pope, he entered into the interest of the *Florentines*, who were thereby encouraged to refuse fulfilling their engagements.

A war
betwixt
the Geno-
ese and
Floren-
tines.

A. D.
1484.

A. D.
1486.

THE government of the cardinal, in the mean time, creating universal discontent, the following year ten citizens were chosen, with absolute authority to administer the affairs of the republic, and those of the society of *St. George*: the cardinal, however, still enjoyed the title of duke. Soon after the establishment of this new form of government, the *Florentines* again entered the territories of *Sarzana* with an army, and encamped on the east side of the *Magra*. The *Genoese* immediately fitted out a fleet of ten galleys, which sailed with three thousand land forces to *P'Erce*, in the neigh-

A. D.
1487.

^b Idem ibid. NEBIENS. l. 5. BIZAR. l. 15. FULGOS. l. 2. cap. 6. ad. fin.

bourhood of which city a battle was fought betwixt them and the *Florentines*, who gained a complete victory, and a few days after made themselves masters of *Sarzana*. The *Genoese*, having no resource to carry on the war by land, were forced to leave the enemy in full possession of their conquest. They, nevertheless, still reserved their claims, in hopes of making them effectual at another opportunity. *Thomasin Fulgosio* and *Paul Lecca*, in the mean time, raising disturbances in *Corfica*, and seizing several territories in that island, some forces were sent thither, and *Fulgosio*, being defeated and apprehended, was confined in the castle of *l'Eryce*, which so exasperated the cardinal and his son, that they caused one of the ten presidents of the republic to be assassinated.

A. D.
1488.

THE cardinal at length, beginning to dread the resentment of the people, thought of means to secure his own safety. To prevent his enemies from having the supreme authority, he persuaded the *Genoese* to put themselves under the protection of *Lewis Sforza*, who governed the duchy of *Milan*, as regent for his young nephew, but in reality had usurped his inheritance. *Sforza* received the *Genoese* ambassadors very graciously; and the cardinal's son, following them to *Milan*, he contracted an alliance with him, by giving him the bastard sister of his nephew to wife. The news of this marriage alarmed the jealousy of the opposite factions, who, to prevent the cardinal from confirming his tyranny by the power of *Sforza*, immediately formed a conspiracy against him, which soon became so formidable that he could with difficulty save himself in the castle, which was immediately besieged. During the siege, the city suffered so much by the fury of both parties, that the most moderate citizens sent an embassy to the king of *France*, begging his interposition, and likewise solicited the pope to interest himself for the safety of his native city. These embassies producing no immediate effect, they sent ambassadors to *Sforza*, excusing their proceeding against the cardinal. Soon after, by the policy of *Sforza*, an accommodation was concluded, whereby the duke of *Milan* was declared sovereign of the republic, and *Augustine Arno* his vicar for ten years. The cardinal, finding himself abandoned by *Sforza*, surrendered the castle, and soon after retired to *Rome*, being allowed a yearly pension of 84 thousand crowns, till the pope should confer upon him ecclesiastical revenues to that value ¹.

The duke
of Milan
declared
sovereign
of the re-
public.

¹ FOLIET. l. II. BARTHOL. SENEREG. de reb. Gen. ap. MURATI. t. 24. col. 515, &c.

DURING the four years that immediately followed this new establishment, the *Genoese* enjoyed great tranquility, and their ancient spirit began to revive. The palaces which were burnt down during the siege of the castle, were rebuilt with greater magnificence; the value of the shares in the bank of St. *George* increased; the city abounded with provisions; and both *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*, seeming to forget their ancient animosities, applied themselves with ardor to manufactures and traffic. To gratify *Sforza*, the republic consented, tho' with great reluctance, to a truce with the *Florentines*, which was afterwards renewed under the title of a cessation of hostilities. The war with the *Catalans*, indeed, still subsisted; but its effects were scarcely felt by the *Genoese*, who very rarely seized or lost any vessels. The following winter was remarkable for the immense degree of cold, which was so excessive that the sea was frozen round the mole; so that for two days no vessels could sail out of the harbour. This rigorous season was succeeded in the spring by a dreadful pestilence, which proved so fatal, that scarce every fifth person of those that remained in the city escaped alive.

A. D.
1493.

THIS year it was that *Charles* the eighth of *France* entered *Italy* with a powerful army, at the instigation of *Lewis Sforza*, who was desirous of maintaining his usurped authority in *Milan*, by introducing all the horrors of war into *Italy*. The king of *Naples* had threatened him, if he did not immediately surrender the duchy of *Milan* into the hands of his nephew *John Galeas*; and an alliance with the *French* monarch furnished the only probable means of being able to oppose the power of *Alphonso*. *Lewis* equipped at *Genoa* four large ships and twelve galleys, to act in concert with the *French* fleet, already sailed with a favourable wind. On the other hand, *Alphonso*, to make a diversion, entered into strict alliance with the pope, and by this means engaged the cardinal *Fregosa*, and *Bist Fiesco*, then at *Rome*, to excite fresh disturbances in *Genoa*. With some other disaffected persons, they joined the *Neapolitan* fleet, and laid siege to *Porto Venere*; but were repulsed by the intrepidity of *Balbi*, who commanded, and forced to embark with precipitation, after losing a great number of men^k.

A. D.
1495.
Charles
the eighth
enters
Italy.

WHILE the *Neapolitan* fleet was engaged in matters of little importance, the duke of *Orleans* arrived in *Genoa*, in order to counteract the measures of the disaffected, and induce the whole city to declare unanimously for *Charles* the eighth. Having intelligence that the *Neapolitans* had taken

^k FOLIET. l. 12.

Rapallo, he set out with a strong body of *Genoese*, assisted by some *Swiss* corps, to attack the enemy, and regain that place. To the ardor and courage of the *Genoese* we may attribute his success: they first mounted the enemy's entrenchments, drove them before them, and left nothing to the *Swiss* but the pursuit and plunder. *Lawrence Fregosa* and several of the disaffected, were made prisoners, *Biet de Fiesco* escaping with the utmost peril in disguise.

WHEN the *Swiss* returned to *Genoa*, they committed such disorders as rendered their insolence intolerable, and made the people take arms to drive them out of the city. The populace were so enraged, that had not the duke and senate interposed, scarce any of these mercenaries would have escaped their fury^l.

CHARLES the eighth was at *Ajli*, when the news of the victory gained over the *Neapolitans* arrived. It was expected he would have made *Genoa* a visit; but he contented himself with sending ambassadors to engage the republic to declare war against *Florence*. His conquests were so rapid, that *Lewis Sforza* became jealous: he was now in full possession of the duchy of *Milan*, by the death of his nephew, whom it was suspected he had poisoned; and apprehended that *Charles* would not bound his ambition to his successes in *Tuscany* and *Naples*. To secure himself he changed sides, and entered upon a fresh alliance with the pope, the king of *Spain*, and the republic of *Venice*. Soon after this alteration of measures, the *French* monarch returned to *Pisa*, and was persuaded by cardinal *Fregosa* of the facility of reducing *Genoa*. *Philip de Breffe* and *Misiano* were sent with a fleet and army upon this enterprise; but they were both defeated by *Adorno*, and *Spinola*, surnamed the *Moor*. *Rapallo* was afterwards retaken, the *French* and *Swiss* garrison made prisoners, and the succours landed from the fleet forced to retreat to the ships in great confusion^m.

A. D.
1496.

To these advantages the *Genoese* added several others: *Sarzana* was recovered at the price of a sum of money paid to the governor, and the *Venetians* disappointed of their designs upon it, notwithstanding their alliance with *Lewis Sforza*. *Adorno* endeavoured to gain possession of *Pietra Sarta* in the same manner; but the *Lucchese* interposed, and begun a treaty about this place with the marquis *Entague*. The duke wrote to *Sforza*, requesting him to intercede with the *Lucchese*; but this he declined, and by that means occasioned the separation of the republic from his interest. Soon

after, however, he visited the senate, and acquired the affection of the republic, by his affability, rich presents, and caresses, which no man knew how to bestow with greater address^a.

THE *Genoese* had just crushed a rebellion excited by *Laviano* in *Corfica*, when they received advice that *Charles* the eighth was preparing again to enter *Italy*, and meditating to revenge the perfidy of *Sforza*, and his losses in *Naples*, by an attack on *Genoa*. He was in expectation of forming a considerable party within the city, by means of *John Baptista Fregosa*, and of profiting by the divisions between the duke and the *Fiesco* family: in a word, he imagined the *Genoese* would easily be induced to change their protector, on account of their chagrin at the late conduct of *Lewis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*. *Trivulcio* was sent with a strong detachment to *Genoa*, with orders to join *Fregosa* and the cardinal *St. Pierre*. Other detachments were made in order to straiten the duke; but he was not easily disconcerted. He reconciled the duke with the *Fiesco* family, and procured the latter to march with all the troops that could be got ready, against *Trivulcio*. *Novi* had surrendered to the *French* general, without striking a single blow; and by this means the *Genoese* territories were exposed to the enemy's incursions, who did not fail to gratify their resentment and avarice by exacting heavy contributions. In the mean time, the *Genoese* marched forward; but were disappointed in coming to a battle by the retreat of *Trivulcio*, who pretended, that the scarcity of forage and provision rendered the expedition impracticable.

AT the death of *Charles* the eighth, *Lewis* the twelfth *Lewis* the claimed the duchy of *Milan*, in right of his mother; and *twelfth* conquered it, and all the *Genoese* dominions, in one campaign. *conquers* The government of the city he gave to *Ravestein*; and as *Milan* and for *Pietra Santa*, he kept it in his own hands, until the several *the* *Geno-* claims of the republic and *Lucca* could be determined^o. *esdomi-*

ITALY was no sooner delivered from *French* tyranny by *nions*. the departure of *Lewis* the twelfth, than its repose was again *A. D.* disturbed by the contentions of *Florence* and *Pisa*. The *1499.* republic of *Genoa* sided with the latter. *Pisa* was besieged, and a thousand *Genoese* were sent under *Renier de la Sarrette*, a *Spanish* officer of experience, to attempt the relief of the garrison by land, at the same time that a small squadron endeavoured to throw in provisions by sea, from which the city is distant about two miles. *Bardelle*, who commanded this little convoy, found means to escape all the vigilance of the

^a GUICCIARD. l. i.

^o GUICCIARD. l. 5.

enemy, to push up the mouth of the *Arno*, and throw in stores; notwithstanding which, the besieged were soon reduced to great extremities. Determined, however, not to surrender to the *Florentines*, the inhabitants offered to put the city under the protection of *Genoa*; a proposition which it seemed the interest of the republic to accept, although it met with great opposition, particularly from *John Lewis Fiesco*, who carried his point so far, that the senate refused returning any answer to the persons before they had obtained the consent of the *French* king, on whom the republic depended. An embassy accordingly was sent to *Lewis* the twelfth, to sound his inclinations; and the monarch, averse to any augmentation of the *Genoese* power, rejected the proposition. In consequence of the king's inclinations, the senate sent but faint supplies to *Pisa*, though their allegiance to *Lewis* was but of short duration^p.

The revolt of Genoa. WHAT *Lewis* had foreseen of the *Genoese* inconstancy came to pass in the year 1506. They threw off their allegiance to him, and obliged the person he had appointed governor to quit the city. Mutual resentments had always been harboured in the breasts of the nobility and people. Neither could bear with temper to see the offices of the state divided, each being desirous of engrossing the whole to themselves. A band of mechanics, filled with these notions, flew to arms, attacked and wounded many persons belonging to the *Doria* family. The magistrates assembled to quell the tumult; but could not succeed, except by a promise, that the nobility would content themselves with a third of the public employments. For a little time this satisfied them; but new seditions were soon excited by certain factious persons, who grounded fresh pretensions and expectations on the facility with which the late concessions were made. They again assembled, and plundered the houses of several nobility, obliging the whole body to retire, to avoid worse consequences. *Ravestein*, the *French* governor, had made a visit to his native country previous to this insurrection, leaving his command to *Rocabertin*, who was forced by necessity to comply with the former demands of the discontented. On notice of the tumult, *Ravestein* returned, and entered *Genoa* with a body of five hundred horse and seven hundred foot. He believed that he should be able to awe the mutineers; but finding his authority contemned, and the force he endeavoured to exert ineffectual, he retired to the fort or citadel.

THE people became more daring by his retreat, committed the charge of public affairs to eight persons of the lowest class, whom they called tribunes; and, not satisfied with the possession of the capital, they endeavoured to extend their sovereignty over all the other parts of the *Genoese* dominion. They gained possession of *Spezzia*, which *Lewis Fiesco* held in the king's name; and, in a word, became so successful in establishing confusion and anarchy, that their situation was no longer tolerable to the nobility, who resolved to carry their complaints to the throne. This they accordingly did; and the people soon after pleaded their own defence by their deputies, alledging, they had taken arms only because the insolence and power of the nobility became altogether intolerable and oppressive; that they had seized on *Spezzia* with no other view than to secure their commerce; and that they would observe the same obedience to his majesty as before. *Lewis* inclined to the side of the nobility; but he dissembled his sentiments, because the popular party was strongest. He feared that should he oppose them, they would throw themselves into the arms of the emperor *Maximilian*. He directed his measures accordingly, promising pardon to the ring-leaders of the sedition, and to approve their distribution of the government, if they would restore *Spezzia* into the hands of his officers. These concessions were not attended with the expected effects. The tribunes, contrary to the advice of the senate, refused to restore *Spezzia*, and the other places they had seized; nay, they directed their troops to attack *Monaco*. *Ravestein* did all in his power to oppose the progress of the malcontents; but finding his endeavours vain, he returned to *France*, to solicit a proper reinforcement to subdue them.

INCENSED at the obstinacy of the popular faction, the king determined to march in person with an army to chastize them. They heard of the preparations making in *France* against them; but such was their obstinacy, that they still kept *Monaco* besieged by a squadron of gallies, and six thousand men, commanded by *Tartalin*, a general sent them by the *Pisans*. They remained for several months before this place; and at last raised the siege, on the approach of *Guy de Alegre*, who advanced at the head of all the nobility in the country to relieve the garrison.

THEIR disappointment before *Monaco* served only to augment their discontent, irritate their passions, and remove from their minds all respect for the sovereignty and power of *Lewis*, and natural influence of the nobility. They pulled down his majesty's arms from all public places, and elected *Novi*,

A silk dyer a silk dyer, their duke; an office which had never been made duke. conferred on any man beneath the rank of a citizen, of the middle class between the nobility and the vulgar. They next published a declaration, asserting the liberty of the city, and making it unlawful ever to subject it to a foreign prince; notwithstanding, a few days after they put up the imperial arms. A change of measures, in favour of the emperor, was brought about so suddenly, that all men believed the insurrection was fomented by his agents; a suspicion that was corroborated by his letter of intercession to *Lewis*, requesting that he would abstain from all violence, and suffer the people to regulate the government of themselves and their own city, in the manner most agreeable to them.¹

THE *Genoese* then committed the defence of the city to *Tartalin* and *Jacobo Corso*, two of the best officers at that time in *Italy*. The latter remained in the city, while the former marched with a detachment to attempt relieving *Vinimella*, besieged by *Trivulcio*. After the departure of *Tartalin*, *Corso* laid siege to the citadel, which he battered with heavy cannon, without effecting a breach, while his troops were constantly harassed by brisk sallies made by the *French* garrison. At last he compassed by artifice what he could not effect by force: he ordered it to be insinuated to the besieged that all hopes of succour were now cut off, by the defeat of the king's army, the plundering of his camp, and seizing upon all the passes: he artfully mixed menaces with promises, and cunningly procured a capitulation, granting the garrison honourable terms, to which he paid little regard when he had them in his power. All the *French* were cut in pieces; and such was the cruelty of this infatuated mob, that they filled a caldron with the blood of those brave victims, and gloried in dipping their hands in it: they spared neither age nor sex, disregarding those infirmities which ought to have excited compassion.²

Cruelty of
the rebels.

HAVING thus treacherously gained possession of the fort, situated in the mountains, and commonly called the citadel, they next attacked the fort on the plain, likewise defended by a *French* garrison. It is probable that the fear of sharing the fate of their countrymen redoubled the courage of the garrison: they, indeed, made extraordinary efforts in their own defence, and often drove the besiegers out of the place, after they had got footing within the walls.

¹ FOGIET. l. 12.
MURATOR. col. 515.

² Idem ibid. etiam SENAREG. apud

IN this situation was unhappy *Genoa* when king *Lewis* arrived at *Aste*. However insolent the mutineers had been, while danger was at a distance, they now became perfectly humble, and sent six deputies to his majesty to apologize for a conduct that would admit of no palliation, on account of its cruelty. Had manly liberty alone inspired them, posterity at least would have done justice to their fame; but it was faction, cruelty, and licentiousness, that actuated their measures. His majesty easily perceived that their supplications and pretended repentance served only to amuse him until the *Florentine* succours arrived; and they had fortified all the passes to the city, ordered *Charles de Amboise* to march forward with the army, while he waited being joined by several *Italian* princes. After forcing all the passes, the marshal arrived at *Rapallo*, a village in the valley of *Posseveri*: here he maintained the strictest discipline, contenting himself with repulsing any attacks that should be made by the *Genoese*, until the king's arrival in the camp.

LEWIS no sooner joined the army than he ordered the *French* marshal to attack the *Genoese* forts on the mountains, and assist the garrison besieged in the fort on the plain. Immediately the army, consisting of eight hundred lances, eighteen thousand light horse, six thousand *Swiss*, and an equal number of other infantry of all nations, was drawn out in the king's presence. All things were disposed for the attack on the twelfth of *April*: *Gonzaga*, marquis of *Mantua*, and colonel *Mercato*, were sent with strong detachments to make a circuit round the hills, and attack the *Genoese* in the rear, while he charged them in person in front. A part of the cavalry he left to defend the passage in the valley of *Posseveri*, lest the *Genoese* should attack the *French* in the rear, while they were ascending the mountains. In this manner the assault began with great vigour on all sides: the marquis of *Mantua* soon rendered himself master of the enemy's camp, while they thought of nothing but standing their ground in the valley. He then charged with so much resolution, that the *Genoese*, believing the enemy greatly superior in number to themselves, soon gave way and were put in confusion. At last a total rout ensued, some taking flight to the mountains, others to the citadel they had lately reduced. The son of the marquis *d'Alegre* pursued them with the regiment of *Gascons* to the walls, on which he planted the colours in the king's name. On this occasion the *Genoese* lost near three thousand men killed and made prisoners.

THESE losses without the walls excited so great a consternation within, that the senate were for surrendering the city

*The senate
supplicates
peace.*

to his majesty. *Justiniani*, attended with several other senators, waited on *Lewis* with propositions to this effect, after having obtained a truce for twenty-four hours. The king refused to see them, but they obtained an audience of the marshal. They fell upon their knees, and with tears in their eyes besought him to have compassion on the miserable state to which they were reduced : they represented to him that they had no authority in the city, and that the disobedience of the *Genoese* rose solely from the fury and insatiation of the populace. Their government, they said, was divided into three classes ; the nobles and burghers composed the senate ; they had frequent quarrels, but always supported each other against the third class, which includes artificers and mechanics of all sorts, the embroilers and pests of government, and now the occasion of all the misfortunes of *Genoa*. In a word, the deputation pleaded so pathetically, that the marshal, having reported their prayers to his majesty, it was determined to pardon the mutineers upon their submission.

THE brutality of the mob, however, destroyed the effects of this resolution : they refused to lay down their arms, and added contemptuous terms and scornful insolence to their refusal. They determined once more to try their fortune in the field, and hoped it would prove more favourable than the last effort. They persuaded themselves that the king's army was less numerous than the senate pretended, and that these were not the troops who conquered *Naples* ; but an army of new recruits, who were sufficiently tired of fighting, from the warm reception they met with in the late action. Ideas so flattering elevated their courage so high, that they were fired with desire of repairing their disgrace, and regretted every moment that was spent in deliberation.

THIS fresh tumult greatly embarrassed the citizens. On the one side, they feared the king's resentment, because they passed a promise it was not in their power to perform ; and, on the other, they dreaded the perils to which they were exposed in combating the opinions of a headstrong multitude, with arms in their hands. They saw the seditious running through the streets, threatening, and even inflicting blows on such as did not follow their example. In the morning, the mob determined to make trial of their courage, went out of the town in a tumultuous manner at break of day, gaining the tops of the mountains by secret paths, known only to the peasants. They attacked the fort the *French* had taken in the last action ; but met with more resistance than they expected, which helped to cool their ardor. They still, however, con-

con-

tinued the attack ; but advice of their motions being received in the camp, the greatest part of the army marched against them, and they were driven, like a flock of sheep, back to the city, after losing a great number of men, most of whom were pressed to death in the crowd, or overturned and tumbled over the rocks in their flight.

THE night following, the mutineers sallied out of the city, with all their families and effects, headed by their duke, *Paulo Novi*. Most of them retired to *Pisa*, and the rest to some or other of the maritime towns. Those who were not resolute enough to go into voluntary banishment, laid down their arms, were reconciled to the senate, and determined to undergo the same fate. In the morning, all was quiet in the city, and the senate sent fresh ambassadors to *Lewis*, to implore his mercy, and excuse the late outrage. Their petition was granted, and a part of the army ordered to take possession of the city. After the mareschal had seized the principal posts, and placed guards in the proper stations, he ordered all the arms of the people to be carried to the arsenal, and themselves to lodge in the higher stories of their houses, making room in the lower for the *French* troops.

NEXT day, *Lewis* made his public entry with great magnificence ; and assembling the senate, ordered all the public acts and old records to be burnt in his presence, with a view that *Genoa* should henceforward have no laws but such as himself and successors should prescribe ; a resolution truly barbarous and *Gothic*. He then ordered a declaration to be registered, in which, that the city and state of *Genoa* should remain unalienably annexed to the crown of *France* ; that the *Genoese* should continue faithful to him and his successors, who would protect and defend them against all their enemies : that all crimes committed during the late troubles should be pardoned : that all contention among the different classes of the people should cease, and a perfect union be established among them : that the *Genoese* should build, at their expence, a citadel in a certain part of the town, upon a plan given by his majesty : that the house of *St. George* should enjoy its ancient privileges : that the *Genoese* should be at all the expence of supporting such garrisons as the king shall think sufficient for the defence of the city and *Genoese* territories : that they maintain four galleys and four ships of wars, to be disposed of at his majesty's pleasure : that the city be governed by magistrates chosen annually ; but that their power extend not to make alterations in the police, form alliances, declare war, &c. all which shall be deemed royal prerogatives : that they judge in all civil causes, with an appeal, if thought convenient, to his

Lewis the twelfth is master of the city, and regulates the government.

A. D.
1508.

majesty : that the city, and all the *Genoese* dominions, obey the orders of the mareschal *Amboise*, whom the king has constituted his lieutenant on this side the mountains; and before whom it shall be lawful for parties to appeal from the common courts of judicature.

BESIDES the articles contained in this declaration, his majesty obliged the city to pay all the expences of the war, which he deemed nothing more than the equitable punishment of their inconstancy. He ordered all the old money to be recoined, and took every other measure that could destroy the least vestige and remembrance of the ancient republic.

A. D.
1509.

IT was the following year that the emperor made some abortive attempts to wrest *Genoa* out of the hands of the *French*, by means of a secret correspondence with *Baptista Justiniani* and *Fregosa*, two banished noblemen. In 1509, *Julius* the second endeavoured to surprize *Genoa*, assisted by the *Venetians*, who had likewise their own secret designs. His holiness equipped a fleet, which was joined by four large *Venetian* gallies. The armament was joined by great numbers of refugees and banished nobility; among others, by the archbishop of *Genoa*, son of *Biet Fiesco*. It was proposed to invest the city by sea and land, intelligence of which coming to *Chaumont*, who commanded in *Genoa*, he sent a squadron to give battle to the enemy. The two fleets coming in fight of each other off *Porto Venere*, began a cannonading, which continued for two hours; after which the pope's admiral steered for *Sestri*, without making any farther efforts.

A. D.
1511.

NOTWITHSTANDING a series of intrigues carried on with the refugee *Genoese*, at different courts, to draw the city from her attachment to *France*, the *Genoese* continued faithful, and even raised a considerable army in support of the *French* government. The attempts of *John Baptista Fregosa* rendered it necessary to solicit a reinforcement from *Trivulcio*, which his circumstances would not admit of sparing. *Fregosa* profited by this conjuncture in the month of *June* to recover the ducal dignity. He approached the city; and the *French* commandant, believing himself too weak to resist, retired into the citadel. It was certain that he entertained suspicions of the fidelity of the citizens, as he refused to return at their most pressing intreaties. He even carried his jealousy to such a length as imprudently to fire upon the city from the citadel; a conduct that incensed the *Genoese* greatly, and induced them to receive *Fregosa*, who was elected duke on the twenty-ninth of *June*.

THE new duke immediately retorted the hostilities commenced by the *French* governor. At the instigation of the pope's

pope's legate the forts were invested, and batteries erected, which played with great vigour and success. Several of the forts were surrendered; but the *French* found means to throw in succours into the southern fort, which withstood all the efforts of the *Genoese*. In the mean time, the king, informed of the revolt of the city, ordered all the *Genoese* ships and merchandize in his ports to be seized.

THE duke, apprehending that the *Fiesco* family carried on some secret designs with the *Adornos*, to re-establish the *French* government, determined to defeat their measures. *Jerome Fiesco*, being upon a visit to the duke on the twenty-third of *May*, attended by his two brothers, some words arose between him and *Mobo Fomatin*, in the anti-chamber. Young *Fregosa* took part with *Fomatin*, and his two brothers with *Fiesco*. In an instant an hundred swords were drawn on both sides, and much blood would have been spilt, had not the duke interposed his authority, and effected an accommodation. This reconciliation, however, was not sincere; for *Jerome Fiesco* was assassinated a few days after by *Zachary Fregosa*; and the two remaining brothers were taking measures to revenge his death, when the *Adorno* family marched with three thousand men into the valley of *Pozzeveri*. The duke employed a body of troops to give them battle. The whole *Fregosa* family took arms, engaged the enemy, and were defeated with great loss. Upon this the *Adorno* family relieved fort *Louthan*, which had been long besieged. In a word, so successful were the two families of *Fiesco* and *Adorno*, that they obliged the duke to quit the city, and again restored the *French* dominion. *Zachary Fregosa* now suffered the just punishment of murder; after being pierced with numberless wounds, his legs were tied to the tail of a horse, and his body dragged round the city.

The republic revolts.
A. D.
1512.

Now the *Genoese* established a new council called *della Boglia*; and dispatched *Melchior de Negroni*, *Ansaldo Grimaldi*, *Vincent Santi*, and *Augustin Ferrara*, to the general of the fleet, to oblige him to return to *Genoa*, and submit to the *French* king. But while the *Adornos* were thus working the restoration of the *French* government in *Genoa*, his majesty lost the battle of *Novaro*; and *Octavian Fregosa* embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Adorno* family. He got together a body of troops, which *Antonio Adorno* was so far from opposing, that rather than involve his country in a fresh civil war, he voluntarily laid down the dignity of duke, which he held from the *French* king; an instance of patriotism, which may possibly be attributed to necessity. Certain it is, that for the short term of his government, he gained the
affec-

affections of the people in a very extraordinary manner, and was loaded with their blessings as he now departed the city.

PREYON, who commanded the *Genoese* fleet, quitted the coast by the king's order, after having supplied the southern fort with all necessaries; and *Ottaviano Fregosa* was elected duke without opposition. The *Genoese* had kept this fort close besieged, when *Fregosa* assumed his dignity: he resolved to push the siege with vigour; and one of the boldest actions recorded in history was performed by *Cavallio*, on this occasion. With three hundred men he cut the cable by which a *Dalmatian* vessel, laden with provision, was tied to the fort, and carried her off amidst a thick fire of cannon and musquetry of the garrison. The boldness of the action astonished, but did not appall, the besieged, who continued the defence with their usual resolution. Several attempts had been made to undermine the fort; but they were all frustrated by unfurmoutable difficulties: the sea washing the bastions, retarded the miners, and the cannon of the fort sunk all the boats assisting the workmen. However, one *Pietro Toscano*, an ingenious engineer, contrived a plan from which the besiegers had great expectation. He built a large vessel, the sides of which were fortified with wool-sacks, to prevent the effects of the cannon balls. On board of this vessel he embarked the miners, and the whole difficulty lay in bringing her along-side the fort. This was very near accomplished, when the garrison sallied out so briskly, that the whole project was defeated, many of the workmen killed or drowned, and *Toscano* with great difficulty saved.

ALTHOUGH *Toscano* was foiled in this enterprize, all allowed it to be ingenious and boid, and the *Genoese* relied much on his abilities. Their enemies had now received reinforcements of *Milanese* and *Swiss*, with which the *Adorno* and *Fiesco* families took the field, to the number of six thousand men, gaining, in a short time, possession of *Chiavari* and *Portofino*. The duke sent *Nicholas Doria* against them, with five hundred foot; and he was immediately followed by *Federic Fregosa*, several other nobility, and reinforcements. Assisted by *Andrea Doria*, who commanded the fleet, they battered *Chiavari* for two days, but could not succeed. In the mean time, the enemy increased to ten thousand, and were marching to invest *Genoa*. *Adorno* encamped for the space of ten days at *Bisagno*, and seemed preparing all things necessary to push the siege with vigour, when of a sudden he quitted his camp with so much precipitation, that he left his

The Genoese besiege the French garrison in the citadel.

his artillery behind. Thus *Genoa* was, for this time, relieved from the impending storm; but still the duke could not accomplish the reduction of the forts, particularly the southern fort, against which he bent all his endeavours. At last, however, having intercepted a convoy intended for the garrison, he obliged the governor to capitulate, after he had been reduced to the most deplorable necessity^s.

THE joy produced by this event was so tumultuous, that it afforded the *Adorno* family with an opportunity of attempting the city by surprize. They marched with five hundred men in the night, hoping to become masters of the palace with little trouble, in consequence of secret intelligence they held in the town: but the roads were so bad, and their march so tedious, that day-light broke in, and discovered their design before they arrived at *Castellazzo*. After holding a council of war, it was determined to pursue their march. Accordingly they arrived at *Genoa* on the twenty-seventh of *December*, seizing on *Carbonara* gate, with little resistance. Pushing on to the palace, they cried out ‘Long live *Adorno* and ‘*Fiesco*!’ They awaked the duke in attempting to force the gate, and found him a more vigorous enemy than they expected. Forming his men in the best order, he sallied out at their head, sword in hand, and made dreadful havock. The wounds he received served only to whet his ardor, and he continued the fight, till the enemy, no longer in condition to oppose so much valour, turned their backs, left a clear victory to the duke, who took *Adorno*, *Fiesco*, and *Camillo*, prisoners, and totally abandoned the design.

A. D.
1514.

IN this situation were things, when *Francis* the first mounted the throne of *France*. He immediately resolved to recover *Milan* and the *Genoese* territories, which had been wrested from his predecessor. For this purpose he endeavoured to form an alliance with *Leo* the tenth; but his holiness had just concluded a treaty against *Francis* with *Charles* the fifth, two days before the arrival of the *French* ambassador. There was not in *Italy* a man of quality more beloved by his holiness than *Ottavian Fregosa*: he employed all his authority with the *Spaniards* to have him made duke, when the city fell into their hands, and he obtained the dignity for him in prejudice to the right of the ~~older~~ brother, who had solicited this high office; at the same time. On his side, *Fregosa* had always expressed a just sense of the pope’s friendship, and regulated his conduct by no other rule than the inclination and interest of his benefactor. He had done him many good of-

Francis
the first
endeavours
to recover
Genoa.
A. D.
1515.

sices in return, and was highly instrumental in his exaltation to the head of the church. He governed *Genoa* by the will of *Leo*; and discovered all the intrigues of the *French* to disunite him from the holy see; but, now the pope's friendship grew burthensome, and *Fregosa* began to tire of an alliance which hourly endangered his life, and made him run the hazard of assassination. *France* protected the *Adorno* and *Fiesco* families, his greatest enemies, who had now twice brought him on the brink of ruin. He saw that their attacks would never cease, as long as they were protected by *France* and he at enmity with that monarch; he therefore formed the resolution of entering into the measures of king *Francis*, and putting himself in the place of his rivals, the *Adornos* and *Fiescos*. His ingratitude to *Leo*, he thought, would be sufficiently excused by the urgency of the circumstance, and the hazard which would attend his continuing his friendship longer.

ON the other hand, the duke of *Milan* was *Fregosa's* sworn enemy, on account of the connections he had formed with the *Adornos*, and his pretensions upon *Genoa*. The *Swiss* had vowed never to forgive the injury done them, when he made his application to the *Spaniards* to be restored to his dignity, rather than to themselves. Thus, he was certain of being deprived of his dignity by either of the contending interests that succeeded in their schemes; and while he was balancing, the constable of *Bourbon* seized the opportunity, and fixed him in the interest of *France*. All the constable apprehended in this treaty was, its coming to the pope's knowledge; but this he prevented by making it the first article in the alliance that it should be kept secret. The duke of *Milan*, however, got some intelligence that a *French* gentleman was concealed in the duke's palace: he sent notice of it to the pontiff, and requested that he would lend him the four thousand *Swiss* cantoned in the ecclesiastical dominions, with which he promised to secure *Genoa* to the holy see. *Leo* gave no credit to an information which he attributed to *Sforza's* malice, and refused to let him have the troops. Thus, *Fregosa* was allowed to pursue his scheme with *France* unmolested.

FRANCIS, having determined to invade *Italy*, sent the cardinal *de Sion* into *Piedmont* with an army of twenty thousand men; and, to open a passage for him, *Aymon d'Éprie*, one of the most experienced officers of his time, was detached with a squadron, on board which were embarked five thousand veteran foot, and four hundred lances, to *Genoa* to join the duke, who had engaged to raise a certain force. This junction

junction was formed, as they pretended, for their own defence. It was necessary to enter upon part of the *Milanese* beyond the *Po*, and to surprise the towns of *Tortona* and *Alexandria*, in order to dislodge the *Swiss* posted in *Suza*, and prevent themselves from being attacked in front and rear. The duke and *de Prie* were successful in their scheme, having taken *Tortona*, *Alexandria*, and all those territories of the *Milanese* beyond the *Po*; but the prosecution of their design in thus opening a passage for the *French* troops proved unnecessary, the duke of *Savoy* having pointed out an easier road.

THE following year his holiness and the *Spaniards* concerted a plan for surprising *Genoa*; but it was discovered and frustrated by *Fregosa*. At last *Colonna* formed a scheme against it, which had better success, in spite of all the diligence and ability of the duke. *Genoa* was besieged by the *Spanish* and ecclesiastical forces; it was bravely defended by the duke, reinforced by the *French*, but at last forced to capitulate. *Adorno* was made duke in the room of *Fregosa*: the same form of government that had continued for so many years before the *French* came into *Italy* was restored, and the republic's fleet put under the imperial admiral's command for three years. While the capitulation was settling, the *Spaniards*, observing that the *Genoise* relaxed in their duty, seized the opportunity, and forcing themselves into the city, pillaged it in a cruel manner. The only resistance they met with was in the street, where a body of three hundred *French* were posted. To these *Fregosa* and the count *de St. Paul* joined themselves, and fought with such desperate fury, that for three hours the *Spaniards* could not break this handful of men: at last these heroes were surrounded, and forced to surrender prisoners of war, the count *de St. Paul* alone escaping into a garret (A).

The pillaging of *Genoa*, the richest town at that time in *Europe* except *Venice*, brought on disputes among the confederate generals. *Colonna* accused *Pescara* of having broke the

(A) *Folietta* observes, contrary to the testimony of all other writers, that *Fregosa* was at this time, confined to his bed with the gout; but ordered himself to be carried to the standards on hearing of the capture of *Pescara* had taken the count *de St. Paul* prisoner. This nobleman he demanded, in order to shew

him from the fury of the *Adornos*. The favour was refused, and he was so mortified with grief, that his distemper ascending to his stomach, put an end to his life (1). Other writers ascribe his death to the fatigue of this action, and the chagrin of seeing himself stripped of all his power by the *Adornos* (2).

(1) *Estet.* l. 6. 12

(2) *Senareg.* *ibid.*

faith of kings, by abandoning the city to the licentious humour of the *Spanish* soldiers, in order to curry favour with the infantry; and *Pescara* contented himself with replying in a maxim often repeated by *Commines* in his memoirs, 'That he who is successful in war carries off all the honour.'

FROM this time *Genoa* took no share in public affairs; at least it would be impossible to separate the affairs of the republic from the general transactions of the war between *Francis* the first and the emperor *Charles* the fifth, which we have had so frequent occasion to mention in the course of our history.

A. D.
1525.

ALTHOUGH the republic made no great figure in this war, some *Genoese* individuals greatly signalized themselves, and among these *Andrea Doria*, who commanded a squadron belonging to the *French* king. He defeated the *Spanish* admiral *Moncade* after a bloody battle, that raised his reputation to the highest pitch of ambition, and performed several other gallant actions, which placed him among the greatest commanders of the age: what, however, gained him more honour than all his military exploits, was the revolution he effected in *Genoa* in the year 1528.

Doria
quits the
French
service,
and forms
schemes for
restoring
liberty to
the city.

A. D.
1528.

BEFORE this time *Doria* had quitted the *French* service, and employed his mind in setting schemes on foot for rescuing his country out of the hands of foreign princes. He well knew the fickle disposition of his countrymen, and encouraged this humour with great address, to promote their interest and restore their long lost liberty. As he had a great number of friends in the city, with whom he maintained a constant correspondence, he lost no occasion to excite discontents against the present form of government, or rather the present administration. He persuaded the people that the *French*, under the notion of protecting them against their enemies, left them only a shadow of liberty, governing with all the despotism of conquerors. To the nobility he represented the disgrace of suffering the reins of government to be directed by foreigners, and putting their property, liberty, and lives, in the power of men less worthy of authority than themselves. In a word, he formed a strong faction, laid a plan, and judiciously fixed upon a season for the execution, when the violence of the plague had carried off three-fourths of the garrison (B). He advanced with five hundred men, his friends

(B) It appears, from all the circumstances of this relation, and the concurring testimony of authors, that *Genoa* was, at this time, under the protection of *France*, though it does not appear when the city had shaken off the yoke of the confederates, after they took it by surprize. A. 1521.

opened

opened the gates to him, he seized the principal posts in the city, and thus became master of Genoa without drawing his sword, the French garrison having retired to the forts. *Tri-* *He gains possession of*
vulcio himself withdrew to the citadel, from whence he wrote to the confederates that he would undertake to drive out *Doria* if they would send him three thousand men. This reinforcement not coming, however, at the time expected, *Tri-*
vulcio blasted the laurels he had been collecting in a tedious war, by signing scandalous articles of capitulation, in order to save his own treasures.

No sooner were the French driven out of Genoa than *Doria's* name was echoed in every street: some expressed their real sentiments by their demonstrations of joy, others followed the current of fortune, and many thought to conceal their aversion to this hero, and the liberty of the republic, by joining in the public acclamation. *Doria*, without examining into the real opinions of individuals, resolved to profit by the general appearances, and the present humour of the people: Immediately he assembled the nobility, and restored the government into their hands, declaring that he pretended to no greater share in it than became him as a nobleman. He re-established the ancient form of the republic, and received from his country all those testimonies of gratitude, which a conduct so disinterested merited.

AFTER finishing this glorious enterprize *Doria* retired to his palace, under pretence of avoiding the jealousy of his fellow-citizens; but in effect to enjoy in tranquility the fruits of his past labours. His country admired his moderation and prudence, they honoured him with the title of father of his country, and the restorer of public liberty; and, to transmit to posterity the memory of their obligations to him, they erected a statue with the following inscription,

Andræ Auricæ civi opt. feliciss. que vindici atque auctori publicæ libertatis: senatus populusque Genuensis pos.

IN the mean time the Genoese did not suffer their joy so wholly to engross their minds as to divert their attention from the necessary business of the state. To enjoy the sole fruits of their liberty, it was requisite to gain possession of all the dominions of the republic, and to expel the French garrisons out of several of their towns and forts. They began with *Savona*, which they closely blocked up. *Mortjean* made several attempts to relieve the besieged; but all his endeavours were foiled by the vigilance of the Genoese. However, his ill success put him upon a scheme which served, at least, to raise his reputation. It was to surprize *Doria* in his palace, the one side of which was washed by the sea, and the other joined

to the walls of the city. Taking with him fifty horse and two thousand foot, picked out of the whole *French* army, he set out for *Genoa*, travelled 22 *Italian* miles in one night, and arrived about day-break at the place appointed for a rendezvous. Under favour of a morning fog, he seized upon all the avenues leading to the palace without being discovered, and was first seen by a footman, when the *French* were within a very short distance of the palace. Immediately he awaked *Doria*, who scarce had time to save himself by the back-door, and throw himself into a small boat, that carried him to the galleys lying in the road (C).

A. D. 1526. NOT long after the count *St. Paul* attempted to surprise *Genoa*, but was disappointed by a heavy storm of rain, which rendered the ways impassable. Next year *Charles* the fifth was crowned at *Bologna*, at which ceremony the ambassadors of *Genoa* and *Sienna*, disputing about precedence in the church, came to blows with their fists, and were both turned out by the emperor's order.

A. D. 1536. THIS year *Hercules Fregosa* and *Guy Rincon*, made an attempt to surprise *Genoa*: they were entered the valley of *Poseveri*, when *Andrea Doria*, with the emperor's consent, detached *Spinula* and *Antonio Doria*, with seven hundred men, to the relief of his countrymen. When they arrived they found the city in the utmost consternation, and the women flying with their children to the mountains. *Rincon* had already arrived at the gate of *St. Thomas*, and planted his scaling ladders against the walls, while *Fregosa* made another attack on the side of *Bisagno*. *Baptisto Corso* had sustained the first shock of the enemy, but was just on the point of yielding to superior force, when *Spinula* and *Doria* came up, renewed the engagement, drove *Rincon* from the walls, and thus delivered *Genoa* from the most dangerous attack she had lately sustained. *Doria* was like the tutelar deity of the state; he first gave it liberty, and then protected it by his vigilance and foresight, though removed at a distance.

WHILE the republic was heaping honours upon him, he took a step which greatly surprised his most profound admirers: it was his adopting *Jeannetin Doria*, a distant cousin, to succeed him, not only in his estate but employments. *Jeannetin* was the son of *Thomas Doria*, a nobleman reduced to want: he was bred a silk-weaver, an employment no

(C) Two years after, he commanded the emperor's fleet against the *Turks*, laid siege to *Coron*, in the *Morea*, and performed several gallant actions, which we have elsewhere recorded.

way suited to his birth : he was young and handsome, but ignorant, vulgar, rath, and insolent. It is probable that *Andrea Doria* did not perceive his defects, or if he did, that he attributed them to want of education, which consequently would wear off as he became better acquainted with life. He introduced him to the imperial service, and recommended him to many *Spanish* officers of distinction, with intention, that their protection should support *Jeannetin* in the dignity to which he should be raised at his death; and he gradually accustomed the *Genoese* nobility to treat him with that respect they would naturally pay their superiors in birth and merit.

ON the other hand, *Jeannetin* did not support his elevation with all the prudence and circumspection necessary. Far from refusing those extraordinary deferences paid him, he seemed to claim them as his right: he demanded the homage of his equals with the insolence of a superior, obliged many to be his enemies, who bore his cousin the strongest affection; and, in short, became hated and despised, in spite of the public respect for *Andrea Doria*.

AT this time, the most considerable nobleman in *Genoa* *The rise* was *John Lewis Fiesco*, head of one of the most ancient and illustrious families in the city. *Lewis Fiesco* was ambitious, bold, popular, and wanting in none of those qualities requisite for undertaking the most daring enterprizes. The indolence in which the *Genoese* nobility lived, was no way suitable to his disposition. He sought for means of signalizing himself, and obliging fortune to do justice to his merit. However, the want of proper conjunctures had set bounds to his ambition; and he saw himself restrained to those narrow limits to which persons of his rank were confined by the laws of his country. *Jeannetin's* elevation destroyed all his hopes of ever procuring an employment suited to his dignity and ambition. *Doria's* adoption gave to that upstart the command of the republic's armies in war, and the presidency of her civil œconomy in peace. Nothing remained for *Fiesco* but to accept of a subaltern employment under the person he despised.

IN these mortifying circumstances *Fiesco* began to revolve in his mind whether a revolution in the form of government might not be effected, by which he might raise himself to those honors which he claimed in right of his rank and merit. He disssembled, however, his intentions; but others, who had formed the same designs penetrated into his views, and

^c Hist. de Gen. t. 2. l. 11.

a coalition of interests was immediately struck up. In the prosecution of this scheme, *Fiesco* was astonished to find such numbers of discontented nobility among those he always reputed the fast friends of *Doria*; nay, to find himself the most strenuously solicited by those men to rescue the government out of *Doria*'s hands. His first care was to prove the sincerity of this new party: next he put himself in a condition to oppose the *Spanish* fleet and the *Milanese* troops, who would undoubtedly lay siege to the city, should any alteration be introduced into the government. But it was impossible to oppose the formidable power of *Charles* the fifth, without applying for foreign aids; and *France* alone could afford the necessary assistance, or find its interest in supporting the views of *Fiesco* and his faction.

A COMMISSION was given to *Cæsar Fregosa*, to sound the *French* monarch's inclinations; but *Fregosa*'s negotiation proved abortive, from the obstinate silence he preserved with respect to the names of the heads and principal persons concerned in this design. *Fiesco* did not reproach him with his ill success; but he sent another agent, the famous *Gonzaga*, more expert in business, to treat with *Francis*. *Gonzaga* took the most effectual means to succeed; he demonstrated, in a few words, that the only means of driving the emperor out of the *Milanese*, was to cut off the communication between that duchy and his other dominions, which could only be done by rescuing the republic of *Genoa* out of *Doria*'s hands, and consequently detaching it from the emperor's interest.

THIS remonstrance had the desired effect. It was determined in council to assist the projected revolution; but *Gonzaga* did not quit the court before he obtained a solemn promise, that *Francis* would renounce, in favour of *Fiesco*, all his claims to *Genoa*, as soon as the revolution should be accomplished. He likewise received the necessary powers for assembling the troops cantoned in *Piedmont*, and calling them to his assistance whenever it was found expedient; and he selected out of the whole fleet in the harbour of *Toulon* a certain number of ships, to compose a squadron for the same purpose.

AFTER securing the friendship of *France*, *Fiesco* meditated how he should still strengthen his interest, by drawing the pontiff into his measures. He made an excursion to *Rome*, under the pretence of pleasure; but in reality with a design the more easily to communicate his plan to *Paul* the third. The occasion was seasonable; for *Doria* had a dispute with the holy see about the effects of bishop *Doria*, his

his cousin, in *Naples*, who, in his last will, made him sole heir and executor. This will was contested by the officers of the holy see, who insisted, that all the estate of the deceased bishop descended of course to the pope, as head of the church, and immediate patron of that diocese. The affair was carried to *Rome*, and decided by the rota against *Doria*, who found in the same persons his judges and opponents. Hence proceeded a coldness between *Doria* and his holiness, of which *Fiesco* hoped to make his advantage. He first opened his design to cardinal *Trivulzio*, the most brilliant character in the sacred college; who not only received it with approbation, but entered strongly into the scheme, which he promised to support with all his interest. It was indeed no difficult matter to gain his holiness; a variety of circumstances concurred to make *Fiesco's* journey as successful as he could wish; the pope not only encouraged him in his purpose, but furnished him with fresh means of accomplishing it.

ALTHOUGH *Trivulzio* approved of *Fiesco's* project, as far as it related to *France*, yet he deemed it highly chimerical with respect to himself; and stated it in such a manner to *Fiesco*, that he was frequently upon the point of renouncing it; but the insolence of *Jeannetin* determined him to run every hazard. On his return from *Rome*, he was treated so magistrally by that young gentleman, that with the utmost difficulty he restrained his temper, and suppressed his resentment, the giving way to which would infallibly destroy his whole scheme. In the mean time, he began with endeavouring to augment the number of his adherents by the utmost affability, liberality, and generosity. His conduct, however, was perfectly circumspect, and a medium between too much neglect and too eager solicitude. He never railed at the administration, or testified any impatience to see measures altered. His mind appeared tranquil, and his life easy, and divested of all public care. Nothing escaped him that could rouse the suspicion of his enemies; the more his ambition stimulated him, the more eager did he seem studious of repose and privacy. In a word, his whole carriage was artful, cautious, and politic; yet his designs were penetrated by Spanish emissaries, maintained at the public expence in *Genoa*. *Fernando Gonzaga*, viceroy succeeded the marquis *d'Este* in the government of *Milan*, gave notice of the conspiracy to *Doria*; but his great soul discredited the report, which he attributed to a mean and insidious attempt to destroy the character of *Fiesco*. He relied upon his own integrity, the public affection, and the services he had done his country, without re-

flecting upon the prejudices conceived against him on account of *Jeannetin*. There were, at the same time, some peculiar circumstances in the information, which made *Doria* suspect it; and every thing seemed to concur in rendering *Fiesco's* designs successful, and effecting the revolution.

Fiesco
drowned,
and his
project de-
feated.

WHEN matters were sufficiently ripe, the plan of execution was fixed, their places assigned to each, the day, the hour, and the signals agreed upon. The first attempts were made on *Doria's* palace, as seizing upon his person would be more than half the business; but his good fortune once more interposed, and rescued *Doria* from the very jaws of destruction. On the first alarm, he mounted his horse, and retired to a neighbouring castle, finding that all endeavours to oppose a revolt apparently so general, would be of no effect. All their other attempts, however, were successful; and the senate and friends of *Doria* in a fair way of being driven out of the city, if *Fiesco* had not, unfortunately for his party, lost his life by an accident. The sudden change consequent on his death, was a proof of *Fiesco's* importance. As if the whole faction had been planet-struck, every arm ready to give the blow was arrested, the sword fell harmless, the senate and *Doria's* party took courage, and the scale of fortune suddenly turned, by one of those circumstances that cannot rationally be accounted for. Certain it is, that when *Fiesco* perished, by the giving way of a board over which he was crossing a canal, no attendant was with him. His death was known by accident; and yet, as if his whole faction had certain forebodings of his fate, a panic seized them in the career of prosperity, when hardly any thing opposed them, and just as *Genoa* was on the point of becoming the reward of their bravery and well-schemed designs.

It must be owned that the senate on this occasion acted with the utmost prudence and intrepidity. At first they made several weak attempts to resist *Fiesco*; now, on intelligence of his death, they seized the opportunity, rallied their small party, and pushed the dispirited enemy with great resolution. The most sanguine of the conspirators were astonished; many of them, who had not the same confidence in *Jerome Fiesco*, the surviving brother, fell off from the party and joined the senate: but it was not the intention of this body to depopulate the city by bloodshed, but to heal the wounds of discord by the salutary balm of peace. They entered upon a negotiation with the conspirators, and promised a general pardon, provided they laid down their arms; a proposition no sooner made than accepted. Three of the principal conspirators *Ottoboni*, *Verina*, and *Colaagno*, not chusing to trust

trust to promises which had not been ratified by old *Doria*, set sail for *France*; and one happy consequence at least attended this insurrection, as it occasioned the death of *Jeannezin*, whose insolence, temerity, and harsh manners, had given the first disgust, and set *Fiesco* on rescuing his country from falling into the hands of a person unworthy to succeed *Andrea Doria* ^u.

THE tumult being thus appeased, the senate sent a deputation to *Andrea Doria*, to console him on the death of *Jeannezin*, and request him to return to the city, where he was received with all imaginable honours. His old age, which enfeebled his arm, added greatly to the respect of the people, who were easily persuaded to enter into his sentiments of revenge. *Doria* went next day to the senate, and, under the veil of patriotism, strenuously advised a revocation of the pardon granted by the senate, which he said was an encouragement to incendiaries and parricides. Having obtained the senate's consent, he declared all those who were concerned in the late insurrection traitors to their country, and began the punishment with the body of *Fiesco*, which he ordered to be ignominiously treated and thrown into the sea: his magnificent palace was next razed to the ground, and his memory rendered infamous: his brothers were proscribed, all the ringleaders out-lawed, and the meanest individual concerned in this unfortunate affair banished the city for fifty years; a severity unworthy of the great *Doria*, and attributed to a mind enervated by old age, and soured with infirmity and grief at the loss of his adopted son. *Jerome Fiesco* was ordered to surrender *Montebio* to the commissaries who were sent to him; but this was a point not so easily settled as the others: *Montebio* was strong by nature, and *Fiesco* had bestowed great pains in fortifying it, from the time that he had harboured the first resentment against *Doria*. *Jerome* refused to comply with the demand of the commissaries; and the senate, fearing it would be difficult to force him, set on foot a negotiation: but this too proved unsuccessful, *Jerome* being so much incensed at the persecutions he saw going on against his family, to hearken to any propositions whatever. The emperor's ministers dreaded lest this obstinacy would again light up a war in *Lombardy*, and *Montebio* be put in the hands of the *French*. The place was of the utmost importance to the emperor; he, therefore, urged *Doria* to besiege it, promising to support the whole expence.

* Vid. lib. citat.

ACCORDINGLY *Augustino Spinola*, an officer of great ability, was ordered to invest it, which he did with so much vigour, that the garrison was forced to surrender at discretion. *Doria* had the good fortune to take prisoners in this place the greater number of his enemies, many of whom had returned in disgust from *France*, to signalize themselves in the defence of *Montebio*. Most of the senators were inclined to mercy; but *Doria's* authority prevailed. The *Fiesco* family could not exist, even in the meanest situation, without exciting jealousy in that of *Doria*: they were rivals, and consequently implacable enemies; it was, therefore, determined to extirpate, or at least punish the conspirators with all the severity the law admitted. *Jerome Fiesco*, *Verina*, *Colaagno*, and *Cajurato*, were sentenced to death: *Ottobon Fiesco*, and all his posterity, were out-lawed. *Scipio Fiesco*, the youngest of the four brothers, about ten years of age, and then a student at *Padua*, was included in the punishment, though of too tender an age to be deemed guilty of the crime: he was stripped of all his effects, forced to take refuge in *France*, and his posterity, to the fifth generation, prohibited from setting foot in *Genoa*. Such were the effects of a conspiracy which, after having been planned with wisdom, secrecy, and address, and just on the point of execution, was ruined by an unforeseen accident, and the loss of *Fiesco* count of *Lavagna*, who was the soul and animating principle of the whole faction.

The emperor
visits
Genoa.

A. D.

1548.

THIS year his imperial majesty visited *Genoa*, and was received with all the honours due to his high rank and heroic character. His retinue was so numerous that it excited the jealousy of the republic, and obliged the magistrates to place guards in every street, for the protection of public liberty. A few days after their fears were augmented by a proposal which *Charles* made to the senate of building a citadel in the suburbs, in which he should keep a *Spanish* garrison for the defence of the city, and to suppress tumults and conspiracies, which became so frequent and so dangerous. This was a proposition not at all relished by the senate; it was rejected with one voice, in spite of all the arguments urged by the emperor.

FROM this time there appeared a certain coldness between the *Spaniards* and *Genoese*; it soon rose to an unconquerable aversion, which at length broke out in the following manner. The court of *Madrid* had given secret orders for arresting a *Spanish* criminal, who fled from justice and took shelter in *Genoa*: his name was *Doza*, and he was arrested in the street by *Dr. Alignaca*, and committed to prison. Afterwards he was removed, with intention to be put on board a *Spanish*

Spanish galley, and sent to his own country to take his trial; but the populace rose and endeavoured to rescue the prisoner: this obliged the guard to fire upon them, which killing a *Genoese* mechanic, set the whole city in an uproar. *Doria* sent *Spinula* to appease the tumult, who on his arrival found the people besieging about fifty *Spaniards* in a house: he dispersed the mob, and conducting the *Spanish* guard and the prisoner to the nearest gate, let them out, and returned to *Doria* with an account that the sedition was quelled. This, however, was not the case; for the *Spaniards* were again stopped at the second gate by the guard, who prepared their pieces, and threatened to fire on them if they did not release the prisoner; but being informed of *Doria's* orders, they permitted them to pass without farther molestation.

The people attack the Spaniards.

ANOTHER affair of no great moment occasioned great disturbances in *Genoa* about this time. At the emperor's command *Mendoza* seized on *Piombin* and the isle of *Ilva*, belonging to *Ferdinand Appian*, with intention to prevent its falling into the hands of the *French*. *Mendoza* ceded that place to *Cosmo de Medicis*, who promised to fortify and keep it for the use of his imperial majesty. He laboured indeed with such diligence on the fortifications, that it raised suspicions in the *Genoese* merchants of some design to restrain their commerce. The people mutinied, and accused the nobles of betraying their country, because they did not oppose *Cosmo*, and declare war upon *Flurence*. *Doria* employed all his influence and authority to appease the sedition; but finding the people obstinate, he consulted the senate on the means of satisfying the mutineers. It was determined to send an ambassador to the emperor, offering him two millions, if he would cede the place to the republic; but *Cosmo* frustrated the effects of this proposition, by artfully representing, that the *Genoese* were upon terms with *Leon Spozzi*, to put it into the hands of the *French*. One good effect attended this embassy, for by it the people were convinced, that the nobles harboured no design against the public good, and maintained no correspondence with *Cosmo*, grand duke of *Tuscany*.

Two years after, a cordelier was seized, on suspicion of carrying on a secret correspondence in *Genoa*, with a view of betraying the city to the *French*. He was put to the question, and accused *Baptista Fornari* of being an accomplice in the conspiracy. No notice, however, was taken of this accusation, unsupported by credible proof, and the cordelier was dismissed, and banished. Next year, *Spozzi* made an attempt to seize the person of *Doria*, as he was conducting the

A. D.
1550.

king and queen of *Bohemia* into *Spain*. The design, however, was discovered, and frustrated by the prudence and circumspection of *Doria* *.

The French invaded *Corfica*. In the year 1553, the marquis *de Termes* invaded *Corfica*, with an army of two thousand five hundred chosen troops. In a short space of time, he reduced *Sans Fiorenzo* and *Bonifacio*, two places of great importance on account of the intelligence and communication they held with *Ornano*. All the other towns submitted in a few days to the conqueror, who had now no other difficulty than to secure his conquests with so small an army. The marquis immediately sent to *Marseilles* for reinforcements; he began repairing the fortifications of *Fiorenzo* and *Ayazzo*, and putting them in a state of defence. On the first advice of this descent, the senate gave orders for new levies, and bestowed the command of all their forces by sea and land on the aged *Doria*, putting the standard of *St. George* into his hands, which he gave to his grand nephew *Andrew Doria*, son of *Jannetin*, declared admiral of the whole fleet.

A. D.
1553.

As the *Genoese* did not think their own strength sufficient to drive the *French* out of *Corfica*, they sought assistance from the emperor; and he wrote to the grand duke of *Tuscany*, to whom the island lay most contiguous, to reinforce them: he likewise gave the viceroys of *Naples* and *Sardinia* directions to oppose the *French* by sea and land; but these orders were so general, that the republic was in a manner left to fight her own quarrel. It is true, indeed the *Naples* galleys conveyed the *Genoese* troops, to the number of several thousand men, into *Corfica*, by which means the campaign began earlier than it would have done had they waited for the republic's fleet. Immediately *Doria* invested *Fiorenzo*; and the trenches being opened about a month, the garrison began to be in great want of provision. The marquis *de Termes* resolved to throw in a convoy, and *Doria* used every expedient to prevent their receiving any succours. *Jean de Turin* commanded the *French* detachment, who, after maintaining an obstinate battle, was killed and his party defeated: however, the diversion *Turin* made, furnished two *French* frigates with an opportunity of pushing into the harbour, to the great joy of the distressed garrison, now enabled to prolong their defence. As the siege was likely to turn out tedious, young *Doria* divided his army into several corps, and reduced the whole island, except *Ayazzo*, *Rozzella*, and *Bonifacio*, under the dominion of the republic.

MANY of the *Corficans*, who had first joined the *French*, now changed sides, and followed fortune. By these *Doria's* army was considerably encreased, and the marquis de *Termes* proportionably weakened; and, to encrease his misfortune, the few troops that remained became mutinous for their pay. At last *Jourdain des Ursins*, governor of *Fiorenzo*, was forced to surrender the place towards the latter end of *February*, A. 1554. Several of the emperor's *Neapolitan* subjects were made prisoners here, and tried, condemned, and executed as rebels.

AFTER the loss of *Fiorenzo* the marquis was forced to cross the mountains and retire to *Ayazzo*: his army was too weak and mutinous to keep the field: several companies absolutely separated themselves from the main body of the army; and the marquis was forced to coin base money for their use, which he promised to take in exchange for good as soon as supplies should arrive from *France*.

AT last reinforcements came, and the war was renewed with vigour on both sides. *Doria* laid siege to *Ayazzo*, and took *Celombino* with little resistance. In the year 1557, the *Genoese* were reinforced by a body of two thousand five hundred *Germans*, and eight hundred *Italians*, which rendered them so much superior to the enemy, that *Jourdain des Ursins*, who had the command, could not keep the field: he, therefore, put strong garrisons in those towns which yet remained in his hands, and retired with the remainder to the mountains, where he encamped in a very advantageous situation.

THE following year the republic was alarmed lest the *Turks*, who were ravaging the coasts of *Italy*, might chance to make a descent on *Corfica*. To prevent this, they negotiated a peace with the *Porte*, and effected it by means of their liberal presents to the bashaw. It contained in substance, that there should be perpetual peace between the Grand Seignior and the republic; that the *Genoese* should maintain a bailiff at *Constantinople*, in the same manner as the *Venetians*, for the protection of their trade; that they should not send more than three ships to the *Dardanelles*; and lastly, that if any accident should happen to break the harmony subsisting between the *Porte* and the republic, both sides should give timely notice of their intention before the commencement of hostilities.

IN the year 1559, the emperor *Charles* the fifth dying, peace was concluded between his son *Philip* the second, king of *Spain*, and *Henry* the second of *France*. By the seventeenth article of this treaty it was stipulated, that *Henry* should restore to the *Genoese*, or house of *St. George*, all the places which

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1558.

which he held in *Corfica*; but that the artillery and warlike stores should belong to the army, and be drawn off with the troops.

Doria
dies.

A. D.
1560.

THE year following was remarkable by the death of *Andrea Doria*, prince of *Melfi*, the greatest captain of his age, and most experienced and successful naval officer. *Doria* was truly the father of *Genoa*: he rescued it from the usurpation of foreign princes, raised it to the highest pitch of glory, by his wisdom and military achievements, and would have died with a character unblemished, had he not polluted his hands with the blood of his countrymen after the last insurrection, and persecuted the unhappy family of *Fiesco* with a severity unbecoming a great mind. So happy was *Doria* in all his enterprizes, so wise in his schemes, so intrepid and alert in executing them, that the republic always thought their army invincible under him, and for that reason created him perpetual duke and commander in chief of all the republic's fleets and armies.

IN 1563, the *Genoese* seized on the marquissate of *Final*, the property of the marquis *Caretto*, which they pretended ought to devolve to devolve to them by the crime of felony, of which the marquis had been convicted. *Caretto* appealed to the emperor *Ferdinand*; but the republic refused to stand by his award: however, at the request of his Catholic majesty justice was done to the marquis.

ABOUT this time the war broke out afresh in *Corfica*. A treaty had been concluded between the king of *Navarre* and *Philip* the second, whereby the former relinquished his pretensions to *Navarre*, receiving in exchange from *Philip* the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, the latter of which he promised to conquer by the assistance of *Peter Corso*, who had married *Vannima d'Ornano*, daughter of *Francis Ornano*, surnamed *St. Pietro Corso*. *Corso* went to *Constantinople* to solicit assistance from the *Porte*, or at least to engage the Grand Seignior to countenance the enterprize; but the death of the king of *Navarre* frustrated the treaty, and destroyed *Corso's* embassy. From *Constantinople* he returned to *France*, where, in a fit of jealousy, he murdered his wife *Vannima*. After residing some time at court, he made a descent on *Corfica* with a handful of men, excited to the enterprize, in all probability, by *Mary de Medicis*, with whom he had frequent conversations. He seized upon *Ilna*, and formed a scheme to surprise *Fiorenzo*; but it was discovered, and disconcerted.

IN the mean time, the *Genoese* fleet arrived at *Bastia*, where the admiral found the commissary of the island, with eleven companies of *Corfican* foot. Having landed his troops, he
marched

marched to *Bourg*, within ten miles of *Bastia*, and there held a council of war, in which it was resolved to pass to *Caccia*. On their arrival in that province, the *Genoese* found that *Corso* had advanced to *Omeffa*, and that the *Corfican* auxiliaries, which joined them on their landing, were filled with traitors, who daily deserted to the enemy. A second council was called, to deliberate on the means of preventing desertion, and regulate the operations of the army. The members that composed the council were divided in opinion; the *Genoese* officers maintained, that the army ought to march along the valley running along the banks of the *Geyro*; and the foreign officers insisted upon a very different route, in order to avoid engaging in a place where their rear was exposed to the attacks of the peasants. Captain *Antonio Bokagina Corso*, always faithful to the republic, represented to the general, that his rear would certainly be attacked by the peasants in the valley, while *Corso* was charging him in flank and front; but his opinion was disregarded, and the road through the valley chosen, against the dictates of military experience and common sense.

EVERY thing fell out as had been predicted. The *Corficans* from all hands poured like a torrent on the *Genoese*, with loud shouts. A stout resistance was made; the *Genoese*, under every disadvantage, fought with unparalleled bravery; but fortune did not second their endeavours; they were broke and defeated with great loss, numbers taken prisoners, stripped to the shirt, and driven, like sheep, naked to the next town *seated*.

* BARTH. SENAREG. ap. MURATOR. A. 24. col. 515. et sequent.

(A) Among other persons of distinction taken in this battle, was *Andrea de Costa Corso*, an officer in the *French* service, who had come to marry a young lady of *Corfica*. The *Genoese* commander offered him a regiment in the army of the republic, which he refused, saying, he could not with honour receive the pay of two masters. He served, however, as a volunteer in the engagement, as a subject of *Genoa*, and was taken prisoner. When he was

brought before *Pietro Corso*, that fierce officer was so incensed at his carrying arms against him, that he drew his sword, and would have put *Costa* to death, had not his own officers interposed, and threatened to desert him, if he offered any violence to so brave and respectable a character. Upon this, *Costa* was sent prisoner to a strong tower, where he was strictly guarded. *Vid. Hist. de Gen. l. 11.*

THE directors of St. George having intelligence of the defeat of the army, and revolt of the whole island, resolved to send *Stephen Doria*, whose courage and conduct they could rely on, to take charge of the army. *Corso*, who was acquainted with the abilities of this general, perceived that he would have a different game to play; he, therefore, enjoined the strictest discipline, and recommended it to all his officers to keep diligent watch on all their posts.

DORIA embarked for *Corfica*, with considerable reinforcements, and arriving on the island, marched directly to the residence of the bishop, where he pitched his camp, and employed five hundred mules in carrying provision of flour and biscuit from the fleet. *Corso* approached him with an army of fourteen thousand men. Next morning, he detached four thousand foot and five hundred horse, to attack the *Genoese* convoy. *Carlo Coraisola* commanded the convoy; and received the enemy with such undaunted courage, that, after a warm dispute, they were defeated, leaving seven hundred dead upon the field. Upon this *Corso* retired, and deeply entrenched himself at *Campalorè*; whither he was pursued by *Doria* with the vanguard, while the rear of the army was ordered to take a circuit by *Olieria*, in order to attack the enemy in the rear. *Doria* began the attack with great fury, and met with a vigorous opposition. At last, however, on the coming up of the rest of the army, *Corso*, finding himself too weak, retreated with precipitation, leaving behind large quantities of wine, bread, and other provision. *Doria* then marched, and surrounded a lake, in which he found an island, where *Corso* kept his stores and provision. He likewise sent a detachment to rescue *Costa*, who was confined at a small distance; but a disease that prevailed among the troops, prevented the success of either enterprize. A reigning dysentery, from drinking new wines, swept off prodigious numbers of the *Genoese*, and the malady was increased by the means used to put a stop to it. The lake water was ordered by the physicians to be diluted with the wine for common drink; which, joined to the excessive heat, the moist vapours exhaling from the lake, and the damp situation of the camp, aggravated the disease to a degree scarce inferior in violence to the most cruel plague. Fearing to be attacked in this miserable situation, he determined to retreat to *Bastia*, though the distance was near fifty miles. During this long march, the rear of the *Genoese* was continually harassed by the enemy; and all the sick would have been killed or taken prisoners, but for a generous resolution of some gentlemen who had served as volunteers in the army, to guard

An epidemical disease rages in the Genoese camp.

them, and sustain all the attacks of the *Corficans*. On the arrival of the army at *Bastia*, the disease encreased to such a height, that hundreds perished in a day. It attacked the peasants as well as *Genoese*, the cattle died for want of forage, scarcity of provision was added to the terrors of an epidemical disease; and of twenty-two battalions of *Italian* soldiers which *Doria* had with him, two only were fit for action (B).

DORIA had sent a part of his fleet to *Genoa* to bring over a reinforcement, and the gallies now returned with eleven battalions of *Spanish* infantry, who were opposed in their landing at *Porto Vecchia*. Upon this *Doria* advanced with his army, while the gallies made so terrible a fire with their cannon, that the garrison surrendered at discretion, instead of preventing the landing. Provision growing scarce, *Doria* embarked the artillery and infantry for *Calvi*, the cavalry being ordered to go by land in easy marches. In this passage the fleet was attacked by a violent storm, which destroyed some ships, damaged others, swallowed up the whole artillery, and did incredible mischief that greatly retarded the operations of the campaign. As to the cavalry, they executed their orders, but with great fatigue and danger; after which the troops were put into winter-quarters, and cantoned round *Capo Corso*.

In this situation *Corfica* remained till the year 1565, when the directors of *St. George* determined to exert all their endeavours in crushing the rebels. To effect their purpose they sent orders to the generals to destroy the crops of the inhabitants, set fire to their houses, rob them of all sustenance and protect them from the inclemency of the climate, and the attacks of famine; and the more easily to execute this plan, a strong reinforcement was sent to *Doria*. About the middle of *March*, *Doria* set out at the head of the army, to execute the barbarous instructions he had received, which he did most effectually, mowing down the corn about a foot long, burning all the villages, and spreading terror and desolation over the whole face of the country. Once the *Spanish* cavalry was attacked by the rebels; but they soon repelled them with great slaughter, and regained the camp.

v Hist. de Gen. l. II.

(B) Now it was that *Cossa* made his escape, and, conducted by a shepherd, took shelter in the castle of *Souvezara*, from whence he wrote to *Doria*. Such was the regard *Doria* ex-

pressed for this noble stranger, that he sent several gallies to escort him in safety to the camp, where he was received with loud acclamations. *Vid. supra*.

HAVING

*Doria de-
feats the
rebel ge-
neral.*

HAVING dispatched this business, *Doria* resolved to attack *Corso*, who was entrenched to the teeth, and strongly fortified near *Cortè*. To gain this place, it was necessary the *Genoese* army should cross the river *Goyra*, in which they were opposed by the enemy. *Corso* made several motions with his infantry, in order to make them appear more numerous : the stratagem answered in this particular ; for report augmented an army of 3000 men to 10,000, which, however, profited him nothing upon the whole. He was attacked, defeated, and almost made prisoner, his army cut in pieces, his camp plundered, and a most complete victory gained over him. *Corso* was saved by the generosity of one of his officers, who lent him his horse, and suffered himself to be taken by the *Genoese*, who barbarously hanged him on the next tree, with this label, ‘ Behold the price of generosity !’

DORIA then marched to *Cortè*, which he hoped to take by surprise ; but in this he was disappointed, and his army almost cut off by an ambuscade, extremely judiciously laid by the enemy. From thence he marched to *Tulon*, a strong fortress, encompassed with numerous batteries, well planted with heavy cannon. *Pietro Corso* was encamped under the walls of this place ; he made several vigorous attacks on the flanks of the *Genoese* army, but was constantly repulsed with the loss of a number of prisoners. *Doria*, finding his enterprize against *Tulon* more difficult than he imagined, decamped next morning with seeming precipitation, leaving a body of light horse in ambush. The *Corseans*, seeing the camp abandoned, flew with eagerness to pillage it, were attacked by the light horse, and suffered the just reward of their temerity and avarice.

PROVISIONS growing scarce the *Genoese* army mutinied, and obliged the general to carry them to the sea-coast, where they were plentifully supplied, contrary to the course he had sketched out. In this march they passed through several ambuscades, laid by the enemy in narrow defiles, where only one horseman could go a-head ; but such was *Doria*’s circumspection that he prevented all bad consequences. After harassing and laying waste almost the whole island, he returned to *Cortè*, which he besieged by order of the senate : his approaches were made with such diligence, that a considerable breach was made in the wall on the fourth day, orders given to storm it, and the garrison forced to surrender at discretion.

WHILE the *Genoese* general was employed in the siege of *Cortè*, *Pietro Corso* encamped at a pass through which *Doria* must pass near *Omessà*. His army was composed of nine thousand musqueteers, three thousand picquets, all entrenched under

under the cannon of the town. He had every advantage over *Doria*, and victory in all appearance was in his hands ; but the intelligence of a cordelier, whom *Pietro* had taken prisoner, and was now escaped to the *Genoese* army, saved *Doria*. His own prudence, indeed, and the excellent use to which he applied the cordelier's intelligence, not only extricated the army, but very near reduced *Corso* to the same difficulties he had planned for the enemy. In a word, the campaign ended in marches and countermarches, in which both generals distinguished their abilities, but struck no blow that was decisive. The army being sent into winter-quarters, *Doria* set out for *Genoa*, to give an account of the success of their arms to the directors of *St. George* ; and *Corso* took this opportunity of going to *Marseilles*, where he levied a great number of recruits with *French* money.

IN the beginning of the spring, *Pietro Corso* found himself at the head of a formidable army ; and, thinking it was incumbent on him to seize the opportunity, he marched to *Balagna*, where he destroyed a magazine belonging to the *Genoese* army. Nothing more of consequence, however, passed during the campaign, which was employed just as the preceding, in marches, countermarches, and skirmishes. The following incident deserves to be recorded : while the cordelier, who had furnished *Doria* last year with the important intelligence we mentioned, was prisoner with *Corso*, that rebel had often put him to the question, and was preparing the most cruel death for him, just as he fortunately found means to escape. From that time he sought the means of revenging himself on the rebel ; and, as nothing is impracticable to a man who devotes his time and attention to any particular pursuit, the cordelier brought matters to this issue : he first gained over *Pietro* an old servant of *Corso's*, greatly trusted by his master, in *Corso*, whose family he had resided for thirty years. He slept constantly at his master's chamber-door, and *Pietro* feared no alarm while this faithful dragon was upon the watch. The cordelier made himself master of the affections of this fellow, settled a plan with him for betraying *Corso* and the whole army. An ambuscade was designed, which would draw *Corso* to an action, in the heat of which the insidious *Vitello* (for that was the servant's name) engaged to shoot his master. *Fornari*, the *Genoese* general, was apprised by the cordelier of this project, and he was base enough to second it with the necessary forces. *Corso* fell into the ambuscade, and while he was making astonishing efforts to extricate himself, and giving admirable proofs of his intrepidity, he was shot in the shoulder by the base *Vitello*. The wound brought him

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A base
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Pietro
Corso is
killed.

immediately to the ground, but not till he had first discovered the hand that gave the blow : upon this he upbraided *Vittello*, and cried out to his son, about seventeen years of age, ‘ Fly, my son, we are betrayed ;’ but the son staying to rescue his father, was surrounded by a number of horsemen, the relations of his mother, who sought to revenge her death by the blood of *Corso*. He fought violently against his own uncle and cousins, and at last fell by their hands near the body of his father ².

AFTER the death of *Pietro Corso* the rebels lost heart. Finding themselves hard pressed by the *Genoese*, they offered the sovereignty of the island to the grand duke of *Tuscany* ; but this wise prince, who was a lover of peace, rejected the proposal, and acquainted the senate of *Genoa* of what was intended. The senate gave notice of it to their general in *Corfica*, that he might take his measures accordingly. The weakness of the rebels was attended with one bad consequence to the *Genoese* : the soldiers, imagining they had no enemies to combat, abandoned their posts for want of pay, and dispersed themselves in little corps round the country. Another circumstance augmented the confusion of the army, which, as it was a little extraordinary, deserves to be particularly related. *Pietro Andrea de la Costa*, a *Genoese* captain, being sent with a detachment to reconnoitre a party of the rebels in the neighbourhood of *Omeffa*, met with captain *Paul Baptista*, an old military acquaintance. *Baptista* told him, that since the defeat at *Cavia* he had quitted the *Genoese* service for that of *Corso*, where preferment was more rapid ; upon which *Costa* drew his pistol and shot him as a traitor to his country, from sordid views, and not from principle or mistaken opinion. The other rebels hearing the report of the pistol were alarmed, by which means the intention of examining their strength and situation was frustrated. On his return, this action being related to general *Fornari*, he severely reprehended *Costa*, and would have superseded him, had not the other officers and the soldiers with one voice stood up in his defence. *Costa*, however, found that the general embraced every opportunity of persecuting him ; he, therefore, quitted his corps, set out for *Genoa*, laid his complaints in person before the senate, and was redressed in a manner extremely honourable, being assigned a pension till the campaign was ended, when it was proposed to give him the command of the army in *Fornari*’s room.

² SENAREG. de Reb. Cors. A. 290

ABOUT this time *Corfica* was torn by two factions, distinguished by the appellations *Black* and *Red*. The former had found means to engage *Fornari* in their party, and persuaded him to drive the opposite faction out of the island. A plan was proposed, to which the general acceded, though the *Red* faction, deemed more loyal, was better beloved by the republic. Upon more mature deliberation the general entertained some scruples about entering on a business of such importance, without the authority of his constituents: he wrote, therefore, for the opinion of the directors of *St. George*, who referred the whole to his discretion. Being now at liberty to pursue his own inclinations, he disposed every thing for the execution of his design. His first step was to engage the inhabitants of the mountains to assist in retaking a fortress which the *Reds* had taken some little time before from the *Blacks*: this was attempted and proved abortive, captain *Camillo*, who commanded the expedition, having almost fallen into the enemy's hands. Irritated at this disappointment, the *Blacks* began a persecution against some prisoners confined in *Pio-renzo* since the last engagement with *Corso*, who had embraced the *Red* faction. Several of them they strangled with the general's permission; and in particular one captain *Jacques*, of a noble family, whom they first put to death in prison, and then exposed for several days to public view.

REPRISALS were made by the *Reds*: *Lucio*, who commanded in the fort, on which *Camillo* had made an unsuccessful attempt, was summoned a second time by the general to surrender it; but this he refused to the *Blacks*, though he said he would willingly put it into the hands of a *Genoese* garrison. *Fornari*, having no suspicion of his sincerity, sent an officer with fifty men, who were immediately admitted, then surrounded, stripped, and thrown in prison, but released about a month after, and sent back. Nothing, indeed, could be more rancorous than the hatred these two factions bore to each other. *Fornari* sent *Christopher de Negro* with a strong detachment and two pieces of cannon to lay siege to the fort, an employment that naturally devolved upon him, as he commanded the party imprisoned, and used with so much severity. The enterprize, however, failed, and it was thought through design, *Negro* bearing a grudge to the general, which suppressed the dictates of revenge upon the enemy. Happily, however, all these divisions terminated with *Fornari's* employment: he was now recalled, and peace in a manner succeeded his departure.

WHILE matters went on thus in *Corfica*, *Genoa* was not altogether in tranquillity. *John Baptiste Lencaro*, the duke, MOD. HIST. VOL. XXVIII. I having

having finished the two years of his office, was intriguing to have himself made perpetual procurator ; a favour that was positively refused, on account of his being strongly attached to *Spain*. *Stephen Prejon*, his son, imagining that his father's disappointment arose from the influence of *Lucas Spinula*, vowed revenge. Assisted by a band of desperate assassins, he attacked that nobleman in the street, killed *Pinelli*, one of the censors, supposed likewise to have opposed *Lercaro*, and dangerously wounded *Spinula*. One of the assassins betrayed *Prejon*, confessed the fact, and gave so distinct an evidence, that the young *Prejon Lercaro* was arrested, imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded, notwithstanding strong interest was made by the *Spanish* admiral, *Garcias de Toledo*, to have his life saved^a.

WHEN *Fornari* was recalled, the directors of *St. George* appointed *George Doria* to the command of the army in *Corfica*, and *Costa* for his lieutenant. The moderation and prudence of these generals soon put an end to the rebellion, and healed all the divisions among the *Corficians* themselves. All party distinctions were carefully abolished; forts built in proper places, both to keep the nobles in awe and secure the coasts against the incursions of the *Turks*. After which *Doria* returned about the end of the year to *Genoa*, having done more in a few months for the service of his country than his predecessor in as many years.

PREVIOUS to the civil war we are about to relate, it may be necessary that we give the reader a short view of the changes wrought in the government at that time, when *Andrea Doria* rescued it out of the hands of foreigners, and bestowed liberty with all its blessings on his country. It was, indeed, put under the protection of the emperor, who created *Doria* prince of *Melfi*; but under such restrictions that this tutelage drew nothing off from the public freedom.

DORIA, having taken all possible precaution with respect to the external security of the republic, put the reins of government into the hands of twelve reformers, chosen from the old and new nobility. The first regulation made by these reformers was that all those names should be abolished which kept up distinctions, and preserved the memory of their civil discords; that *Guelfs* and *Gibellines*, *Whites*, *Blacks*, and *Reds*, should be no more; that the nobility and people should be indifferently admitted into public employments, provided they possessed the qualifications requisite for holding such an office. They ordained that a duke and eight counsellors should be

^a SENAREG. *ibid*.

chosen; that no affair of importance should be determined or passed into an act the same day it was proposed; that the duke, the governor, and the procurators, have power to make what changes they thought necessary in the ancient ordinances, and frame new laws, provided they have no tendency to enlarge or extend their own authority. The more firmly to establish a perfect harmony among the people, it was resolved to admit, on the first day of every year, ten citizens into the number of the ancient nobility; and to remove all cause of contention, it was ordained that all the new nobility should incorporate themselves with the ancient, adding to their own proper names that of the ancient family in which they ranked themselves. Some alterations likewise were made with respect to the qualification of a senator. In a word, all the institutions of the reformers were directed to the noblest ends, the establishing peace, freedom, and concord. They chose *Aubert Lazari* duke; and their election was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the people. In this they regarded his wisdom more than family, for he was not of patrician rank. The governors and procurators were created at the same time, some from ancient, others from new-raised families, with no other distinction than what their merit occasioned.

THE *Genoise*, to shew their sense of the obligations they owed *Andrea Doria*, reduced the five syndics, or censors, to one, conferring the office solely upon him: they likewise made the office perpetual, and exempted him and his posterity from all taxes, and public impositions. In consequence of these happy alterations, an entire liberty of voting, either verbally, or by ballot, was introduced. However, as no human institution is void of imperfection, or no government so wise as not to be weakened by time, the ancient nobility began to murmur, that more citizens and artificers were placed in public employments than of their body; and that no equality was observed in the election of a duke, although this had particularly been enjoined in the law made by the reformers, with respect to elections. This abuse, they said, arose from the perversion of the constitution; that of a grand council composed of four hundred nobility, scarce a third were ancient families; hence it was, that the young nobility carried all before them; a circumstance which bred dissention and jealousy among the different families. They alleged, that notwithstanding the qualification-law, numbers had crept into the senate without the requisite qualifications. They urged besides, that admitting into the high council of the nation persons low in birth, fortune, and education,

was sinking the dignity of a senator, making illiterate ignorant persons govern the helm of state, and preferring those to offices of trust and profit, whom nature had never intended for higher stations than that of common mechanics. It is not surprising indeed the republic of *Genoa* should undergo such a variety of revolutions, when the mob became legislators. Experience has constantly shewn, that democratical governments have been most subject to violent alterations; and that the people who have attempted to raise themselves above the nobility, became in time the slaves of the nation. *Athens, Lacedemon, Pisa, Sienna, and Milan*, all lost their liberty in this manner^b.

TOWARD the close of the year 1571, *Jeannetin Lommelin* was elected duke, according to the usual formalities. *Lommelin*, shutting his ears to all the public complaints of the abuse of power, which had lately been loudly uttered both by the old and young nobility, began a violent persecution against *Matteo Senarega*, grand chancellor and first secretary of the republic, a man illustrious by his birth, his eloquence, and his erudition, upon whom the senate rested the most important affairs with a confidence never before reposed in any of the new nobility. Jealousy and private resentment alone actuated the duke's conduct, which he nevertheless covered with the sacred veil of justice. He resented that *Senarega* alone should sign the state dispatches, and proposed, that they should henceforward be countersigned by himself and two senators. Had he taken this precaution from generous views, and for the public good, the duke would have merited praise; but it was apparent that he more regarded mortifying *Senarega*, than advancing the interest of his country. The severity with which the order was executed sufficiently discovered the motives.

As the enmity between these two magistrates daily increased, it was believed with some shew of reason that *Senarega* excited the young nobility against the old. The latter had lately gained the ascendant in the management of affairs, and he had the boldness to set the former upon recovering their influence. The memorials requiring that the magistrates should be created, some by lot, and some by votes, were supposed to be drawn up by him, for this reason, that they were elegant, eloquent, and nervous. The utility of the law was in itself obvious; and it was no difficult matter for *Senarega*, so perfectly versed in the nature of the constitution, so skilled in politics, and so deeply learned, to support it with arguments

^b SENAREG. pass. apud MURAT. col. 515.

which seemed irrefragable, and engage the minds of the people to a revolt should it be disputed.

ON the following year, an accident occurred which en-creased the mutual animosity of the parties. *Balthazar the revoluti- Origin of Rottalé*, adopted into the *Palavicini* family, was arrested in *Spain* for debt; and he pleaded his release, in consequence of A. D. a law in that kingdom, by which no constraint can be laid 1572. on the person of a nobleman. His creditors denied him the benefit of this law, because they disputed his title; upon which the senate of *Genoa* sent a certificate, testifying that *Francis Rottalé*, father of the prisoner, had always lived with the splendor of a nobleman, had been reputed such at *Genoa*, and was a cadet of the *Palavicini* family: but some of the ancient nobility, to whom *Rottalé* owed money, procured a clause to be inserted in that certificate, whereby it appeared that he had not entered into the *Palavicini* family till the year 1528. The friends of *Rottalé* extremely lamented this obstacle to his release, and had address enough to make his particular affair the cause of the whole body of young nobility, who found their privileges affected in the distinction. The dispute was carried before the senate, argued with great warmth, but no resolution formed.

To these causes of dissention we may add another, which had considerable weight. In the year 1528, the reformers had ordained that the revenues of the house of *St. George* should be applied to portioning the daughters of ancient noble families, and to the other necessities of the old nobility. Some of these families, in order to exclude the new nobility, and engross the whole benefits to their own body, made out their genealogy, lopping off from the original stem all the new engrafted branches. The *Lommelin* family in particular ordered their genealogical tree, pruned in this manner, to be registered among the public archives, obtaining for this purpose a decree of the senate, in spite of all the opposition made by the new nobility. Upon this occasion it was said, 'That this tree would one day bear extremely bitter fruit, destructive of public tranquility and poisonous of liberty.'

THIS affair of *Lommelin's* made more disturbance than all the rest: their passions were already raised high, and wanted only this addition to flame out with violence. Interest now was immediately affected, whereas before nothing more than certain privileges and rank were the objects of contention. Some of the more moderate persons, who had nothing in view but the good of the community, proposed that a committee should be chosen of men of probity and wisdom, who could not be suspected of prejudice or bias, to determine the

affair,

affair, and make such new regulations as they saw necessary. But this expedient was opposed by the young nobility, who believed that if the committee was equally chosen out of both parties, they would lose their cause.

A FRESH alarm was likewise given by the arrival of certain *Spanish* galleys at *Savona*, which they alledged the ancient nobility had invited to lay an undue restraint on the public resolutions. Although these galleys made but a short stay, yet the new nobility made a pretext of this circumstance to declare, that unless their grievances were soon redressed, they would immediately seek more effectual means for defending their rights. *John Andrea Doria*, at that time in *Sicily*, knowing that the civil divisions would encrease with the ensuing election of magistrates, posted back to *Genoa*, in hopes of opposing by his influence the heats and animosities of the state; but all his endeavours were ineffectual. Soon after, *Grimaldi Durazzo*, a man beloved by the whole city for his moderation, affability, and social virtues, was elected duke, after a series of intrigues, plots, and cabals, on both sides.

A. D.
1573.

TOWARDS the beginning of the following year, his catholic majesty sent *Idiaquez* to *Genoa*, to endeavour, by his advice, eloquence, and address, to heal the civil divisions, which threatened the entire ruin of the republic. He spoke with such irresistible elocution in the senate, that his harangue seemed to make a sensible impression; but the effects were soon effaced by an incident which occasioned a renewal of the disputes. During the election, the old magistrates assembled a body of their vassals for the protection of their persons. This the new magistrates construed into an attempt on them; but as the peasant militia was made constitutional after the election, the affair passed without giving any farther disturbance, and the city enjoyed a tolerable degree of tranquility for the remainder of the year.

*The designs
of the old
and new
nobility.*

IN 1574, the civil divisions again broke out from a variety of circumstances: both parties endeavoured to gain an ascendancy in the administration, to raise themselves on the ruin of their competitors, and destroy that equipoise of government, which alone could preserve harmony and freedom. The young nobility attempted to strengthen their own body by incorporating in the ancient families several citizens who deserved well of the state. They petitioned the senate to this purpose, and received a harsh refusal. They were now connected with the people by the tie of interest, and would not lose so fair an opportunity of strengthening their faction: in fact, they entered into the strictest alliances, and the cause of the young nobility now became the cause of the

the whole body of subjects in the *Genoese* dominions. Cabals were formed for carrying their point, and civil discords rose now to a higher pitch than ever.

SOME of the more thinking of the young nobility proposed an accommodation: a negotiation for this purpose was set on foot; but the people resenting it, they were forced to break it off for fear of losing their interest. Insensibly, *The city divided into three factions.* however, this proposition divided the republic into three factions, each of which had a distinct name, according to the quarter of the city they inhabited. A second time the incorporation of the people with the old nobility was proposed to the senate; but rejected with contempt, which augmented their animosity, and produced the closest harmony between the young nobility and the people. *Sebastian Cerone*, and *Bartholomew Montori*, names scarce known in *Genoa*, were the leaders of the popular faction. They were patronized by the young nobility, who found their characters well suited to their purposes. Both had a sort of rough fluent eloquence, excellently adapted to influence a mob, and direct those brutal minds abandoned to their conduct. In the end, they raised seditions, and were the immediate instruments of the civil war that ensued. They flattered the people into hopes of a more indulgent form of government, and thus rendered them more eager and ardent in the pursuit of whatever they prompted. They promised to diminish the taxes as soon as they could accomplish their scheme of government; that the price of labour should be raised, provisions sold more reasonable, justice distributed more equally, and the much wished for incorporation effected. They likewise wrought on the credulous disposition of the populace, by joining motives of fear to hope, insinuating, that the ancient nobility had formed a design, in conjunction with *Spain*, to reduce the people to the most shameful and abject servitude.

FILLED with imaginary fears and expectations, the people held assemblies to deliberate on the means for attaining the one, and avoiding the other. Seditious harangues were pronounced in every quarter; and the streets, which used to be the scenes of industry, were now converted into theatres of war, and occupied by armed soldiers. The people thought, spoke, and acted without controul; the most horrid crimes were committed with impunity. The magistrates were insulted, the nobility murdered, and every species of disorder reigned, without a tribunal that presumed to take cognizance of such trespasses against society and government. Every post in the city was filled with guards, shops were shut up, and the gates, arsenal, and granaries, seized by the mutineers.

They even had the insolence to enter the senate-house with an armed force, and renew their demands, with menaces in case of refusal. In a word, all was leading to universal confusion and anarchy, if *Senarega*, seeing that matters were pushed too far, had not taken compassion on his country, and determined to disabuse the people. He assembled the populace, and pathetically represented to them the miseries their turbulence would bring upon the republic, and the consequences of that seditious humour, which had ruined the most flourishing and opulent commonwealths. He demonstrated to them the little benefit they could expect from the promised changes in the constitution; and the better to adapt his reasoning to their capacities, he repeated that celebrated fable of the belly and the members. In fine, he convinced them, that unanimity was absolutely necessary to the existence of government; and that a republic could flourish only when the direction of affairs was left to those who, by birth, by nature, by education, and habit, were qualified for this important trust, and not to the giddy, headstrong, and discordant multitude.

SENAREGA's harangue had the desired effect: the people were satisfied of the truth of his arguments; but he no sooner quitted the assembly than passion took place of reason, the seditious usurped their power, and every trace of this patriot's harangue was crazed out of their memory^c.

The indolence of the ancient nobility. It was amazing to see how little the ancient nobility exerted themselves to stem the torrent of abuse: they contented themselves with guarding their houses against being pillaged, and praying the senate to apply some remedy to the public calamity. Several assemblies, indeed, met to deliberate on this subject, some advising force and others persuasion, to reduce the people to obedience; but there appeared not that vigour of action or debate which might be expected from the greatness of the danger. After several consultations nothing more was determined, than that the guards at the city gates should be doubled, to prevent strangers from entering, and that all persons should be prohibited from carrying arms in the night.

STILL the new nobility urged their demands, became very importunate, and talked of a new form of government in the most public manner. The sumptuary law was the great point contended against, which they said was introduced for the general advantage of the people, and failing in that end, ought to be annulled for the same reason. The ancient no-

^c *SENAREG. de Reb. Gen. apud MURAT. col. 515.*

bility offered to submit their differences to the decision of the pope and king of *Spain*, or any two foreign princes, unbiassed with their prejudices, and uninterested in their parties; but this the others refused, insisting upon a general council, where they hoped to carry their point by dint of superior numbers. The old nobility implored the protection of *John Andrea Doria*; and requested that as he inherited his uncle's estate, so he would distinguish the same patriot spirit, and exert the same diligence and influence in the service of his country. Upon this *Doria* assembled the mechanics and citizens, whom he exhorted not to enlist in any party, but rest satisfied in guarding the city, and suppressing all riots and seditions. He represented to them the obligations themselves and ancestors owed the ancient nobility: he reminded them that his uncle *Doria* had restored liberty to their country; had, upon different occasions, defended *Corfica* against the attacks of the *French* and *Turks*; and had beautified and adorned the city with a number of public edifices and endowments.

At first *Doria's* harangue made such an impression, that the mob promised to do whatever he desired; but the memory of obligations makes only a slight impression on the minds of the vulgar: they soon forgot what they owed to the *Doria* family; they altered their sentiments, and, with a fickleness natural to the multitude, returned to their former seditious humour. The tumult, indeed, rose so high, that the ancient nobility shut themselves up in their houses, which they guarded with great numbers of peasants drawn from their estates in the country.

In this situation of affairs the senate demurred: they feared incurring the displeasure of the young nobility by determining against them, and to grant their demands would occasion a revolution destructive of public liberty: but tho' numbers were on the side of the people, the capacity and experience of some of the ancient nobility gained them great advantages. At last *Idiaquez*, the *Spanish* minister, wrought on the minds of the leading persons in both factions so effectually, that a truce for three months was agreed on. His apparent intention was to persuade the people, during this recess, to lay down their arms; but the persons he employed to influence the people, secretly excited them to revolt. In the mean time, the ancient nobility, to shew their moderation and regard to their word, laid down their arms, permitted all foreigners to pass and repass as usual, and forbid their tenants the customary office of guarding their houses, and protecting their persons, which had been constantly done since the late disturbances. The ambassador produced in the senate

*A truce
concluded.*

the

*The people
break the
truce.*

the treaty for a suspension of hostilities, and engaged the principal persons on both sides to sign it; and now the people, seeing the nobility disarmed, would not lose so fair an occasion of redressing themselves, or rather of crushing their opponents. In an instant every place was filled with soldiers, the streets barricadoed, the *Germans* posted on the mole to guard the artillery, driven away by the people, and the cannon pointed against the ducal palace. On the other hand, the *German* and *Italian* officers, in the republic's pay, ranged themselves in order of battle to oppose the populace, and defend public liberty. Immediately the senate met to apply remedies to those wounds which must occasion the violent death of the community. The new nobility pretended to be greatly embarrassed, though they were at the bottom of the insurrection, and alledged that the demands of the populace must be granted to appease them; the old nobility were for checking their fury by vigorous measures, and warm altercations resulted. The one urged that the ducal palace would be demolished, the senate murdered, and the city laid in ashes, should any opposition be made; and the others no less strenuously affirmed, that anarchy and confusion must result from giving way to the multitude.

IN the midst of these disputes *John Baptista Lercari*, a senator highly esteemed for his incorruptible integrity, public spirit, and persuasive eloquence, rose up and addressed himself with great warmth to the ringleaders of the sedition, whom he observed standing before him. He spoke in pathetic terms of the blind ignorance, the passion, and the unjustifiable designs of those, who, to serve the purposes of ambition, would lay their country in ruins, trample upon society, and lay freedom expiring on the ground, for the villainous honour of heading a faction, and being the first men in a community of slaves. He demonstrated that their civil divisions would certainly lead to that dismal catastrophe; that nothing could be more rash than to attempt reformatations in government, while the scourge of servitude hung over their heads, and powerful foreign monarchs watched the occasion for swallowing up their liberty, so lately and providentially recovered; and he concluded with exhorting the senate to set the menaces of the rabble at defiance, punish the ringleaders, and, by a vigorous exertion of their power and dignity, rescue their country from those evils with which it was menaced.

THE abettors of the popular faction and the new nobility could no longer support this discourse; they interrupted *Lercari*, and affirmed that it was no time to assert the dig-
nity

nity of the senate, when the people appeared with displayed standards before the ducal palace, and were in possession of all the gates, the artillery, arsenals, and granaries. These were circumstances, they said, when it was glorious to yield; and it would be the height of folly to expose themselves to certain death, from a vain notion of glory, which could only be entertained by wrongheaded knights-errant and adventurers, tired of a life in which they were despised. Fear operated more powerfully than glory on the minds of the senators; they agreed to the abolition of the law, in spite of the opposition made by *Lerani*, *Catener*, and *Grimaldi*, who protested against their proceedings, and declared they would submit to the most cruel indignities rather than assent to a resolution so dishonourable.

Soon after the people, perceiving they had not reaped the promised advantages from the revocation of this law, and that they were made the tools of the young nobility, the mere dupes of their ambition, demanded that five hundred of their number might be admitted into the senate; that the duties on wine retailed in small quantities might be abolished, the price of labour raised, and an amnesty granted to all those who had taken up arms in the late commotions. At that time the senate was in a disposition to refuse nothing: fear had rendered them compliant; they chose to assent without hesitation to what they knew could be extorted by force, and acquiesced in all that was demanded. *Lerani*, however, bravely stood out, declaring to the *Spanish* ambassador, before his grand vicar and secretary *Senerega*, 'That he was ashamed of living in a community where insolence and obstinacy triumphed over reason and justice.'

THE new nobility had procured the satisfaction they required, and confirmed their own power in this victory; yet did they not rest satisfied. What they usurped by the strong hand, they apprehended might be lost, as soon as an opportunity offered for the ancient nobility to exert themselves in recovering their dignity. To prevent the evils they dreaded, a president and commissary were dispatched to the valley of *Peseveri*, to raise the inhabitants and rouse them to a sense of the danger which might result from permitting troops from *Lombardy* to enter *Genoa*; a mischief to be warded off only by securing the passes. On the other side, the *Spanish* ambassador held frequent consultations with the ancient nobility, on the means of opening the passes. To accomplish their several ends, each entered on the most vigorous measures.

The ancient nobility retire out of the city.

The ancient nobility, in conjunction with *Idiaquez*, had got together so formidable a force as made their enemies tremble, yet were not themselves eased of their fears. It was dangerous for them to stir out of their houses; and they were obliged to assemble in the most private manner in *Genoa*, for fear of being sacrificed to popular resentment. Divers expedients were proposed, and some advised to seize upon *Savona*, which others objected to as a measure that would give umbrage to the court of *Madrid*. Many were of opinion, that as no security of their lives could be depended on in the city, they ought to forefake an ungrateful people, and banish rather than embroil themselves in a civil war. This proved their determination, and several of the oldest families absconded before next day. By this precipitate retreat, the young nobility gained all the advantage they could desire: the trumpet was sounded, and those persons cited to attend the assembly who it was well known had absented themselves. Upon their not appearing, they were formally deposed from their offices and others of inferior birth substituted in their places^e.

THE voluntary recess of some of the ancient nobility, gave great uneasiness to those moderate persons who laboured to effect a reconciliation: they sent to all those who still remained intreating them not to depart. The new nobility too, apprehensive that if they once got into the country it would be difficult to destroy them, joined their intreaties, promising to disarm the people, to double the guards, and terminate matters amicably. It was true, that experience had taught the ancient nobility that little confidence was to be placed in such soothing promises; however, not knowing how to remedy themselves, they determined to dissemble. Next day they appeared in public, and ordered a solemn mass to be celebrated, at which the whole body assisted. Finding no opposition, the new nobility proceeded to re-establish the law of 1528, whereby certain citizens were incorporated with the body of nobility, and to elect their magistrates according to the disposition made that year. The more effectually to destroy their opponents, they enacted, that whoever should presume to censure the present form of government, should be punished as a disturber of the peace; which ordonnance they got ratified by the senate.

*The young nobility
by forces.*

NEXT they levied troops, introduced a quantity of arms into the city, fortified the frontiers, and took the most effectual steps to prevent foreign princes making attacks on their

^e SENAREG. *ibid.*

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ABOUT this time the arrival of the pope's nuncio gave the alarm. The young nobility apprehended that he formed designs against them; to secure themselves from which, they obliged the people to swear, at a public mass he celebrated, that they would not suffer the least alteration in the present government. The nuncio was highly offended at their prostituting a place, destined for the worship of the Supreme Being, to profane purposes; and *Genoa* was threatened with the lash of the holy see just as the pope died.

THE new nobility, who now wholly composed the senate, apprehending that *Gregory* the thirteenth would resent their impiety, sent *Senarega* in quality of ambassador extraordinary to *Rome*, to justify what they had done, and implore his holiness to continue his protection to the republic; to heal their divisions, and order both parties to lay down their arms; to prevent the weaker from calling to their assistance the *Hugonets of France*, by which the purity of their religion would be destroyed. *Senarega* executed his commission with great address. He obtained all the pope could grant, that was a legate, whom he sent to *Genoa* to exert the influence of the holy see (C). In consequence of the legate's endeavours, several assemblies were held to deliberate on the means of reconciliation; but the ancient nobility not chusing to run the hazard of attending at these, nothing could be settled; and the breach grew wider on occasion of the ensuing election for magistrates of the towns dependent on *Genoa*, some proposing to follow the old law, and others that of 1528. The event of this dispute was, that the people determined to abandon the new nobility, and recal the old, to prevent a design they formed of seizing on *Savona*, and make still greater alterations in the government by enlarging their own power. To prevent a measure of such important consequence to them, the new nobility published a report, that several persons were gone in search of the legate, to demand alterations in the government, inconsistent with liberty. A report of this nature soon wrought on the minds of the populace. They abandoned their design, reconciled themselves to the new nobility; and thus the old nobles, who ventured to re-

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turn on their invitation, were a second time forced to quit the city.

The ancient nobility levy troops.

NOTHING now remained for the ancient nobility but to redress themselves by force. They levied troops with great application; news of which coming to the legate at *Genoa*, he sent his secretary to *Aqui*, in *Final*, where the head-quarters were fixed, to oblige the commissioners to disband the troops, and enter upon a negotiation preliminary to a thorough reconciliation. The secretary acquitted himself so well, that he prevailed on *Lercari* and *Stephen Mario* to return to *Genoa*, to negotiate matters with the legate in person and the *Spanish* ambassador. Their propositions to the legate and *Spanish* minister appeared so equitable, that the new nobility, fearing they would engage them on their side, excited the people to insult *Lercari*, and oblige him once more to retire from *Genoa*. Upon this it was plain the ancient nobility had nothing to expect but what they carried by dint of arms; they prepared therefore with diligence for war, and offered the command of their troops by sea and land to *Doria*, which he refused, under pretence of his not being able to accept it without the consent of his catholic majesty, in whose service he was.

ALTHOUGH the new nobility had passed a decree, whereby three hundred of the commons were to be incorporated with them, yet their great aim was to keep the whole political machine to themselves. Both factions now appealed to different courts. *Philip* the second in particular seemed to side with the ancient nobles; and the senate disoblighed *Don John of Austria*, whom they refused to receive in the harbour with his whole fleet, although they assured him of all manner of refreshments and civilities, if he would come attended with four gallies only. On this occasion it was that *Doria*, in presence of count *Egmont*, governor of *Milan*, said, that the ancient nobility were resolved to use force to obtain their rights, should the senate continue to refuse them in an amicable manner. He then asked leave of *Don John* to command their forces, and to serve his friends and countrymen; but *Don John* did not chuse to discharge him from the *Spanish* service before he consulted the court.

ABOUT this time an embassy extraordinary from the emperor arrived in *Genoa*. Both factions made their complaints; and were assured, that his imperial majesty would scrupulously examine into the dispute, and give his protection to that party which had equity on its side. The senate became jealous of this commission; however, that they might not appear refractory and averse to all terms of reconciliation,

they appointed two of their number to treat with the foreign ministers ; at the same time, taking measures for filling the treasury, levying troops, and putting themselves in a state of defence, to prepare against the worst. His imperial majesty, in appearance, held the balance equal ; he gave an audience to *Spinula*, in behalf of the ancient nobility, in such a manner as to give no umbrage to the senate, and at the same time wrote to the new nobility, advising them to receive such terms of accommodation as his ministers should think reasonable, without offending the ancient nobility.

THESE latter had several meetings, without coming to any certain resolution. Various propositions were made, and all of them liable to objections. Some were for an accommodation upon any conditions ; while others were for asserting their rights at all events. *Doria* was of the party that expressed the greatest zeal for maintaining the dignity of the peerage ; and he spoke with such eloquence, as animated the most timid, and warmed the most indifferent and phlegmatic breast. On the other hand, their opponents raised some companies of *German* foot, for the defence of the city. *Reineri* would have prevented their entering *Genoa* ; but the imperial commissioners required they should have a free passage.

WHILE both sides prepared for war, the fleet on the coast of *Naples*, under Don *John* of *Austria*, occasioned great speculation. As he had troops quartered between *Milan* and *Naples*, it was apprehended that his secret intention was to restore the ancient nobility. This rumour gained strength when it was known the fleet steered towards *Genoa*. The people took the alarm, and in less than an hour thirty thousand men were under arms. However, their fears were soon dissipated by Don *John's* return to *Naples*.

ALL *Italy* dreaded the consequence of the civil divisions in *Genoa*, believing that the weaker party would apply for foreign assistance, and render *Italy* the scene of fresh wars. Some measures taken by *Henry* the third of *France* increased their fears ; and their suspicions were almost confirmed by the march of the *Spanish* forces to the frontiers of the *Genoese* territories. Immediately the senate appointed two commissioners to preside over the defence of the city, and sent reinforcements to the garrisons of *Savona* and *Novi*. However, amidst all their apprehensions they received some comfort from Don *John's* releasing two of their ships, which he had long detained. This, however, made them neglect nothing that could contribute to their defence, or prevent their publishing a decree, setting forth, that as the voluntary recess

of the ancient nobility had occasioned extraordinary expences to the republic, it was equitable their estates should be answerable for these charges. They were accordingly confiscated, and sold to the highest bidders.

The ancient nobility issue orders for all of their body to quit Genoa.

THE ancient nobility, at the same time, gave the strictest orders to all their body to retire out of *Genoa*, and declared the estates of all who refused lawfully confiscated; which decree obliged a great number of young gentlemen, descended from ancient families, to quit the capital, to the great prejudice of their fortunes. Foreign ministers laboured, but advanced nothing in the accommodation. The sentiments and demands of both parties were so widely different, that no conclusion could be formed. On the one side, great stress was laid on the troops they had ready to march on the frontiers, on the antiquity of their family, their high descent, fortune, alliances, and education. On the other, the same weight was laid upon their being in possession of the capital, on the people's siding with them, on the advantages derived from the laws of the reformers, and lastly, upon their being in a condition to defend themselves. Both sent ambassadors to *Madrid*; and those of the ancient nobility made such dispatch, that they obtained an audience two days before the arrival of the others. The one requested that *Doria* might be suffered to assist them with the galleys under his command; and the others, that Don *John* might be prohibited from entering the port of *Genoa*. Both set forth their several claims to the protection of his Catholic majesty, the justice of their several causes, and the true interest of *Spain*, with the utmost elocution. After hearing *Doria* and *Tagliacarne*, the ambassadors from the rival republicans, his Catholic majesty replied, that it was an easier matter to begin than to end a war; it was, therefore, his advice that they would terminate matters amicably: they were all citizens and neighbours, who ought to put up with each other's failings, and above all things avoid the destruction of that harmony upon which depended their very existence: that with respect to himself, it was to be apprehended if he declared on either side, all *Italy* would rise in arms against him. In a word, he excused himself from engaging in the quarrel, and recommended strongly their declining an application to any foreign power, which would in the end deprive them of their independence.

THE year following, *Philip* desired a passage for some troops he intended sending to *Sardinia* through the republic's territories, which request was at length granted, after warm debates in the senate. All this while the ancient nobility were labouring to raise a fund for supporting the war, which, notwithstanding

withstanding the endeavours of his Catholic majesty, seemed inevitable. *Doria* set the example by subscribing a considerable sum, which all the rest followed in proportion to their zeal and ability. They waited with impatience to commence hostilities; but not presuming on such a measure without *Philip's* consent, they resolved secretly that *Ambrosio Lommelin* and *Scipio Campora*, banished the republic for some misdemeanour, should, in their own private quarrel, attack the valley of *Poseveri* with four hundred foot, and that *Francis Vivaldi* should enter *Lunigiani* with another corps. This irruption they were not to appear in, though instrumental in raising the forces, for fear of giving umbrage to king *Philip*. By this means they hoped to gain possession of *Novi* and *Sprezzia*, which would serve for magazines when the war begun. These troops entered the valley, which they filled with terror; but they were forced to retire, by order of the duke of *Gandia*, who appeared with a squadron off *Genoa*.

DISAPPOINTED and chagrined at the retreat of *Lommelin*, and *Campora*, the ancient nobility sent deputies to the duke of *Gandia*, and from his reply were under terrible apprehensions of *Spain's* declaring in behalf of their enemies. Their ambassadors at *Madrid* discovered, at the same time, by the conferences they had with the duke of *Alva*, that *Philip*, with all his specious moderation, sought only an opportunity of rendering himself master of *Genoa*, by the civil divisions of the republic. This appeared plainly from a declaration of the duke's, that the only means to prevent eternal divisions and tumults in *Genoa*, would be to build a citadel in the town, to be garrisoned with his Catholic majesty's troops.

IN the mean time the ancient nobility made proposals to the duke of *Gandia*, which served more than all they had done before to gain the protection of the court of *Madrid*. They offered to submit their differences to Don *John*; to empower him to alter the laws at pleasure, or to frame new ones, provided it was found necessary: a proposal so dangerous to the present form of government, it was seen would be rejected, and this was, perhaps, the chief reason why it was made. In fact, it was rejected by the senate, who refused to put such power into the hands of any foreigner; a declaration which drew on them the displeasure of the pope's legate, as well as the *Spanish* minister and Don *John*.

SOON after it was reported that *Doria* had planned with Don *John* the whole operations of the war; and that he was gone to *Naples* to get all things in readiness for that prince upon the campaign. The report was premature; but it proved true some time after; for *Doria* set sail for *Naples*.

with twenty-five galleys, accompanied by *George Doria* and *John Baptista Spinola*. Immediately the new nobility spread a rumour that *Doria* aspired at the sovereignty of *Genoa*; and that he had already marched a body of men to seize on the gates. The senate, being informed of his departure, did not doubt but he had encouragement from *Don John*; and that *Spain* had determined to espouse the ancient nobility. It was, therefore, thought expedient to make vigorous efforts in their own defence: accordingly three thousand men were sent to *Sarzana*, most of them *Florentines* and *Lucchese* and all the magazines were put into the best order, which last precaution became the more necessary, as *Don John* had wrote to the grand duke of *Tuscany*, requesting that he would prohibit his subjects from supplying the *Genoese* with ball, powder, salt-petre, and provisions.

Doria

appears on
the coast
of *Genoa*.

NEGOTIATIONS for an accommodation were resumed, but suddenly broke off, by the arrival of *Doria* on the coast of *Genoa*, with a strong squadron; upon which the deputies of the ancient nobility withdrew, by which they gave umbrage to the foreign ministers, who acted as mediators. As soon as *Doria* appeared off *Genoa*, he dispatched a messenger to the marquis de *Ajamont*, governor of *Milan*, acquainting him with *Don John's* intention, and requiring him to provide the necessary stores and ammunition, to order two regiments to march to *Spezzia*, and take such other measures as he thought would promote the prince's views. Two *German* regiments were also taken into the pay of the ancient nobility, several *Italian* regiments were raised, and twenty independent companies of one hundred men each, all under the command of *Doria*. *Antonio Serra* raised five thousand five hundred foot at *Milan*, in the name of his Catholic majesty, to whom they took an oath of allegiance.

DORIA began the war with erecting the standard of the republic, alledging that the government was usurped by rebels; and he sent a small squadron to attempt gaining possession of *Porto Venere*, which succeeded happily. The grand duke of *Tuscany*, seeing the *Genoese* territories filled with confusion, and his coast covered by a numerous fleet, raised ten thousand men, and fortified all his towns, to prevent being surprised; nay more, he seemed to enter into a kind of friendly correspondence with the senate and new nobility of *Genoa*.

By the late vigorous measures taken by *Doria*, it was plain the ancient nobility determined upon war, which wrought more on the senate than all the overtures, intrusions, and menaces they had before used. The ambassadors of the medi-

mediating powers observing this disposition, assembled at the house of the legate to contrive means for accommodating matters; but the hostilities committed by *Doria*, and the stubbornness of both parties, a second time frustrated their endeavours. Application was made by both parties to his holiness, and several Italian princes for assistance; but they all strictly prohibited their subjects to enlist with either, except the grand duke of *Tuscany*, who took umbrage at *Doria's* success, and so powerful an armament in his neighbourhood. The forces of the ancient nobility were, indeed, very numerous, and daily augmenting; while the new nobility were powerful only in the city, and weak in the field. On this account the people began to fall off, many of them deserted the city and joined *Doria*, who now undertook the siege of *Novi*; others pressed the senate to an accommodation, insisting that the subject of dispute might be submitted to arbitration; but the ancient nobility would agree to nothing till *Savona* was first put into their hands. By gaining these two cities they hoped to treat upon an equal footing at least, especially as the army they had in the field was greatly superior to that of the enemy. Several propositions were set on foot for a peace; but the war went on. *Doria* made his approaches before *Novi*, and at last opened several batteries, with which he played furiously on the town. The walls, which were feeble, soon gave way to his cannon; but as the garrison was numerous and brave, it was hazardous attempting to storm the breach. At last, *Spinula*, who commanded in the trenches, determined upon a general assault; but, to spare the blood of his fellow subjects, first summoned the governor to surrender. *Figarella*, the governor, received this summons with disdain, and made no other reply than by a brisk discharge of the artillery on the ramparts. *Spinula*, in revenge, ordered five hundred fusileers to march in the night, under cover of the fire from the batteries, by a secret path undiscovered, by means of a deserter, that lead to the city. A centinel discovered the detachment, and giving the alarm, the besieged sallied out, and a warm action commenced; but the detachment was retreating in good order, when it was attacked in the rear by the garrison of *Gavi*, who would have cut *Spinula's* men in pieces, had he not opportunely come up with a reinforcement. The battle was renewed with redoubled vigour; but was of short duration, the garrison of *Gavi* being forced to retreat with loss and precipitation. Still the governor of that place resolved to raise the siege of *Novi*; for this purpose he made frequent sallies, and at length determined upon one last effort.

*Doria be-
sieves
Novi.*

Novi sur-
renders.

A. D.
1575.

Gavi sur-
renders,
but the ci-
tel re-
solves to
make a vi-
gorous de-
fence.

WITH this design, *Stephen Invrea*, *Pietro Antonio Chiefa*, and *Mario Fornari*, put themselves at the head of thirty-two companies, making about five thousand men, and marched towards *Doria's*, or rather *Spinula's*, camp. They advanced unobserved within a very short distance of the out-guards, whom they attacked, being supported by a furious fall of the besieged; but were received by *Leonaro Plastifer* with a courage that soon cooled their ardor. He was joined by count *Felix of Lodron*, who, at the first alarm, mounted his horse, and put himself at the head of a squadron, with which he repulsed the besieged with loss, while the garrison of *Gavi* was hotly contesting victory with *Spinula*, by whom they were at length defeated. The project was well-laid, and promised fair, had it been executed with spirit. The consequence of its miscarriage was the immediate surrender of *Novi*.

As soon as *Spinula* got possession of *Novi*, placing a strong garrison in it, he went and summoned *Gavi*; but the governor resolving to defend himself to the last extremity, the town was invested. At first the besieged made *Spinula's* approaches very difficult by a furious discharge from the ramparts; which, however, did not long continue. *Fornari*, who commanded the town, evacuated it as soon as the besiegers began to play their batteries, and retired to the citadel. The burghers, afraid of being pillaged, immediately opened their gates to *Spinula*, who, taking possession, proceeded to besiege the citadel; but his forces not being numerous enough to shut up all the passes by completely investing the place, the garrison made frequent sallies into the town, from whence they returned loaded with booty. This obliged *Spinula* to think of raising the siege, and endeavour to strike some alarm in *Genoa*, which might help to forward the accommodation so long in agitation. His scheme succeeded; the people imagined the *Spanish* army was advancing to enslave them. The citizens took sanctuary, with their children and effects, in the churches. Many desired leave of the grand council of war to retire; and several of the elderly persons, who had seen former revolutions wrought by power, doubted not but a duke, with an unlimited and despotic authority, would be created by the ancient nobility.

NOTWITHSTANDING the consternation in *Genoa* was very great, *Spinula* judged, contrary to the opinion of his officers, that it would not be possible to render himself master of *Gavi* with his handful of forces. He dreaded losing his

reputation, should he fail in the attempt : he feared likewise that despair would make the city receive the yoke of some foreign power ; and he knew by intercepted letters that many of the citizens, wearied of the present government, longed for a change in the administration. While he was thus irresolute, *Doria*, who then commanded the fleet, although he was generalissimo of the whole forces by sea and land of the ancient nobility, came to *Final*, to settle the operations of war with his constituents. However, no military transaction of any consequence happened until the accommodation was in such forwardness, that both parties began to lay aside their animosities. The vicinity of *Spinola* with the army, and *Doria* with the fleet, rendered the senate and new nobility more compliant ; while the king of *Spain*'s stopping payment of the interest of those large sums he owed the ancient nobility, rendered them more disposed to peace, from their inability to carry on the war. The mediating ambassadors indeed exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner to effect a reconciliation. They laboured in this the more earnestly, because *Italy*, and consequently all *Europe*, was interested in the fate of *Genoa*. Above all, the pope applied his influence in a manner so judicious, that chiefly by his means the long wished for reunion of interests, and perfect incorporation of the old and new nobility were effected. Hostages were exchanged for the mutual performance of their agreement ; and the following regulations in the political government were made by the arbitrators : To take away all distinction, the very names of old and new nobility were abolished ; and it was decreed, that henceforward they should be one without difference or distinction : that as idleness is the mother of faction, of every vice destructive of society, the cadets of noble families should be permitted to exercise mechanical employments, or, at least, merchandize, without derogating from their rank : rewards were decreed to persons of merit, and recompences to all who had spent their time upon any discovery useful to the community ; it being deemed a sufficient qualification for admission into the body of nobility. Four hundred senators were chosen out of the nobility to compose the high council of the republic : only persons of distinguished virtue, and considerable fortune, were to be preferred to certain offices of trust and power : proper measures were likewise taken to prevent chicane and fraud in elections for magistrates : all persons possessed of offices which their abilities and character did not merit were degraded : a law was passed for the election of great and little officers ; and even of the duke himself, to

A reconciliation of
the
old and
new nobility.

A. D.
1576.

prevent disputes and jealousies : magistrates were obliged to give an account of their conduct at their going out of office ; but as the truest cement of friendship was made up with blood connections, a kind of nuptial tribunal was formed, or a set of gentlemen, who were to transact matters of that nature between old and new families : a magistrate called conservator of the laws was created, and it was made criminal to introduce new laws, or any changes in those already established : carrying arms and all seditious assemblies were prohibited, under severe penalties : trade, with respect to weight, measure, and the quality of commodities, was set on the best footing. In a word, every thing possible was done to obliterate the late animosity, and restore the harmony, and consequently power, wealth, and felicity of *Genoa* *. We have been the more particular in relating the circumstances of this revolution, as it was one of the most important that happened in *Genoa*, and from it we enter more minutely into the genius of the people, the nature of the constitution, and the form of the civil and political government than otherwise we could.

War with
the duke of
Savoy.

AFTER the late accommodation, the republic of *Genoa* enjoyed peace and felicity for the space of forty-eight years, during which time scarce an incident, domestic or foreign, worth recording occurs. In the year 1624, a dispute arose between the republic and *Charles Emanuel*, duke of *Savoy*, in which *Lewis* the thirteenth bore a share. Each of these princes had his particular reason for coming to a rupture with *Genoa*. The marquise of *Zuccarel* was the subject of contention with the former ; and as for *Lewis*, his chief intention was to make such a diversion in *Italy*, as should engage the principal attention of his Catholic majesty, and prevent his seizing the forts which commanded the pass in the *Valtellin*.

BUT besides motives of interest, the duke of *Savoy* was impelled to this rupture from punctilio, and a scrupulous delicacy in points of honour. The cause was extraordinary enough : some school-boys at *Genoa*, of low birth, had formed themselves for diversion into two armies, the one supposed *Spanish*, the other the military force of his highness the duke of *Savoy*. These armies were conducted by the mock princes in person, and coming to a pitched battle the duke was defeated, driven out of the town, then taken prisoner, and led in triumph about the streets. The senate disapproved of this play, and punished the offenders ; but the duke was

* Ibid. etiam MAUBLE. l. 12, 13.

not satisfied with that reparation. A treaty was concluded between France and Savoy, and the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign concerted. France declares against Genoa.

In the month of February 1625, the constable de Lesdiguières, governor of Dauphiny, passing the mountains, arrived at Turin, and found that his highness had got ready a body of troops to march at the shortest notice. It consisted of twelve thousand men, a fine train of artillery, with which it was determined to lay siege to Savona. A council of war was afterwards called, and this resolution warmly debated. It was supported by the constable, marshal Crequi, and the count Dauriac, and opposed by his royal highness and the marquis de Uxelles.

As the treaty between France and Savoy could not be kept long secret, his catholic majesty sent to Genoa, with offers to the senate of liberal assistance in case they found the republic attacked by the confederates; but the senate was aware of the inconveniences consequent on such succours: they had seen their own and other republics lose their liberty, by having recourse to the protection of powerful monarchs. Trusting, therefore, to the strength and unanimity of their own state, they returned his Catholic majesty their humble thanks; but declined his offer, under pretence that the destination of the confederate army was very uncertain, and that the forces of the republic were sufficient to protect the Genoesse territories.

It was more agreeable to the senate to make application to his holiness, who they requested would use his influence with the duke of Savoy to drop the war; or if that would not do, to lend men and money to the republic. The pope, however, declared himself neutral, and would promise nothing to the Genoesse. His refusal did not discourage the senate: troops were levied with all expedition, and directions given for equipping a strong squadron. It was not now a war in which citizen fought against citizen, but where every subject of the republic assisted with all his power to repel the common danger. Five thousand Germans were taken into pay; a society of rich nobility raised, at their own private expence, thirty companies of Italian foot, consisting of two hundred men each; besides six hundred foot drawn from Corsica. The prince of Bozzolo supplied the republic with eight hundred foot and two hundred horse; Lucca sent four hundred auxiliaries; and Doria was raising a strong body of men upon his own estate. In a word, the forces of the republic were such as it was thought would not only protect the Genoesse territories, but oblige the enemy to keep on the defensive.

WHILE matters were preparing in *Piedmont*, the duke *de Guise*, who lay with a fleet at *Marsilles*, seized two hundred thousand crowns, which his Catholic majesty was sending to *Genoa*, on board two merchantmen, relying upon the faith of treaties, and the peace between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*. This seizure occasioned great alarms in *Genoa*, where money was much wanted. All the troops had before been sent to the frontiers, not doubting but the enemy would make their first attacks there, and render themselves masters of the barrier towns for a retreat, before they ventured to penetrate into the heart of the country. Seeing the enemy follow a different course, they fortified *Savona* in the best manner possible, and recalled all the troops dispersed along the banks of the river *Panant*, which they employed in fortifying the passes between them and the enemy. They determined to abandon *Novi* and *Ovada*, the better to defend *Gavi*, a place of great importance, as it commanded the principal avenue to *Genoa*, through the valley of *Posseveri*, and, indeed, the only one by which it was practicable to draw artillery and waggons. Here they placed two thousand men, secured the pass with lines and batteries, and put two thousand five hundred men to guard the strong pass of *Ronciglione*.

It was now of the utmost consequence to make choice of a general capable of conducting their military operations. The great esteem in which *John Jerome Doria* was held, made this office be conferred on him; his courage and integrity were undoubted, and he had performed a variety of actions in the *Spanish* service, that put his capacity out of all doubt. *Carlo Doria*, of the same family, was appointed to command in the city; an officer equally admired for his abilities as a soldier, and his virtues as a man and a citizen. He was duke of *Tursis*, but had spent all his life in the army, so that great confidence was placed in his judgment and probity. When he was called into the senate to give his sentiments upon the operations of the campaign, the duke disapproved highly of the resolution taken to evacuate *Novi* and *Ovada*, instead of which he ordered them to be well garrisoned and provided. It was, he said, the business of the republic to keep their enemies as long as possible from penetrating into the bowels of the state, and touching the capital, where resides the vital principle. Admitting they would make no long resistance, they would at least amuse the enemy, and give more time to finish the fortifications of *Genoa*. Moved with these reasons, the senate suffered him to act in the affair as he thought proper; upon which the duke sent

Doria
chosen ge-
neral of
the Ge-
noese

his nephew *Georgio Doria* to take the command of *Novi*, while he resolved to defend *Ovada* in person : but he was forced to alter his plan when he found these places totally evacuated, and destitute of stores, provision, and cannon. He then bent his whole endeavours to defend the pass at *Gavi*, which was the only way the enemy could possibly bring their artillery.

IN the mean time the constable advanced with his army, too inconsiderable, indeed, to undertake any thing of consequence. He obliged *Aqui* and *Capriata* to surrender, and he defeated a detachment of five companies of *Neapolitans*, on their march to join *Spinula*, who commanded a detachment of *Genese*. This attack of the constable's was so warmly resented in *Spain*, that all the *French* ships in *Spanish* ports were seized ; but no actual hostilities commenced between the two crowns. The governor of *Milan* carefully abstained from every kind of violence, while the towns in the dutchy were ill provided, and the fortifications out of repair : as soon, however, as things were put in a proper posture, and the *French* army past the defiles, the duke of *Feria* took off the mask, knowing that the loss of *Genoa* would soon be succeeded by the invasion of the *Milanese*.

WHILE the duke of *Feria* was preparing to succour the *Spanish*, the duke of *Savoy* forced the passage of *Ronciglione*, which he attacked with his whole army. The *Genese* troops behaved in so cowardly a manner, as to abandon their post at the terror of the enemy's numbers ; upon which the duke made himself master of the trenches they had thrown up, and of the town, without any resistance. After the reduction of *Ronciglione* he advanced to *St. Judith*, and summoned the governor to surrender, which he refused until necessity should oblige him. *Genoa* was all this while filled with terror and dismay : women and children flocked in thousands from the country, and consumed the provisions : the cannon lay upon each other in the arsenal without carriages, and if they were mounted, without gunners to direct them : the troops, raised at a great expence, dwindled away with sickness and desertion : both those strong detachments sent to defend the defiles at *Gavi* and *Ronciglione* were dispersed through fear only. although three hundred thousand ducats had been sent to *Milan*, the forces promised upon this subsidy were not yet arrived : the *Neapolitan* auxiliaries were already cut in pieces by the *French*. In a word, the face of affairs was totally altered, and without any visible cause except the panic which had seized the whole republic, after the misconduct at *Ronciglione*. This confusion was still increased by the crowds of women, children, and old men, who poured in hourly from every

every part of the country, particularly from *Voltri*, and those towns and villages which lay in the enemy's route. *Genoa* could now be compared to nothing so justly as *Rome*, after the defeat at *Cannæ*. It was near fifty years that this wealthy city enjoyed profound tranquillity, without hearing the sound of a cannon, drum, trumpet, or warlike instrument, except on public rejoicings. No wonder then if the approach of an enemy proved more alarming to its inhabitants than to others more accustomed to war. Women of *Isafium* fled their country: the rich sent their moveables to *Leghorn*, and the mob run about like persons distracted, although they had nothing to lose ^b.

AMIDST this confusion, the senate resolved to recall all the troops they had sent for the defence of the frontiers. A courier was sent to *John Jerome Doria*, ordering him to assemble the garrisons round *Ottagio*, and bring them with the utmost expedition to *Genoa*. *Doria*, however, was too experienced a soldier to obey those orders, dictated by fear and ignorance. Immediately he sent his reasons for this conduct to the senate, whose fears he endeavoured to quiet by assuring them it was impossible the enemy could form the siege of *Genoa* without their heavy cannon, and that the surest method to retard their operations would be to keep the passes blocked up in such a manner, as would render it difficult for the artillery to join the army. These reasons being examined in the senate, were unanimously allowed to be judicious; notwithstanding which, such was the people's confidence in *Doria* and *Spinula*, that both were recalled for the defence of the city, and *Ottagio* and *Gavi* left to shift for themselves. The garrisons, indeed, were kept in these places, but put under the conduct of officers of whose ability the soldiers had a meaner opinion.

THE presence of *Doria* and *Spinula* gave fresh vigour to the *Genoese*, which was soon farther increased by the arrival of *Lewis Guasico* with two thousand *Spanish* foot, and two hundred horse, from *Milan*. By *Doria's* advice the senate took some effectual steps to prevent the confusion that reigned in the city, by strictly prohibiting persons, of whatever quality, to move themselves or effects out of *Genoa*. They next applied with great diligence to the fortifications; and mounting the cannon on the ramparts, in which employment almost every man fit to labour was busied; even the clergy and women lent a hand.

^b MAUBLE. l. 13.

AFTER all, *Genoa* owed more to fortune than to her own conduct or prudence. The differences between the duke of *Savoy* and the constable greatly retarded the motions of both. The latter lay before *Gavi*, without being able to invest it for want of cannon, with which the duke promised to supply him, for doing which he received a very considerable subsidy paid every month. It was supposed that jealousy of the constable's reputation made him betray the common cause; but certain it is, that the delays occasioned by his highness happened most providentially for *Genoa*. At last, the duke of *Savoy*, having gained some advantages over *Carracciolo*, the *Genoese* general at *Ottavio*, marched to join the constable at *Gavi* (A).

WHILE the confederate army was preparing for the siege of *Gavi*, warm debates were carried on in the senate, whether it should be evacuated, or vigorously defended? Some were for giving it up as untenable, recalling the garrison for the defence of the capital, and not sacrificing such a number of men merely from a desire of procrastinating the siege of *Genoa* a day or two longer. Others, on the contrary, affirmed, that it ought to be defended to the last extremity, as the siege of such a place must necessarily weaken the enemy, and give time for putting *Genoa* into the best posture of defence. Amidst a diversity of opinions, each supported with strong arguments, they resolved to be determined by the sentiments of the duke de *Feria*. But while the *Genoese* were deliberating whether they should evacuate the town, the constable was trying to reduce it by force. He lodged a strong detachment in a monastery, to cover the workmen employed in erecting batteries on an eminence, which was the only ground from whence the citadel was capable of suffering any disturbance. Here the besieged evacuated some forts, without making hardly any resistance. Next day the besiegers defeated a body of eight hundred *Genoese*, in the road of *Sacavalla*, and took a hundred and twenty prisoners. While the *French* were receiving fresh spirits and courage from these successes, the besieged were thunder-struck with their losses: they began to despond, and despair of being able to make a long resistance. The town

A *Genoese* party defeated.

(A) Before he joined the marechal, he made himself master of *Ottavio*, after defeating *Carracciolo*, with two thousand *Genoese* foot and two hundred horse, who made a vigorous resistance, and were just on the point of obliging the *Piedmontese* to retreat, when an unaccountable panic seized them, and made victory declare for the duke.

walls

Gavi sur-
renders.

walls were in a shattered condition, and a heavy piece of cannon, well managed, would have made a practicable breach. *Niasco*, who commanded, entreated *Justiniani*, governor of the citadel, to receive him and his people in case they were driven from their post; which *Justiniani* refusing, he made a sally, with intention to break through the enemy; but was beat back to the town. Finding nothing could be done by force, he had recourse to the clemency of his enemies, and demanded of the marshal *Crequi*, a safe-conduct for himself and garrison. The passport was granted, the capitulation signed, and *Niasco* marched out with his arms, baggage, and other honours of war, wholly destroyed by the oath he took never to serve the republic against the *French*.

JUSTINIANI was incensed at the retreat of *Niasco*; and to express his resentment, ordered a general discharge of his artillery. Next morning he was summoned to surrender; to which he replied, that the citadel being entrusted to him, he would defend it as long as he was able. It was represented to him that no quarter would be given, if he stood an assault; upon which he demanded a day to deliberate, and returned an answer, when the time was expired, by a brisk fire from the artillery, and a bloody flag, which he hung up in the most conspicuous place. Other batteries were instantly crested, which began to play briskly on the garrison. A third time *Justiniani* was summoned; and then he desired a passport for a messenger to go to *Genoa*, to represent the situation of the citadel, promising to surrender if he did not receive an answer in three days. The passport was granted, and the messenger returned within the time, with orders for the garrison to defend themselves, as they would soon receive powerful succours; but the duke of *Savoy* arrested him in the camp; and the time being expired, *Justiniani* was decoyed into a capitulation.

GAVI having surrendered the *Piedmontese* troops took immediate possession of the citadel, which highly piqued the *French* general. The disputes on this subject introduced others somewhat prematurely; it being warmly contested who should be governor of *Genoa*, when taken. Besides this, other jealousies arose between the duke of *Savoy* and the constable; the former alledging, that the latter was secretly negotiating a peace with the *Genoise*. These divisions were very opportunely stopped by the king; who gave strict orders that the constable should listen to no terms from the enemy without the duke's approbation; that the army should be reinforced, and supplied with stores and provisions; and that such

such officers as were most obnoxious to the duke should be recalled. Orders were likewise given to the duke *de Guise* to block up *Genoa* by sea, with a squadron of six galleys.

IN the mean time, his highness and the constable held a council of war on the method of investing *Genoa*; when it was found impracticable to besiege that large city without a proper train of artillery and provisions for the army, both which were wanting. It was the duke's business to provide these, and keep the roads in repair for drawing the cannon; and he had given directions to that effect, which were executed but slowly. That no time, however, might be lost, he attacked *Piava*, a place of some consequence, and carried it after a short resistance. The constable, after this, opposed laying siege to *Genoa* before the army was properly supplied with artillery and stores; but the duke made all preparations for investing the city, which he imagined would surrender to the terror of his arms, and the report of his successes. He formed magazines at *Gavi*, set pioneers to work on the pass at *Ottavio*, ordered the artillery to be put in motion, and seized upon several imperial fiefs belonging to the *Genoese* nobility. His natural son Don *Felix* he sent to attack *Savignon*, by which he might open a passage to the valley *Bisagno*, which leads directly to *Genoa*; and this attempt succeeded, as all the others had done. Hearing of the loss of *Piava*, the *Genoese* turned their whole attention on the defence of the capital, as the last stake. They made retrenchments, cut ditches, erected bastions at proper distances, built pallisades, and mounted all their cannon. What embarrassed them most was the scarcity of money. Remittances were expected from *Spain*; but the fear of falling in with the *French* squadron kept the ships from putting to sea. Private persons had sent in their plate to be coined; but still this was insufficient for the purposes of government. As yet the *Germans* were not come to the *Milanese*, and there was the less dependence on them, as their delay was owing to the failure of the promised subsidy. Thus the *Genoese* had no foreign assistance to rely on, except a small corps under *Pimentel*, who now deserted them likewise, and drew off his forces from *Tortona* ~~to~~ *Alexandria*, to the great astonishment of the senate. Besides the *Swiss*, who observed the treasures of his catholic majesty were exhausted, suffered themselves to be gained over by the confederates, and absolutely denied the *German* auxiliaries a passage through their country.

BUT what proved most irksome to the republic, was the great preparations the enemy were making to obtain a superiority

periority at sea, by which they might either block up *Genoa*, or make a descent on *Corfica*. It was likewise observed, that all the princes in *Italy* seemed to have a bias in favour of the confederates, from a jealousy and dislike of *Spain*. The grand duke of *Tuscany* was assembling an army at *Pisa*, with intention, it was supposed, to fall on *Sarzana* or *Sarjanello*, places to which the *Florentines* had long formed a claim; and this circumstance obliged the *Genoese* to divide their forces, in order to make head against another enemy, and protect their possessions. The duke of *Mantua* kept up the appearance of friendship with the republic; but he granted a passage through his dominions to the confederates, and entered secretly into their interest, although he offered to raise six thousand men for the defence of *Genoa*, provided the republic would supply levy money. As to *Venice*, there was no subject of dispute between the two republics, except their jealousy about the superiority in the *Mediterranean*. For several years back they lived in friendship, yet were the *Venetians* zealous promoters of this league against the sister republic; probably from a dislike of *Spain*, and jealousy of the grandeur of the house of *Austria*, with which *Genoa* was closely allied. All, however, that the *Venetians* did, was to render it difficult to send assistance from *Milan*, by making a diversion in the *Cremonese*: however, the old animosity was so far renewed, that the *Genoese* merchants durst not appear in *Venice*; and public rejoicings were made in that city upon every advantage gained by the confederates. In a word, the affairs of the republic appeared to themselves to be in so desperate a situation, that they connived at the horrid attempt of assassinating the constable; an attempt which reflects infamy on the republic, and the base projector the baron *de Alegre*.

SUCH was the state of the *Genoese* affairs when a million of ducats arrived from *Spain*, which was soon after followed by five millions more. Matters instantly assumed a different face: alacrity and spirit appeared in every face; the works, which had long languished, were resumed with spirit; levies were set on foot; remittances made to *Milan*, in consequence of which near eight thousand troops arrived from that dutchy, among whom were two thousand of the best veterans in the service of *Spain*: to this may be added other advantages equally important. The inclinations of his holiness and the grand duke seemed to veer with the fortune of the republic; for now they made no scruple of reinforcing the *Spanish* fleet with a certain number of galleys, which it was believed was intended for the service of *France*.

A COUNCIL of war was called at *Genoa*, to determine upon the operations of the campaign; and here it was resolved to take particular care of the defence of *Genoa* and *Savona*; the latter being necessary to the security of the former, and the success of all their measures. It was farther agreed, that no attempt should be made to recover the places the enemy had taken, since they must of course belong to that side which was master of the field. At the same time these circumstances concurred to defeat the enemy's projects, they were disappointed of the provisions expected from *England*. The king of *France* wanted all his strength to reduce the *Huguenots*, and an epidemical disease carried off near half the army: besides, the *Piedmontese* troops were greatly distressed, the inhabitants of *Montferrat* refusing, on account of some ill usage they had received, to suffer convoys to pass through their country. His highness was encamped between *Gavi* and *Ottavio*, and not only cut off from provisions, but greatly molested by alarms and attacks from the inhabitants, who seized every opportunity of annoying him. Some quarter of the camp, or party of foragers was every day attacked; by which means the army was greatly harrassed with being constantly under arms. But what distressed the duke most, and rendered it impossible for him to have his artillery, at least for some time, was an order sent by the senate to the inhabitants of *Posseveri* to form themselves into a strong detachment, and seize upon five hundred bullocks which were crossing the skirts of the valley, to go to the camp for the use of the artillery. This order was executed with great *Advan-* spirit, the escort defeated, and the cattle carried off in *tagc. gain-* triumph to *Genoa*. It was not possible for the duke to accom- *ed by the* plish a number of draught horses or bullocks sufficient for his *peasants.* purpose, and he was reduced to the necessity of waiting for horses from *France*.

THE peasants of *Posseveri* were not contented with their late advantage; it had so elated their courage, that they determined upon some enterprize worthy of men. Accordingly they joined a small corps of regulars, and laid siege to *Savignone*, in which place the duke's son *Don Felix* commanded two hundred men. Their attack was so sudden and brisk, that *Don Felix* must have surrendered prisoner at discretion, had not the duke, on the first intimation of his danger, made a forced march with five hundred men cross the mountains, and carried him off in the night. This retreat, however, was effected with great danger, as the peasants pursued him closely in the rear, and fell upon him in a defile through which he must necessarily pass.

HITHERTO the duke *de Feria's* conduct had been irresolute, through want of money, and the fear of coming to a rupture with *France*. At length the remonstrances of the senate prevailed, or rather the liberal remittances they made, enabled him to take the field with a powerful army, that greatly perplexed the duke of *Savoy* and the constable. *After* *Feria* had put strong garrisons in all the fortified towns, his army amounted to upwards of twenty thousand fighting men, a force greatly superior to that of the confederates, which did not exceed eight thousand, harrassed, sickly, and starved with hunger. Nothing was now thought of but how to retreat, and a variety of projects were formed to effect even this with safety; for as to the siege, it was abandoned as a thing impracticable. They were pursued in their march; and several skirmishes happened between the confederates and the *Spanish* troops, but none of any importance.

Novi and
Gavi re-
covered.

The confe-
derate ar-
my re-
treats.

IN consequence of this retreat, the *Genoese* recovered *Novi* and *Gavi*, with several other little places which had fallen into the enemy's hands. *La Grange* commanded in *Gavi* with a slender garrison, which capitulated a few days after the *Genoese* appeared before the town; nor did the citadel, though strong and well supplied with necessaries, make any defence, as the retreat of the confederate army rendered it impossible for them to expect any relief. The governor was, indeed, suspected of corruption, and to have surrendered his trust for a sum of money. Accordingly he was sent prisoner to *France*, and orders were issued out for trying him, when he happily died, and avoided a more ignominious end.

Peace con-
cluded.

AFTER the retreat of the confederate army, negotiations for peace were set on foot, which was accordingly concluded upon equal terms, matters being restored to the situation they were at the beginning of the war ^a.

A. D.
1627.

ABOUT two years after the peace with *France* and *Savoy*, the republic was greatly embarrassed by a resolution of his Catholic majesty to lessen the interest of the money he borrowed from the bank of *Genoa*, or rather to sink the capital an eighth part. *Olivarez* had done them this office, because the republic had declined lending a large sum of money, at low interest, upon the security of some very precarious funds he offered. Nothing could be more unreasonable than any dispute with *Spain*, when a circumstance happened which set the republic and duke of *Savoy* again at variance. Since the late peace at *Monçon*, general *Branaccio* lodged at *Pigna*, a town under the authority of the republic, but maintaining,

^a MAUBLE. l. 6. l. 14.

at its own expence, a garrison of three companies of German foot. Part of this garrison going to *Buffo*, a little town within a mile of *Pigna*, and in its jurisdiction, found some *Piedmontese* troops quartered there, which they drove out, after leaving a great number dead on the spot. The duke highly resented this act of hostility, and declared that he looked upon the peace as infringed, and would act accordingly. The republic punished the offenders; but the duke was not to be pacified, although he was sensible that the senate had no share in the transaction.

WHILE his highness was contriving means to revenge himself on the republic, *Vachero* came to *Turin*, to propose to him an enterprize which would sufficiently punish the republic. This *Vachero* was a young, ambitious, and wealthy plebeian, who, receiving some affronts from certain young nobility, resolved to revenge himself on the whole body. He beheld with chagrin persons of interior wealth entitled to posts by their quality, which were refused to him. His pride was visible in the haughtiness of his gait, and insolence of his look; but his profuse liberality gained him a number of adherents and made his house the rendezvous of the factious, the daring, and those who wished for a revolution to wipe off their crimes, or their debts. Since his return from *Turin*, he redoubled his caresses and liberality, and even found means to draw into his interest persons of better morals, and less desperate fortunes; to whom, however, he communicated but a part of his real design, which was no less than to extirpate the whole body of the nobility, and get himself made sovereign of *Genoa*; so short-sighted is ambition! Merchants, mechanics, and the meanest of the people, had access to *Vachero's* house and table; and in a short time the number of the conspirators was so great, and the plan so well laid, that *Genoa* must have been the scene of blood and confusion in a few days, had it not pleased Providence to interpose, and discover their machinations in a manner inscrutable by human foresight. He had deferred the day of execution too long from a desire to concert his measures securely. Villainy generally overshoots the mark, and too much precaution as frequently as too little betrays it. The duke of *Savoy* had repeatedly urged him to strike the blow, which he delayed for the greater security. At length, the day was fixed for the first of *April*, 1628; and he had given orders to the conspirators to assemble at the palace in as great numbers as possible, and after killing the *German* guards, to force their way into the chambers, throw the senators over the windows, and massacre all who fell in their way; assuring

A. D.
1628.

them, that they would easily get the government into their own hands, as there was a body of *Piedmontese* ready to support them.

Conspiracy
discovered.

THE conspirators expected with impatience that day, to be rendered so deplorably memorable by such a variety of murders; but it pleased the Divine Providence to turn the plot upon the contrivers, and make their ambition the scourge of their villainy. *Vachero*, for the greater safety, wanted to engage one *Radini*, a captain, in the conspiracy. He invited him to his house with several other conspirators, and treated him with such profuse generosity, that *Radini* was prevailed to engage in this faction, in hopes of raising his fortune by performing an action so agreeable to his natural sovereign the duke of *Savoy*. He took an oath to meet them next day at the palace with his company of soldiers; yet, upon farther thoughts, he reflected with horror on the crime he was going to commit, and thought it his duty to save such a number of lives by the breach of an oath taken rashly. Accordingly he went over-night to *Luke Clavari* the duke, informed him of the whole plot, and obtained under his sign-manual a full pardon for his offence, and the promise of a reward adequate to the importance of the service he had done the state.

FILLED with horror and amazement, the duke immediately assembled the senate privately, and acquainted them of the danger of their situation. After several warm debates on the means of warding off the blow, it was determined to seize the persons of the principal conspirators, by entering their houses in the most secret manner; and also to secure their magazine of arms, which business was committed to *Lomelin*. This last order was executed immediately, and all the arms brought to the palace without the least noise or disturbance; but *Barigel*, to whom the business of seizing on the conspirators was entrusted, betrayed the senate, and gave them notice of his order. He happened indeed to be a party in the conspiracy, and took his measures so well, that not only himself, but the chief of his accomplices, escaped before the morning. *Vachero*, *Zignato*, and *Ferrari*, endeavouring to escape by sea, were taken, and publicly executed. Several of the others got safe to *Turin*, from whence they issued bitter invectives against the government. Some time after, however, they suffered the just punishment of their crimes: endeavouring, with the assistance of a body of *Piedmontese*, to surprise *Genoa*, they were repulsed, besieged, and burnt in a house, to which they retired. In this manner ended a conspiracy which brought *Genoa* to the brink of perdition, and

and nearly ended in the entire extirpation of the whole body of nobility¹.

As soon as the duke of *Savoy* was informed that *Vachero* was prisoner, and the conspiracy discovered, he omitted nothing to save the lives of that criminal and his accomplices. He declared himself to be the author of the whole, in order to revenge the affair of *Buffo*: he insisted that the prisoners ought to enjoy the benefit of the amnesty passed after the late peace, though nothing could be more absurd than the arguments alledged; and he found means to engage the governor of *Milan*, and the marquis de *Croix*, in his suit. He even ordered the *Genoese*, taken at the battle of *Ottavio*, and permitted on their parole the freedom of the city, to be shut up in prison, threatening to make their lives answer whatever should be done to the conspirators. There were, indeed, some circumstances with respect to the *Genoese* prisoners, which gave a colour of justice to this proceeding, and greatly embarrassed the republic and the court of *Spain*. The senate resolved, however, to run all risks, and even hazard the consequences of a war, unsupported by *Spain*, rather than pardon so gross a violation of the laws of nature and society. *Vachero* was not only ignominiously put to death, but his house razed to the ground, and a column, put so with an inscription setting forth his crimes, erected on the spot (A).

THE senate tried *Vachero*; but a court called the *Burning Chamber* was established for the trial of the other conspirators. The power, however, of this tribunal was limited in such a manner that it could not condemn to death, until the evidence was first reported to the senate. When the duke of *Savoy* was informed of the death of *Vachero*, and the inquisition erected for the trial of his accomplices, in the first transport of passion, he gave orders that four of the pri-

¹ CHEVAL. MAUBLE. l. ii.

(A) *Vachero*, to avoid the shame of public punishment, endeavoured to put an end to his own life; and some writers say, that he was executed in prison, to prevent his being rescued by the mob: but it is agreed, that all his accomplices ended their lives on gibbets erected in the most conspicuous places, with great firmness,

and a constancy worthy of a better cause. His wife was put to the question; but neither the intreaties of her friends, or the most exquisite tortures, could prevail on her to discover any thing to the prejudice of her husband, whom, she said, it was her duty to honour and serve faithfully with all his faults.

cipal *Genoese* prisoners should be punished in the same manner; but his chagrin subsiding, he listened to the admonitions of his minister, who represented the inhumanity of sacrificing innocent lives, and revoked his rigorous orders. The *Spanish* ministry expressed great resentment likewise at the little regard paid to the intercession of his Catholic majesty; and the governor of *Milan* set at liberty several of the conspirators arrested in that city at the request of the senate. But matters went no farther; the king of *Spain* was too closely connected with the republic in pecuniary matters, and in trade, to suffer a dispute of this nature to interfere with his interest.

CHARLES EMANUEL, duke of *Savoy*, dying in 1631, his son *Victor Amadeus* intreated his Catholic majesty to terminate, by his mediation, his disputes with the republic; which was done by a treaty signed at *Madrid* by the ambassadors of *Genoa* and *Turin*. By this treaty it was agreed, they should mutually restore the towns, cannon, and prisoners, taken from each other since the commencement of the war: that the property of *Zuccarel* remain in the republic, on payment of sixteen thousand crowns to the duke, at four installments: that a general amnesty be granted to the subjects of either side who served against their country; in which article were included the conspirators, who were restored to their former estates and privileges. Both parties exclaimed against this article; the *Genoese* thinking it a gross insult on the republic, that traitors should be comprehended in a treaty of peace; and the duke complaining that most of the conspirators were already put to death, and only a few now alive to receive the benefit of the amnesty. To compensate this loss, he insisted on the full restitution of his galleys; that his cannon should be sent to *Gavi*, together with several other points, which were at last compromised, on condition that only prisoners of war be included in the general pardon.

THUS was peace at length concluded with *Savoy*, after a long and troublesome war, which had cost the republic not less than eight millions, if we include the fortifications erected between fort *Maurice* and *Savona*, together with the new walls extending from the *Lanthen* fort to the valley of *Bisagno*, great part of which were over mountains, and cut in the solid rock (B).

GENOA

(B) In the following inscription of this wall, the depth of the ditches, and other particulars, the reader will find the length of this prodigious work.

Quarium

GENOA was no sooner eased from the calamities of war, *Plague in Genoa* than it was afflicted with the still more dreadful consequences of pestilence: however, by the excellent regulations of the senate, a stop was put to its progress, and the plague was entirely confined to the city, in which it did no considerable damage.

In the year 1636, the *Spaniards* attempted to surprize the city; but notice of the plot being given to the senate, by the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, measures were taken to frustrate it. Accordingly the *Spanish* admiral was refused leave to enter the harbour, the fortifications were diligently inspected, twenty-four companies of foot put under arms, and *Charles Doria*, who was suspected to be privy to the design, arrested with his whole family at *Savona*. The *Spaniards*, disappointed at seeing such preparations, abandoned the enterprize, and the affair was dropt without any consequences to affect the repose of the republic. From this time till the year 1656, *Genoa* enjoyed all the blessings of peace and commerce. On that year the city was molested with two evils, each of them calamitous, and destructive of her happiness. A dreadful plague reigned within the walls, and the corsairs were grown so powerful in the *Mediterranean*, *War with the corsairs of Barbary* that the trade of the republic was almost wholly destroyed. All inland traffic was likewise stopped up by the plague; so that the city was reduced to extreme distress. To remedy these evils, every possible precaution were taken to check the progress of the pestilence, and a powerful fleet equipped against the *Moors*. On this occasion, *Hippolito Centurioni*, the *Genoese* admiral, distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Being separated from the fleet in a hard gale, he fell in with four stout corsairs, who attacked him with great fury. The engagement was unequal in force; but *Centurioni* compensated the want of numbers by skill and intrepidity: though raked on every side, and often boarded, he plyed his cannon and small arms with such dexterity, that the enemy were constrained to sheer off in a very shattered condition. This was the only action that happened; for the plague raging with unrelenting violence on board the rest

*Quantum murorum ambitum
Aggeribus, fossa, propugnaculis
vallatum, stadiis LXII. per
juga montium, per ima
vallium, per mariti-
mum litus
aductum
Genuensium respublica*

*Libertatis munimentum excitavit.
Cæptum opus Anno MDCXXX:
Perfectum XXXIII.*

Several other inscriptions were likewise placed in conspicuous places to perpetuate the memory of this immense work. *Vide Maily. Hist. Gen. t. 3. l. 14.*

of the fleet, the admiral put into port, and the ships were laid up.

A. D.
1657.

NEXT year the fleet put again to sea; but were soon obliged to return, the plague having carried off near three hundred persons in the space of a week. *Centurioni*, however, with two galleys kept the sea, and gained several advantages over the corsairs, taking some of their ships, and putting all to the sword who fell into his hands; a severity which somewhat checked their insolence, and paved the way for a treaty of commerce concluded with the piratical states, and Grand Seignior, on the following year. The treaty with the *Porte* was considerably extended by the marquis *Durazzo*, who went in quality of ambassador to *Constantinople* in the year 1666. The particulars were mutually advantageous, and such as renewed the vigour of the *Genoese* trade to a pitch beyond what any of the maritime towns experienced since the *Dutch* had founded their commercial republic, and extended their trade not only to the *Levant*, but to every quarter of the globe.

Account of
La Torrè
and the
conspiracy
he formed
against
Genoa.

FOR some years *Genoa* lived in peace with all the neighbouring powers, enjoyed domestic harmony, and assiduously cultivated commerce, and whatever could render the republic powerful and happy. Some little jealousies and differences arose between her and *Venice*, the sister and rival republic; but they were such as terminated amicably, and never gave any disturbance to the repose of *Italy*. Towards the year 1670, the duke of *Savoy* began to renew his claim to some of the dependant territories of *Genoa*, at the persuasion of *Raphael de la Torrè*, a young turbulent ambitious man, son to *Torrè*, a celebrated civilian of that age. This gentleman was bred at *Florence*, and afterwards made page to the grand duke. Tired of this employment, he returned to his own country, where he confirmed every bad habit contracted at a wealthy and luxurious court. He afterwards made the tour of *Italy*, rather to cull vices than to improve his manners; and in coming back, indulged himself in the most profuse and criminal dissipation, to the ruin of his fortune, which he sought means to repair at the expence of his country, and of his honour. How gross soever his vices were, he had his imitators and adherents; and he linked himself in strict society with persons of his own disposition, who flattered his passions, and cajoled his vices, while his fortune was able to support their own. As his genius was lively, and imagination fertile in the worst of artifices and calumnies, he profited himself of that talent. In a word, so easily did he extricate himself out of all difficulties into which his vices led

led him, that he was grown daring in the most enormous crimes, and insolent in actions which would have procured other men a gibbet. At last, a robbery on the high seas, which he committed, obliged him to fly *Genoa*; upon which he repaired to the court of *Turin*, and insinuated himself into so much favour, that he obtained offices, which astonished all those who were acquainted with his character. Raised to the command of a company of cuirassiers, he immediately turned his thoughts to revenge the injury done to his reputation, in passing upon him a sentence which he richly merited; for he was condemned to death at *Genoa*.

DETERMINED to render his exile fatal to his native country, he first fell upon the meanest stratagems to execute the dictates of that inveterate grudge he bore to the city which gave him birth. The house of *Caspar Durazzo* was burnt to the ground, and there was the strongest presumption that *Torré* was the incendiary; for *Durazzo*, in quality of perpetual governor of the city, had passed sentence on him. But not contented with a private revenge, he proposed nothing less than the conquest of *Genoa*, and the ruin of the commonwealth; a plan for which he drew up and communicated to the young marquis *Livorno*, who was dissuaded from presenting it to the duke of *Savoy* by the marquis de *Pianezza*, his father, who had long governed *Savoy* in quality of prime minister, and now, tho' retired from business, was consulted by all the princes of *Italy* as an oracle. *La Torrè*, however, was so pressing in his instances with the young marquis, that he at length procured him an audience of the duke. He found his highness's sentiments favourable to his design, and the project was embraced, contrary to the sentiments of the marquis *Pianezza*, who gave in several remonstrances against embracing a scheme planned by the disgust and revenge of a wrong-headed refugee.

RAVISHED with joy at seeing his designs succeed so happily, *La Torrè* indulged himself, like another *Cataline*, in the pleasing prospect of reducing the senate under his power, oppressing his enemies, pillaging the rich treasures of *St. George*, and trampling on the liberties of his country. His mind, filled with revenge, rioted in imagination upon all the cruelties he should be able to commit: he beheaded, proscribed, oppressed, and ruined whole families at pleasure, glutting his fancy with the enchanting satisfaction of committing every vice, which a corrupted heart and fruitful head could invent.

BENEFIT now protected by the duke's countenance, he began to commence hostilities, raising a gang of desperadoes.

March of
the Pied-
montese
army.

to rob, plunder, and spoil his country: but these incursions, neither allu-
iating his resentment, his ambition, or his
avarice, he resolved to collect as strong a band as he could,
with which he formed a plan to surprise *Savona* in the night,
than which nothing could be more romantic and wild, sup-
pressing every circumstance dictated by prudence, and cherish-
ing only those inspired by his sanguine expectations. The
duke was flattered by his minions in whatever could gratify
his ambition: he did not perceive the absurdity of *La Torrè's*
project, because he examined it only with the eye of passion
and hope; for had he once applied to his reason, he could
not fail of perceiving the futility, the weakness of the mea-
sure concerted by that rancorous exile. War with the re-
public was absolutely determined upon; and count *Catalan*
Alferi, an officer of approved valour, was ordered to advance
to *Ceva* with three thousand foot and one thousand horse:
They arrived here on the twenty-fourth of *June*, and then
took the road to *Savona* in the night, with the utmost silence,
attended only with petards, the artillery being unnecessary,
as a coup de main and surprize were intended. *Alferi*, how-
ever, falling ill, the command devolved on the marquis *Li-
vorno*, general of the cavalry.

THE senate had been advertised of the march of the *Pied-
montese* army; but as it was in time of full peace, they
doubted not but their intention was to go to work on some
fortifications: however, when certain intelligence arrived
of their approaching *Savona*, all were thrown into consterna-
tion; but still they could not persuade themselves that a
young wild spendthrift, like *La Torrè*, could have formed a
plan so bold, or acquired influence enough at the court of
Turin to have it embraced, notwithstanding they were in-
formed of his secret practices. The confusion and terror in
the capital was augmented by advices that certain companies,
sent to defend the passes, were beaten by the enemy. This
intelligence, however, proved false; for *Ferome Spinula*, go-
vernor of *Savona*, in order to strengthen these posts and his
own garrison, had assembled the militia of the country, for-
tified the passes, and taken every necessary measure of de-
fence. Some days after, a letter of the marquis *Livorno* was
intercepted, whence it appeared that he had correspondents
in *Genoa* and *Savona*. A *Piedmontese* priest, who acted as a
spy, was taken up; but he found means to escape the pu-
nishment he deserved.

WHATEVER precautions *Spinula* had taken for the secu-
rity of *Savona*, the capital could oppose no more than a gar-
rison of three thousand men, mostly undisciplined, to the
regular

regular numerous army of *Savoy*. Levies were ordered to be made, and the principal nobility took upon themselves the charge of defending the most important posts and the city. *Marc Doria* was sent with two hundred *Corficans* to *Civavari*, to suppress some commotions in that place in favour of *Lu Torré*. Indeed the *Corficans* exerted a laudable spirit on this occasion, for the support of the government. The nobility of the island raised companies at their own expence, which they sent over to *Genoa*, under the conduct of their sons, brothers, or cadets of their families.

To these preparations the senate added others of no less consequence. Commissaries were sent to the valley of *Peseveri*, to raise the peasants of the valley and neighbouring mountains; some stout men of war were equipped, the number of gallies augmented, which immediately sailed for the protection of the maritime towns. All the nobility, and some of the citizens, raised men at their own expence; and prince *John Andrea Doria*, then a youth, distinguished his patriotism in a very extraordinary manner, offering his person, his fortune, and all his influence, for the service of his country. His example drew forth the generosity of the rest of the nobility; and so liberal were their donations, that in the space of a few days the sum of three millions of livres was raised for the public use, and about six thousand foot for the defence of the city. Even the women, in spite of the natural weakness of their sex, were highly serviceable to the government, contributing their jewels and ornaments for the protection of liberty, and the expences of so just a war.

In the mean time, the *Piedmontese* army, which had rested for some days at *Ottari*, renewed their march; but, as if the elements had conspired against them, they had scarce advanced two miles, when a most dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, fell with such violence as greatly frightened and discomposed them. This incident, and intelligence of the preparations made by the *Genoese*, induced the marquis *Livorno* to alter his purpose, and instead of besieging *Savona*, to march his troops towards *Salicet*. Soon after the arrival of the army here, the marquis *Catalan*, somewhat recovered from his illness, joined the army, and determined to lay siege to *Pavia*. His march was rapid, and the consternation of the inhabitants of this place proportioned to the suddenness of the stroke. Their courage failed them, and the town was surrendered on the first summons. Here it was that the marquis published several manifestoes, declaring the duke of *Savoy's* motives for seizing upon *Pavia*, which, he said, was rather to secure his own possessions against the in-

*Pavia
taken.*

ursions of the *Genoese* peasants, than to augment his dominions by unjust conquests. To these manifestoes the republic made several spirited replies, which were sent to the *Genoese* ambassadors at the several courts of *Europe*.

At this time, the duke *d'Osenna* was governor of *Milan*, a man whose interest the senate knew to be very considerable at the court of *Madrid*. It was their business, therefore, to prevent the duke's falling in with the measures of *Savoy*, which would throw the weight of *Spain* in that scale, and make it greatly preponderate. Upon this consideration, the marquis *Francis Maria Balbi* was sent to *Milan*, to gain over the duke; and a more fit ambassador could not be chosen, both for his illustrious rank, and lively engaging address. Notwithstanding, however, all his arts and remonstrances, the duke *d'Osenna's* reply was extremely equivocal, and couched in such terms as gave the senate uneasiness, although it did not damp their spirit. Upon the departure of *Balbi*, he published an edict strictly prohibiting all the subjects of his Catholic majesty from enlisting in the service of any foreigners; which was the most positive refusal of the senate's request, that he would send them succours. But to preserve the appearance of neutrality, he made loud complaints against the duke of *Savoy*, particularly of the march of his army through the Catholic king's dominions without permission; and of the little discipline maintained among his troops, by which his majesty's subjects sustained several gross indignities and flagrant injuries.

THE *Genoese* senate were no strangers to the duke *d'Osenna's* real sentiments; but as he did not declare against the republic, they were satisfied, and took the most vigorous steps for defeating the designs formed by the court of *Turin*. Receiving advice that the enemy were fortifying *Pavia*, they put all the neighbouring places in a state of defence. What most embarrassed the magistrates and generals of the republic, was the terror which had laid hold of the minds of the people, particularly the peasants, before they had set eyes on the enemy. Every person who could afford freight, was preparing to move off to some foreign country with his family and effects. As nothing could be more pernicious to the public, the senate resolved to put a stop to this practice by the most severe edicts; which, however, proved insufficient, till the country was put in such a posture of defence, as bid defiance to all the power of *Savoy*.

WHAT contributed to the security of the republic, more than all her endeavours, was the disorder that reigned in the enemy's camp. The marquis *de Catalan* received at *Pavia* a
rein-

reinforcement of five hundred foot sent from *Mondovì*. On their arrival they were so fatigued and jaded with their march over desert rugged mountains, as to be unfit for service, and so badly disciplined, that they abandoned themselves to every kind of licentiousness, ruining by their example the rest of the army. The indulgence of their officers increased their abandoned insolence, and set them on committing the most flagrant thefts and robberies with impunity. *Catalan* exerted all his influence to restrain them; he cajoled, harangued, and punished them to no purpose. The duke of *Savoy* had particularly enjoined him to treat his new subjects of *Pavia* with the utmost indulgence, the sooner to conciliate their affections. *Catalan* endeavoured to obey his orders; but all was frustrated by the turbulent mutinous spirit which daily increased among the soldiery. Daily complaints against the army were lodged by the inhabitants; the general punished without remedying the disorders, and his severity produced no other effect than desertion, which became so general, that two hundred frequently went off in a day to the *Genoese*, and incorporated themselves in the troops of the republic.

ON the other hand, the *Pavians*, not able to endure the insolence of those who remained, began first with attacking all strollers, whom they sacrificed without mercy: next, they proceeded to more open defiance, and expressed their resentment by forming a kind of regular army, with which they attacked the works erecting by the *Piedmontese*, and attempted to cut off the communication between the infantry and cavalry. Several skirmishes passed, and numbers were slain on both sides; but the *Piedmontese* were generally worsted.

IN this situation were affairs, when the duke of *Savoy* sent *D. Gabriel* of *Savoy*, with a strong reinforcement, to take the command of the army, restore discipline, and push the war against the republic with all possible vigour. This prince made such dispatch, that he arrived on the eighth of *July* at *Pavia*, and found the troops greatly diminished by desertion and skirmishes with the enemy; the generals at variance; all discipline neglected; and the whole in a state of confusion: however, instead of applying remedies to evils of so dangerous consequence, the prince contented himself with making replies to the manifestoes published by the republic, in which he shewed the quibble of a schoolman rather than the talents of a politician.

WHILE the *Piedmontese* generals were thus making war among themselves, the republic neglected nothing which could forward

forward their affairs, during this relaxation from hostilities. The senate well knew, that gaining time was of the utmost importance to the defensive side; they abstained, for this reason, from every measure which could rouse and irritate the enemy, contenting themselves with completing their levies, fortifications, and magazines. The prince of *Piedmont* repaired to court to receive fresh instructions, leaving *Catalan* in the utmost perplexity how to act. Of this the *Genoese* made their advantage; and so harrassed him with perpetual attacks on his foragers and convoys, that he resolved to leave *Pavia*, after raising the fortifications, and at length enter upon some action, which would silence the reproaches of his enemies, especially of the marquis *Livorno*, who was his rival in command and glory. He was sensible of beginning the campaign under great disadvantages, when all the passes were strongly fortified, and the enemy in a posture of defence: however, regard to his own reputation, and the instructions of his court, obliged him to put the army in motion, to keep up the credit of the *Piedmontese* arms. After receiving a reinforcement of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, he begun with attempting to open the passes, and chiefly those which led from *Pavia* to *Ormea*; and the *Genoese* officers used all their diligence to frustrate his measures. *Restori*, a *Coriscan* officer, taking the command of all his own countrymen, kept up perpetual skirmishes with the *Piedmontese*: at last he came to a more general action, in which he must have sunk under numbers had he not been seasonably supported by *Gentile*, a *Genoese* general, who maintained the battle upon an equal footing, till the enemy again gained the superiority by the arrival of the marquis *Livorno*. After this *Restori* drew off his troops in good order; but left the enemy in possession of the out-posts of *Pavia*, and the bridge of *St. Anthony*, from the first of which he wanted to dislodge them.

*A battle
between
the two
armies.*

THE advantage gained by the *Piedmontese* on this occasion did not prevent the *Coriscan* general from harrassing *Catalan*'s out-guards, and cutting off his convoys in such a manner as greatly distressed him. This rendered it necessary once more to send the prince *Gabriel* to the army, accompanied by the regiment of *Piedmont*, and a great number of volunteers. This junction no sooner took place, than the army was divided into two columns, the prince with the stronger marching towards *Oneille*, to prevent the *Genoese* galleys from sailing on that important place. In his way he summoned the slight fortress of *Deano*, garrisoned by a handful of militia, and fifty *Coriscans*, to surrender, threatening to give no quar-

ter should the governor refuse to comply ; but that brave officer returned an answer, that he would defend his charge with the last drop of his blood. This reply he faithfully adhered to, and, by his vigorous defence, obliged the prince to abandon the siege. In his retreat he was attacked by *Reperi* and his *Corficans* with great intrepidity. For some time the *Piedmontese* stood their ground ; but the fury of the *Corficans* at length broke and defeated them with the loss of sixty officers, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. After this, his highness was still more unfortunate ; for taking the road of *Tatico*, near *Stuknello*, he found the post so strongly guarded, that, without hopes of passing it, he was attacked in front, flanks, and rear, by the *Corficans*. These brave islanders, without regard to discipline, fell on with such impetuosity, that the *Piedmontese* were totally discomfited, and were saved from destruction only by a strong reinforcement, which fortunately joined them from *Catalan*. It is true, the *Corficans* likewise received constant supplies of fresh troops from the galleys ; but their bravery, and not their numbers, it was that obtained the victory, and forced prince *Gabriel* to screen himself under the habit of a priest, by which he escaped being made prisoner.

The Genoese gain several advantages.

As for *Catanella*, his measures were more prudently taken, and the issue more fortunate. His design was to attack *Roccarbena* ; and, to prevent the enemy's penetrating his views, or incommoding his march, he divided his army into three bodies, each of which had orders to march to the place appointed by different roads. The scheme succeeded ; he appeared before the town without molestation, and obtained possession of it after an hour's cannonading, notwithstanding the garrison was sufficiently strong to have made a long defence. Such was the shameful panic which seized the *Genoese* troops, that they fled at a postern-gate, leaving their arms behind, to prevent their being encumbered in their flight. The same success attended this general before *Zuccarel*, a place of slight defence, and ruinous walls, but garrisoned by *Piedmontese* deserters, who, expecting no quarter, made desperate efforts to prevent their falling into the hands of those who would not fail to punish their perfidy.

WHILE *Catanella* remained at *Zuccarel*, he was joined by *Carlo Emilio de Parella*, an officer of fire and spirit, who was displeased with the cautious conduct of the general, and pressed him to vigorous measures, contrary to prudence. *Catanella*, fearing his reputation might sustain some prejudice from the misrepresentations of *Parella*, advanced towards *Albengna*, and sent to request prince *Gabriel* to join him there:

But

But this the prince's circumstances would not permit it, the roads being infested with bands of *Coriscans*, and himself wholly engaged in preparations for recovering *Villa Nuova*, which the *Genoese* had lately taken. The marquis *Livorno*, indeed, offered to conduct the army to *Albengna*, and the prince yielded to his remonstrances: but the issue had near proved fatal; for the *Coriscans* attacked them in the narrow passes, rendered it impossible to advance, and almost cut off a retreat. *Catalanella*, on the other hand, finding himself too weak to attempt any thing with his own corps, and the prince unable to alter his situation, made several pushes to unite the whole *Piedmontese* army; but this the *Genoese* and *Coriscans* frustrated by their diligence.

WHEN *Catalan* perceived the *Genoese* forces daily augment, himself cut off from the rest of the army, forage, provision, and ammunition failing, and the soldiers murmuring, concluding that the campaign must end in his ruin, if he kept the open field, he resolved to retreat among some inaccessible rocks and mountains in the neighbourhood of *Zuccarel*; and in that situation wait till fortune should favour the endeavours of the prince to join him. The great irresolution which appeared in all his motions, indeed, persuaded the prince, and even *Catalan's* own officers, that he never had any serious thoughts of effecting a junction; because they imagined this might have been done by force, had he pleased. Excess of prudence sometimes passes for folly; *Catalan's* conduct was not without solid reasons to excuse it. He had left behind his baggage under a slight guard, which his son commanded, in the neighbourhood of *Albengna*. Had he removed at any considerable distance, the *Genoese* garrison in that town would be more than sufficient to beat his son, and take all his baggage, which it was impossible to carry across the mountains. It was this that induced him to chuse a strong encampment to wait for the prince, who was now reduced to great straits by the junction of the *Genoese* forces, and the nature of their disposition, which rendered it next to impracticable for him to hold any communication with *Catalanella*. On the other hand, this officer, greatly straitened for provisions in his present encampment, was desirous of cantoning his army in *Castel-Vecchio*, *Erli*, and *Gereffio*, which was a matter of difficulty, on account of the barren mountains he must necessarily cross, and the variety of parties with which the *Genoese* blocked up all the passes. Necessity, however, obliged him to make the experiment; and, after a fatiguing march, the vanguard arrived at *Gereffio*, when the rear was attacked by the *Genoese*. The *Piedmontese* army had marched

Catalan's
retreat.

marched in two columns, which were now separated by a long wall that encloses one side of *Erli*, and it was necessary to open a breach here before the corps could assist each other. In the mean time, the rear of the army was put in confusion, and the bridge at *Erli* seized, to prevent *Catalan's* throwing himself into *Gereffio*, which was the only pass by which he could procure subsistence for the troops. The *marquis de Livorno*, who commanded the rear of the second column, was entirely defeated, the *marquis Careto*, third in command, slain, together with a great number of soldiers and volunteers, which obliged *Catanella* to make the best of his way with his scattered forces to *Castel-Vecchio*, a place neither fortified, nor capable of supplying him with provisions. *Parella*, with a body of volunteers, seized upon a church and a small fort in the neighbourhood; and the regiments of *Montferrat* and *Piedmont* gained the passes of *Gereffio* and *Zuccarel*.

CASTEL-VECCHIO was of all places the most unfit to sustain a siege, yet *Catanella* was reduced to this necessity. On the third of *August*, *Restori* with his *Corficans* invested the place, while *Gentile*, with the *Genoese* under his command, surrounded *Parella*. *Restori's* first measure was to deprive the besieged of water, for which he knew they must be pinched in a few days. The excessive heat of the weather effectually answered his purpose, and reduced the *Piedmontese*, in the space of two days, to the most deplorable necessity; nor was there any method of removing it, but by forcing the lines which the *Corficans* had drawn, and their triple retrenchments, defended with cannon. Water was sold at an enormous price, and the soldiers fell down dead with thirst; upon which *Catalan* determined to break through his way sword in hand. The efforts he made were, indeed, glorious, though unhappy: by moon-light he sallied forth at the head of his men, forced one line after another, and filled them with slaughter. The *Genoese* and *Corficans* behaved with the utmost intrepidity; but the confusion which happened in the night, rendered it impossible to distinguish friends from foes, by which means *Catanella*, *Livorno*, and a few other officers and soldiers, made their escape, all the rest being killed or taken prisoners. *Parella*, with the whole force under his command, was forced to surrender at discretion; and thus the whole *Piedmontese* army was almost totally ruined in one campaign.

It was the misfortune of the *Genoese*, either to be ignorant of the means of pursuing their victory, or at least to neglect them. It is a maxim in war, never to lay aside arms till the conquered are reduced to the necessity of suing for peace.

A. D.
1672.

His army
cut off.

peace. Had the republic attended to this, and carried the war into the enemy's country, the duke of *Savoy* would have been compelled to grant any terms; but the senate contented itself with repulsing the danger with which the state was threatened, without a thought of pursuing their good fortune. Instead of this, their inactivity animated the duke of *Savoy* to retrieve his affairs by the most vigorous measures, at a time when all the world expected to see the victorious *Genoese* army carrying slaughter and devastation to the walls of *Turin*. *Clement* the ninth interposed his mediation to reconcile the parties; but the duke's levies being in great forwardness, and strong reasons, furnished by the conduct of the *Genoese*, to suppose those republicans better acquainted with the means of obtaining, than of using victory, induced his highness to reject all pacific propositions. This, however, he did in such a manner, as to amuse the nuncio, and lull the republic into security, while he was preparing to destroy the very being of the commonwealth. Resolving to pursue the war with all his own forces, and the allies he could make, he dispatched ambassadors to the duke of *Bavaria*, his brother-in-law, to the dukes of *Parma* and *Mantua*, and to *Lewis* the fourteenth, for assistance. From this monarch he had great hopes of powerful succours, as the answer of *Lewis* appeared favourable, when he was addressed to this purpose at the commencement of the war.

Several towns yield to the Genoese

At last, the senate penetrated the duke's intentions, and, after suffering themselves to be amused for a long time, ordered their armies to take the field. That under *Prato* undertook the siege of *Onelle*, the capital of a small principality of that name belonging to *Savoy*, and obliged the garrison to surrender upon honourable conditions (C). The reduction of this city was followed by that of *Corio*, *Aprico*, *St. Sebastian*, *St. Peter*, *Bergo de Marro*, *Condesco*, and several other places that sent deputies to *Prato*, offering their submission. He then pitched his camp under the walls of *Onelle*, in a strong situation, where he could neither be forced or restrained. This seasonable motion prevented the *French* fleet, which appeared on the coast, from attempting any thing contrary to the interest of the republic; for their first intention was to have raised the siege of *Onelle*, and to retake it.

(C) According to *Mailly*, *Onelle* was besieged by general *Durazzo*, and taken some months after *Prato* had put his corps in motion (1). It must therefore have been the town of *Azzo*, which, on this occasion, surrendered to *Prato*.

(1) L. 16.

The *Genoese*, who had now ten thousand men in the enemy's country, formed two flying camps under *Reslori* and *Frediani*. *Reslori* marched with six thousand men, chiefly *Corsicans*, across the mountains, to form the attack of *Briga*, an important place in the neighbourhood of *Ventimiglia*. On his first motion, the peasants assembled to defend the pass called *Notre Dame*, within a mile of *Briga*; but they were soon dislodged, and *Briga* forced to surrender on the first assault.

FRANCIS MARIA SPINULA CETO, who commanded the army of *St. Remo*, was less fortunate in the siege of *Peinaldo*, a large town belonging to the duke of *Savoy*. After firing the works in the suburbs, he applied petards to the gates, and scaling ladders to the walls; but was obliged to retire with precipitation, the besieged having almost covered his men with great stones and flaming combustibles. He was afterwards joined by *Frediani*, and both generals resumed the siege with more alacrity and success, the governor having surrendered at discretion after a short attack.

THIS was not the only subject of affliction to the duke of *Savoy*; another of more consequence occurred about this time. The *Spanish* galleys, commanded by the duke of *Tursis*, entering the port of *Genoa*, acted in concert with the *Genoese* admiral, in carrying stores, ammunition, and men, to all the maritime towns, which was a direct declaration of his Catholic majesty's good will to the republic. His highness gave immediate instructions to his ambassador at *Madrid*, to complain to his majesty of this breach of his professed neutrality, hoping to obtain an order to recal *Tursis*, or, in case of refusal, to make *Lewis* the fourteenth declare himself against the republic: but he applied himself chiefly to work on the passions of the latter, and succeeded so happily, that his most Christian majesty, agreeable to the maxims established in *Italy* of assisting the weaker side, ordered the marquis de *Vivonne*, with a strong squadron, to watch the motions of the *Genoese* fleet, and treat them as enemies, in case the republic refused listening to a reasonable accommodation, and the mediation of the *French* envoy.

It is certain that the republic had always been inclined to peace, and prolonged the war for no other reason than because the enemy would not grant such terms as the success of the *Genoese* arms deserved. On the contrary, the duke of *Savoy* was making the greatest preparations for attacking the *Genoese* territories on the side of *Lombardy*, where the country was more open, and his cavalry at liberty to act. A powerful army was set in motion, with orders to attack the

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enemy in four different quarters, viz. by the pass of *Nova*, the mountaiq of *Airolo*, behind *Pavia*, the pass of *Erli*, and by the mountain *Justinian*, near *Terrano*. In their march they were attacked by the *Genoese*, and great numbers of them slain in the defiles. But the ill success of this skirmish did not prevent the *Piedmontese* from forcing the pass of *Nova* and *Erli*; after which they burnt several *Genoese* tents pitched in form of a small camp. The marquis *St. Damien*, with three thousand regulars, and a great army of peasants, laid all the *Genoese* villages in ashes, and put the inhabitants to the sword; after which he retook *Rinaldo*, and some other places of less importance. He made several attempts on *Pena*, all of which were frustrated by the diligence and intrepidity of the inhabitants, who adhered with an inviolable constancy to the fidelity they owed the republic. His disappointment the marquis revenged on the country lying round *Ventimiglia*, which he pillaged and burnt, while *Prato* was busy putting the fortifications of the town in a state of defence.

Bravery
of the gar-
rison of
Rena.

AFTER this it was that a fourth attempt was made on *Rena*, and the place besieged in form by general *Badate*, detached with a strong corps by the marquis *St. Damien*. On this occasion the besieged behaved with more gallantry than ever, defending the town against the will of the treacherous governor, who, finding them obstinate, deserted to the enemy. His name was *Corsefin*, which ought to be transmitted with infamy to posterity, as that of his successor merits the highest praises. Captain *Gastaldi* took the command on *Corsefin*'s departure, and refused to capitulate on any terms, tho' the *Piedmontese* general threatened to put to death his two sons who were prisoners in the camp. His zeal for the service of his country absorbed all the dictates of natural affection, *Gastaldi* preferring the reputation of a faithful and brave citizen, to that of a fond father. He so animated and inspired his men, that, pinched with the extremity of want; they bravely determined to wait for assistance from *Prato*, who was making efforts to relieve this brave garrison of militia. At last, the siege was raised by *Frediani*, who, after defeating several parties of the besiegers, found means to throw a large convoy into *Rena*, under cover of a vigorous sally made by *Gastaldi*.

IN the mean time, the duke's army on the side of *Lombardy*, was more successful, the number of the *Piedmontese* cavalry giving the general a great advantage over the *Genoese*. *Ovada* surrendered to the duke's general, and this obliged *Durazzo* to recall those from *Dolce Aqua*, when he was just on the point

point of storming in breach, and making himself master of the place. It was imagined the *Piedmontese* would next undertake the siege of *Ventimiglia*, to cover which place *Prato* was recalled. Upon this occasion, his retreat, amidst dangerous defiles, lined with the enemy's troops, does more honour to the military skill of that officer, than all his former actions, which had raised his reputation high. Immediately after this he prepared to relieve *Pena*, which was again invested by the *Piedmontese*, as if they were determined to conquer the obstinacy of this little intrepid garrison. The efforts he made to accomplish this purpose, diminished nothing of the reputation which he so deservedly acquired. D. *Anthony of Savoy*, with an army of six thousand men, triply entrenched, covered the siege; and *Prato*, with scarce one thousand regulars, planned a scheme for forcing this strong camp, or raising the siege. He disposed his men in such a manner as to conceal his weakness, and attacked the enemy with such fury in different quarters, that having forced two entrenchments, he was in a fair way of gaining the third, when a sudden panic seized his men, made them retire with precipitation, leaving their brave general to fall into the hands of the enemy, had he not been rescued by *Grampilla*, who flew with a small corps to his assistance, and brought him off. Notwithstanding this repulse, *Prato* made himself master of *Brecco* next day, which he fortified, in hopes by this means of making a diversion in favour of the garrison of *Pena*. All his endeavours hitherto proved ineffectual; and the generals of superior rank believing the design impracticable, and that all attempts would only be attended with the loss of so many brave soldiers, sent orders for *Prato* to retire, and rejoin the main army under *Durazzo*. This was what *Prato* could not prevail upon himself to do: he esteemed it dishonourable to suffer a brave garrison to perish for want of assistance, and determined upon one more exertion of his genius and courage for their relief. Carefully concealing the orders he had received, and the arrival of the galleys in which he was to embark his men, he published a report that they had a reinforcement of five hundred men on board, with which he intended next morning attacking the enemy's lines. In order to publish his news in the enemy's camp, he ordered two *Corfican* desperadoes to desert, and take the first opportunity of returning to him. By them D. *Anthony of Savoy* was informed of *Prato's* intention; and, not caring to come a second time to blows with an officer of so invincible courage, he set fire to his camp and raised the siege; upon which *Prato* ordered *Dornano*, with two companies of

foot, and a quantity of provision and ammunition, to throw himself into *Pena*. No sooner did the inhabitants see themselves once more delivered from their enemies, than they determined upon revenge, the cruelty of which sullied all the glory acquired by their courage and fidelity. They murdered all their prisoners, before notice of their intention was given to *Prato*; an action which afforded matter of great grief to that brave officer, whose humanity and principles of honour were equal to his conduct and intrepidity (A). In the mean time, D. *Gabriel* of *Savoy* was making rapid conquests on the side of *Lombardy*. *Ovada* was taken after a tedious and bloody siege; *Oneille* regained, and *Sasello* reduced, in spite of the endeavours of the *Genoese* generals. *Prato*, however, was determined not to abandon the coast towns to *Damieu* and D. *Antonio* of *Savoy*, although he had repeated orders to embark and join the forces in *Lombardy*. Instead of obeying, he returned the gallies empty, sending the senate an explicit justification of his conduct, which was approved; a dangerous precedent of disobedience, but a measure sometimes necessary, where the fidelity, courage, and ability of the person are unquestionable. Indeed, without this discretionary power it is impossible to accommodate measures to circumstances, which hourly change, and become totally different in military operations (B).

HIS holiness and Catholic majesty now used all their influence to accommodate matters betwixt the republic and

(A) Notwithstanding this barbarous action, which was executed without the consent of *Gastaldi*, the senate recompensed the valour of the garrison, by ordering pensions for life to the wounded, the widows, and children of the deceased, and half a year's pay to be presented to the living. *Gastaldi* had a handsome pension settled on him, and portions assigned for his daughters. The city of *Ventimiglia* had so strong a sense of the service done by *Prato*, in relieving *Pena*, that it solemnly decreed a yearly present of a fine sword, adorned with jewels, to be made to him, as the recompence best suited to the disposi-

tion of a warrior, and his generous disinterested spirit. *Ib.* l. 16.

(B) The chevalier *Mally* relates another sedition excited this year in *Genoa* by one *La Torrè*, without distinguishing him from a person of the same name, mentioned particularly in the beginning of this war. He even insinuates, contrary to the testimony of all other authors, that *La Torrè* escaped on that occasion, and that now the insurrection proceeded against him on discovery of the plot, executed him, razed his house, confiscated his estate, banished his family, and perpetuated his infamy by an inscription in brass, setting forth his crimes. *L.* 16. p. 224.

duke,

duke, to prevent the flames of war from spreading through the rest of *Italy*: but it was *Gosmont*, the *French* envoy, who put the last hand to this work, removing, by his address, every difficulty that lay in the way. In his way to *Genoa* he passed through *Turin*, and soon penetrated the intentions of the duke, which were to gain time, in hopes of fully re-establishing his affairs. The *French* minister soon convinced his highness, that he must either listen to the mediators, or run the hazard of their joining with his enemies to compel him into measures necessary to the repose of *Italy*. Having disposed the duke to accept of *Lewis's* mediation, he hastened to *Genoa*, where he was magnificently entertained in the house of *Pietro Spinula*. He next day had an audience of the senate, before whom he laid his instructions, which were to demand the restitution of *Oneille*, and a suspension of hostilities; after which they were required to appoint commissaries to treat of peace. Immediately the senate consented to the truce, but remonstrated against the restitution of *Oneille*, though they were soon obliged to accede to this proposition. At last peace was concluded, on condition that the prisoners should be mutually released, their conquests mutually restored, and boundaries left to be adjusted by the doctors of *Ferrara*; soon after which the duke died, highly esteemed and regretted.

For some years the republic diligently pursued her commerce, and reaped all the blessings of repose. In the year 1684, the *Genoese* had the misfortune to incur the resentment of *Lewis* the fourteenth, which had almost proved fatal to the city, bombarded by a formidable royal armament. Peace, however, was purchased by those humiliating concessions which the reader has already seen at the close of our history of *France*^a.

^a Vol. 25. Un. Mod. Hist.

